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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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JULY, 1894.

IS THE STATE THE OWNER OF ALL LAND
IN INDIA?

By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E.

IT is constantly stated in newspapers and reviews, even at the present day, that Government is "the recognised owner" of all land in India; and we are told that "it is on the Government that the manifold duties which devolve on the landlord in England, fall in India." A suspicion will have crossed the minds of some readers that these unqualified statements are not consistent with the facts of the case; but still it may be thought that the question has but little practical importance. It is obviously the fact that land is directly held by private persons—by village landholders singly, by co-sharing village communities, and by landlords of larger estates—and in either case the practical advantage of the land is freely enjoyed, subject only to an annual payment to the State, which certainly does not represent more than a modest fraction of a real "rent." Under such circumstances, it may be considered only a matter of words and names, whether we say that the State is the actual landlord and that the landholders are tenants paying it a "rent," or whether we say that the various persons entitled are really landowners paying a "land-tax" or something analogous to it. Even if the matter were purely theoretical it would not be altogether devoid of

interest, since it involves a rather curious history, and illustrates the growth of ideas and institutions. But in point of fact, the question has its practical side, since on it depends the right understanding of the Indian Land-Revenue Administration, and the question what Government can do, and what it cannot do, in helping agricultural development and securing agrarian prosperity.

Is Government then, in any sense, the universal landlord in India? At the root of the whole matter lies the further question—what do we mean by “owner” of the land? . By stating such a question, it is not meant to plunge anew into the juristic difficulties which attend the definition of “ownership” in general; but rather to remind ourselves that in every country the ownership of land practically comes to mean whatever the development of customary tenures and the growth of ideas have made it to mean. There can hardly be any doubt that land-ownership in the abstract has, in the East, gradually acquired one meaning, and in the West, a somewhat different one. Not indeed uniformly: there are parts of the West in which historical conditions have tended rather to the Eastern idea of soil-ownership. For example, in Ireland; the circumstances under which “landlords” and “tenants” there came into relation are in many respects similar to those which existed in India. Had the *local* development of landlord-right been appreciated in days past, we might have been spared many of the agrarian troubles that have since perplexed us. But unfortunately, the facts were made (by legislative force) to fit into English legal moulds—because any other course was beyond the comprehension of the ruling power at the time. In English law, it is true, there is no such thing as an absolute ownership; there is only an “estate in land”—the *dominium utile*; but still, without discussing the effects of the feudal system, it may be said that the maxim *nulle terre sans seigneur* is at the root of English ownership, and that (putting aside exceptional tenures like copyhold) we have the fixed idea of an

owner for every plot of land, large or small, on which all subordinate holders are tenants by a contract, which ultimately depends on the competition rent or letting value of the land. That is not the Eastern idea ; nor is it the idea that is really consonant with the history of landholding in Ireland—at least in some parts. Grants of landed estates were made after the first conquest, and subsequently ; and almost everywhere there were existing landholders whose position must be traced back to the old Irish law and tribal custom : they were practically owners, though subject to a certain contribution, payable to a chief or overlord. The grantee-landlords from England came upon them, with the same results, if not in the same manner, as the “ Zamíndár,” Taluqdár, and other grantees in India,—men who first practically, and then by legislative confirmation, acquired a landlord-title. The early English administrators of Ireland insisted on applying the English law with its ideas of landlord and tenant by contract ; and then the Irish land-holder found himself more or less suddenly regarded as if he had no other right than what the landlord agreed to let him have, with reference to the market value of land for occupation ; and his rent (of course) could be raised, or he himself could go, if he did not like the terms. Subordinate landholding by *status* not by contract, which is a familiar feature of landholding in the East, is unknown to the English law, but was certainly existent in Ireland.* The Irish cultivators did not expect to be freeholders, but they did expect that their right to hold should be regulated—to put it broadly—otherwise than by mere choice of the landlord, offering this or that rent, with the only alternative of agreeing or else giving up the land. Whether this is admitted or not, it will at all events be agreed that Eastern and Western ideas of landholding have developed on different lines.

* It will be observed that I am not arguing anything about modern conditions, or whether it is now possible to undo the effects of a long prescription, and the like. I am only stating the bare historical facts and origins of things.

In briefly examining the Eastern idea it is necessary to refer first, to the position of the State or the "Rájá." It is impossible to ignore the plain fact, that the Hindu law, in its early and authentic texts, contains no suggestion that the King is owner (in any sense) of the land in general. The much later Muhammadan law has also no such rule. It is unnecessary to quote authorities which to the majority of English readers would convey no meaning: but scholars may be confidently asked to point to any text of the old Hindu law or of genuine Muhammadan law, which declares or even implies that the King is universal owner of land. But both the one and the other law admitted ideas and made statements, which in the minds of conquerors and usurpers, seemed directly to justify the assumption of such ownership. Still, however, we have to ask, what sort of "ownership"? For it never occurred to the Hindu lawyers to analyze ownership or to declare its elements—the power of use and enjoyment, of change or destruction, of alienation, and of maintenance of legal action in defence, and so forth. Nor did the Muhammadan jurists make any such analysis.* One element of ownership was early recognised,—the power of free transfer or sale. It is not surprising that Muhammadan writers should recognise this; but the much earlier Hindu law was also familiar with the idea of a solemn transfer accompanied by the ceremonial pouring-out of water, and conveying all sorts of rights and enjoyments. Whatever may be the real date of *Manu*, such a sale is described in his text; and he also mentions such marks of exclusive appropriation as setting and defining boundaries, and fencing the land. From the earliest times, landholding was subject to a contribution of a share of the produce to the Ruler; but the Hindu lawyers betray no suspicion that the private right is in any way diminished or crossed

* The Muhammadan commentaries of authority were written after the Roman jurisprudence had attained both full development and wide publicity. I am not aware whether the Roman texts (such as Justinian) were known to, or had any influence on, the Muslim lawyers of the golden age of Arabic legal literature.

by this right of the King to receive a share of the produce of every cultivated acre, although such a right put the King in a position which gave him a rather indefinite power of interference in case his dues were not rendered. Not only is a distinct recognition of the features of private ownership made, but *Manu* expressly tells us that "in the opinion of ancient sages" the right in cultivated land arises out of the occupation and first clearing of the land for tillage, even as a deer belongs to the huntsman whose arrow first brought it down. It is curious, but the matter cannot here be pursued, that *Manu* says nothing of any "collective ownership" of land, nor of that title which in later times became a much more prominent basis of claim to landed estates—the right which develops from overlordship, superiority or conquest, and which the families who now exercise it always enjoy in coparcenary holding, and designate by some term implying "inheritance" (*mirás*, *wárisí*, *wirásat*, etc.)

The Muhammadan lawyers also acknowledge the right to land as acquired by "first clearing."*

• As a matter of fact, in modern times, the right on the ground of "first clearing" is that which is most characteristic of the direct cultivators (often now in the "tenant" class); while the landlord-class (especially village co-sharers) descendants of grantees, or of members of once ruling families, or of conquering clans, speak of their right by "inheritance." And it seems a probable reason why this latter sort of right is not mentioned in *Manu* (for example), that originally it was regarded not as a direct form of soil-ownership (which is its later development), but as an *overlordship* intrinsically of the same nature as the King's right; both being the right to levy overlord dues,—the one in the Kingdom generally, the other in the particular village or other estate. This would be regarded as something distinct from the immediate right to the soil;

* The operation of "first clearing" in the semi-tropical and densely-wooded parts of India involves an amount of toil, continuously maintained, such as an English agriculturist will hardly realize. No wonder that its performance gave a natural claim to the land so dealt with.

though of course such overlord families, (especially when they settled on, or extended their possessions into, waste land which they themselves first cultivated) might combine in themselves both kinds of right—as first clearers and as overlords.

But we must return to the consideration of how this idea of private ownership could be gradually obscured by a claim of the ruler to be general landlord.

The student of Indian land-tenures, is quite familiar with the process by which a claim, which begins with the right to overlord dues only, comes closer and closer to the land itself, till the family exercising it—having more and more fallen from the position of overlord to the peasant class—becomes a peasant proprietor or petty landlord of village fields. But in the case of the ruler himself the change is not so obvious. We observe, however, that as early as the time of *Manu*, though the royal share was fixed at *one-sixth*, the King had power to raise it in times of emergency. Moreover the King is invited to fine the land-holder, in case he neglects to cultivate. Such a right is very likely to develop into a power to eject an idle cultivator. But once more ; it was always understood to be the right, indeed the duty, of the King to increase the wealth of his kingdom by extending cultivation. This he did by granting (or allowing without grant) the breaking up of cultivable waste land ; and the waste was always at the disposal of the King. As the State organisation of the Hindus developed, and was adopted (and only modified in terms) by the Muslim conquerors, it came to be generally recognised that the State rights—the official privileges of the ruler,—included a number of distinct elements. One was the ceremonial privilege of certain insignia,—the umbrella, the kettledrum, etc. : another was the right to levy tolls and transit duties : another was the administration of justice and the control of the army. But the most important of all became known as “the Zamindari.” This word simply means the “holding” of the “land.” And in

earlier theory and practice, no less than in the palmy days of the Mughal Empire (when the Persian term came into use), it meant or included: (1) the right to the revenue-share, (2) the right to dispose of waste and unoccupied land, (3) the right to certain mineral royalties, etc., which it is not here necessary to consider. It is somewhat remarkable, that whenever one of the more considerable conquests of India occurred, a great number of Hindu States (which were always rather small) inevitably succumbed; in some cases the Rájá was slain in battle and his kingdom incorporated in the "Khálsa," or territory directly assumed by the conqueror; in others, the local ruler was left in possession, and the rights of taking local rates and taxes, and of administering justice—matters which *we* should think the most important elements of sovereignty and at once take charge of—were invariably left under his control. What the conqueror jealously took to himself was the "Zamíndarí" of the acquired territory. If the direct administration of this was not assumed, the Rájá had always to pass on to the Imperial Treasury a portion of the land-revenue, larger or smaller according to the terms he was able to make. When in later times, the Emperor or his Provincial Deputy adopted a system of general farming for the land-revenue, and of delegating the powers necessary for collection and management, they called the Rájá or the local capitalist employed as farmer, by the name "Zamíndár"—which really meant, that he was to exercise the State zamíndarí right on behalf of the Sovereign, on conditions specified.

It is not generally known that the reason why the Oudh Rájás were *not* thus called "Zamíndár" is simply that these Rájás being powerful and turbulent and always regretting that the "Zamíndarí" of their once independent States had passed from them, the Oudh Nawábs always feared to call them "Zamíndár" lest they should imagine that they had regained the independent State-right. "*I am the only Zamíndár,*" the Nawáb-Wazír would have said. The Oudh

chiefs were therefore entitled "Taluqdár" (*i.e.* "dependent"). To this day the great Oudh landholders (who have become (legal) landlords under British rule) dislike the term Taluqdár, and never call themselves by it, but always by the title "Rájá." In Bengal, where this fear was not entertained, the State-managers were called "Zamíndár" from the first.

As already observed, this "Zamíndári" right included the disposal of the (often extensive) area of waste, or jungle and forest, which was not yet occupied or granted to anyone. From the earliest times when any Rájá existed at all, the "waste" was at his disposal (putting aside the customary exercise of grazing and wood-cutting required for the villages, which was not interfered with). There was indeed no formal necessity for settlers or bodies seeking to extend existing villages, to obtain formal permission to clear the waste, because the King was only too glad to see it done: but as soon as the new settlement had attained a certain stability, the King's officer would come to the spot and arrange with the local headman for the revenue-share. Apart from this informal occupation of land, Waste-grants, often on favourable terms, were constantly issued. When the Waste was not cultivated, and was not reserved for a royal hunting ground, certain valuable trees were known as "Royal trees": the custom still survives locally in respect of teak, sandalwood, etc. In the old Oudh kingdoms, we hear of an "axe-tax" (*tangaráhí*) on all wood cutters not belonging to the neighbouring villages.* If anything else were needed to show the royal right to the waste, it is to be found in the fact that while the villages directly under the Rájá never claimed anything more than the *user* of the privilege of grazing, cutting fuel, etc., those villages which were granted away, or in which some leading family or group had otherwise obtained rights, always claimed the adjoining waste as part of their estate, in virtue of the grant or recognition.

It is not difficult to understand how the "Zamíndári" right, definite enough in practice, but involving such elastic elements, would develop in the hands of a rapacious ruler whose tenure of power was precarious. But it was not the old Rájás of the Hindu period, nor the powerful Emperors before the decline, that developed the exaggerated claims of later rulers. It is true that there is one early reference to the State-right as overriding private property : Megasthenes, speaking of the Emperor Chandragupta, supposes that the King was owner of all land, solely (as indeed his words imply) because, as conqueror, he not only levied the usual revenue-share, but also a tribute.* There is no reason whatever to suppose that three centuries B.C. there was any prevalent belief that the King was the only land-owner. It was especially under the latter Muhammadan rulers and Maráthá Chiefs, that the State-right became exaggerated.

As regards the Muhammadan law, it is quite true that there are many texts which qualify the general rule of conquest, that conversion to Islam is the only alternative to slavery or death, and that which declares that as the conqueror had the right to put all enemies to death, he had the right to seize their property. An early and strictly legal distinction was drawn between enemies that submitted and those that continued contumacious, (*millí*, *zimmi* and *harbí*). The private property of "*zimmi*" was directed to be respected ; and the property of "*millí*" (peacefully settled conquered people) was declared subject to the same protection as that of the Muslim. But still the harsh texts were there—or they would not have required softening down and explaining ; and conquerors, of a rapacious turn of mind, or in dire need of funds, were apt to take the texts literally, as far as it suited their purpose.† In the times

* See McCrindle's *Fragments of Megasthenes*, p. 42. Lassen admits that Megasthenes was in error. *Ind. Alter.*, vol. ii. 718-9 (2nd ed.).

† It is related of 'Alá-ud-dín Khiljí that he once asked a learned Qází : "From what description of Hindus is it lawful to exact obedience and tribute?" The Qází replied : "Imám Haníf says, that . . . as heavy a

of the Mughals—as late as the reign of Aurangzib, for instance,—there was a fully recognised private right in landed property.* On the other hand, though Mr. James Grant was quite wrong when, in 1785, he said that private property in land (beyond a life-interest) was contrary to the theory of “*ancient* Oriental laws devised by conquerors,” he could hardly have been mistaken as to the fact that in his days (when he was resident at the Dakhan Court), all the Muhammadan princes and the conquering Rájput Chiefs claimed that all land belonged to them: they admitted as the only exception to this rule, land that they had granted in free-hold, or that was held in superior (mirásí) right. All the native states in India at the present day make the same claim.† The fact was that the “Zamín-dári” right containing such elastic elements, the Deputies who had thrown off allegiance and set up as independent, the Maráthá Chiefs whose rule was only maintained at the point of the sword, and others similarly situated, found themselves able to enlarge their pretensions, till, under their administration, private (cultivating) landholding ceased to be profitable, and revenue was exacted to the utmost limit of endurance. Landholders were turned out and put in at pleasure; estates were taken from one and given to another; and the ruler was guided by no law but his own will and the exigencies of the moment. A strong and well-established empire keeps its Governors and Officers in check; it has time to study the general welfare; and the peasant retains his original rights. But when the empire is broken up, and local rulers maintain a precarious existence

tribute as they can bear, may be imposed instead of death on infidels; and it is commanded that the *jaziya* and *khirdj* be exacted to the uttermost farthing, in order that the punishment may approach as near as possible to death.” “You may perceive,” replied the King, “that without reading learned books I am in the habit of putting in practice what has been enjoined by the Prophet.” (Beames’ *Elliott’s Glossary*, ii. 190.)

* See also the testimony of the historian Ghulám Hassan, quoted in my *Land Systems of B. India*, vol. i. 230. This was in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

† See Malleon’s *Native States of India*, p. 197, note.

in a state of constant warfare, the immediate pressure of need puts to flight all other considerations. All rights held by any class that has not prestige enough to hold its own, then go to the wall; the peasant no longer cares to claim a permanent right to the soil; his anxiety rather is to have the liberty of giving up his holding when he cannot make it satisfy the heavy demand of the treasury.

The more Indian soil-ownership is looked into, the more will it appear that originally private right by occupation and soil-clearing was the rule; but side by side with this, existed the right of an overlord to a share in the produce, (afterwards changed into a money payment in many cases). Where the latter was regulated by a peaceful and secure Rájá, or great Emperor, it did not interfere with the former right: but when the overlord right was exercised by a revenue-farmer, or by a grantee, or an adventurer, or by a locally powerful family, it soon developed into a close connection with the soil, becoming—on a greater or less scale—a virtual landlordship. In the case of conquering States or Chiefships, it developed into a general claim of the ruling power to be universal or superior landlord of the conquered territory.

But the further question remains—what is the position of the British Government under such a state of things? In 1765, when the Company became possessed of Bengal and the Northern part of Madras, there can be no doubt of the fact that the Nawáb of Bengal and the Nawáb of the Dakhan, no longer subordinates of a great and comparatively sober Empire, but eager and rapacious local rulers, were *de facto* territorial landlords. The same is true of the Nawáb (or King as he afterwards came to be called) of Oudh, when he ceded the N.W. Provinces in 1801; and of the Sultáns of Mysore and the Karnatik Nawáb from whom territory was acquired in the South (1792-1801). The claim was made even more pronouncedly by the Maráthá princes who ceded territory after 1803 and 1818, in the North West, and in Bombay.

By all rules of international law, the British Government succeeded to the existing and asserted State rights of the conquered or ceded provinces. Indeed in the case of the earliest acquisitions of territory, there seems to have been a *bonâ fide* belief, at least among some of the leading officials, that the ceded right of the ruling power as general landlord, was one not only *de facto* (which it was), but also *de jure* (which it was not). The natural consequence was, that the British authorities of the late 18th century and immediately subsequent years, did not quite know what to do, or rather what to say. If we look at the Indian Statute book, say from 1793 to 1820 when the Governor General in Council was empowered to make laws in the form of "Regulations," we shall find that the preambles of these enactments take a somewhat varying view of the position.

Nor was it in any case quite a simple position. Granted that the preceding rulers had for some considerable time established their claim to be universal landlords, still there were local chiefs, and in Bengal local magnates of another description, to whom the "Zamíndarí" right of the ruler had been delegated, either on the terms of a revenue-farm, or by a treaty.* And these Revenue-farmers and Chiefs, exercising their lordship over a large (though still restricted) area, had closed in—so to speak—on the land with much more definite effect, and had become landlords in their own person, over the villages in their estates. There was in these cases a sort of *imperium in imperio* which was perplexing.

The policy of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal is well known. Whether or not he believed that the State ownership of all land was a real native institution or ancient custom, he saw that it was impolitic, and that the position of the local Zamíndárs had practically become such as corresponded to

* The *sanads* or warrants by which the Bengal Farmers (Zamíndár) held, were different in terms and much more stringent than those under which territorial chieftains like the Rájá of Jaipur (N. Madras) or the Orissa Rájás, held their land in nominal subjection (under tribute) to the Mughal Emperor.

his own ideas—ideas natural to an English nobleman of the 18th century—of landlordship. He accordingly determined to declare by Law, a practically complete landlord-title for the Zamíndárs: the title was indeed a restricted one, but the restriction was intended to be in favour of the original village-landowners and cultivators *over* whom the Zamíndárs' right had grown up. It was not restricted by any reservation of State rights, beyond the necessary Land-Revenue claim and the power of summarily realizing that claim if default was made. The declarations of right can be read in the Regulations of 1793. Thus in the preamble to Reg. II of that year it is set forth that of two fundamental measures taken for restoring agricultural prosperity, one is, "that the property in the soil has been declared vested in the land-holders." The same thing is elsewhere frequently repeated in other terms. How then, in the face of such a declaration, can it be said that Government remained the real landowner in BENGAL? Exactly the same sort of declaration was made in the title deeds (officially called "title deeds of perpetual ownership—*sanad-i-milkiyat-i-istimrâri*") issued to the land-holders in the North (and other parts of) MADRAS. A similar grant or recognition was made in favour of the OUDH landlords or Taluqdárs: the reservation there (rather better defined than it had been sixty-five years previously in Bengal) related to the rights of subordinate holders and tenants.

When the co-sharing village bodies in the N.W. PROVINCES and the PANJÁB were dealt with under Regulation VII of 1822, practically the same result followed. The Regulation does not, indeed, make any direct explanation of the right in the soil as the Bengal law of 1793 did, but the whole language of the Regulation and the forms and provisions of the records made under it, leave no kind of doubt that the village bodies are strictly owners of the estate, and not tenants of the Government. And in the CENTRAL PROVINCES, the case is, if possible, still more definite: for

in pursuance of the theory that there ought to be a proprietary body between the cultivators and the State, specific grants of the proprietary right were made to the "málguzárs" or revenue-agents of the villages,* (though here also the grant was stringently restricted in favour of subordinate holders and tenants). In all these cases, embracing the whole of BENGAL, UPPER INDIA, and part of CENTRAL and SOUTHERN INDIA, it is simply an abuse of terms to say that the Government is landlord, or that the revenue it takes from the proprietors is a "rent."

But then it will be said—what of the considerable area of ASSAM, BOMBAY, SINDH, BERÁR, and the large part of MADRAS which was not granted to landlords, but remains (in official phrase) "raiyatwári"? No doubt the matter is here somewhat more complex.

It is necessary briefly to review the condition of the Dakhan and the South generally, as regards private landed right. Putting aside the special case of local chiefs, and estate-holders (Taluqdárs of Ahmadábád, the "Khots," etc., etc.), whose position has been more or less defined, the bulk of the villages were not co-sharing bodies, but aggregates of separate landholders held together by the authority of a village headman whose office was usually hereditary. There had been no doubt at one time, not universally, but locally (and sometimes in considerable numbers), overlord families in the Dakhan villages and elsewhere, of whose possession (in *shares*, according to the usual method of family over-lordship) some relics still exist, at least in local terminology. The substance of their possession had passed away long before the British rule, and before the Maráthá dominion as it revived towards the close of the 17th century. These territories had long been peaceably governed by Hindu Kings or by the early

* These "málguzárs" were either the old indigenous headmen of the villages, or persons put in to manage the revenue collections by the Maráthá rulers. "Málguzár" means "Revenue-payer"—the man who was answerable for the realization of the State dues. As to the terms on which they were declared proprietors, see *Land Systems of B. India*, ii. 456, ff.

(pre-Mughal) Muhammadan Dakhan Kings; but when these were over-thrown, the whole country became subject to the rapacity of the Mysore Sultáns, the Maráthá Chiefs, and the Nawáb of the Dakhan. Not only so, but as the British power gradually produced peace in the coast-provinces and the N.W. districts, but abstained from interference with the Maráthá States and Central India, all the elements of rivalry and local disorder were driven inward, as it were, and *focussed* on the territory of the Dakhan and Central India.* All peaceful possession of the humbler landed rights was then at an end; a series of hungry chiefs contended for the revenue of the districts, and exacted it at the point of the sword, in utter disregard of all law, custom or rule; and the villages were so taxed that land-holding became a burden. When at last British rule gave peace and security, and a Settlement of the land-revenue was regularly undertaken, it was found that not only was the method of dealing with the individual cultivating holders of land the only feasible one, but also that it must be left optional with the holder to relinquish his land or part of it, if he felt that he could not pay the assessed revenue. In the course of years, when at last (after many experimental failures) a true standard of practical assessment was worked out, such relinquishment became rarely or never asked for: but in the first days of tentative Settlements, it was an important safe-guard, and still remains a distinctive feature of the Revenue-systems of Bombay and Madras. Under such conditions it was probably thought undesirable to speak of the cultivator as the legal *owner* of his holding. In Madras the difficulty was not felt, or perhaps was purposely ignored: the position of the "raiyat" or cultivating landholder has never been defined by the Legislature, except so far as may be argued by inference. As regards the State ownership, however, Madras Regulation XXXI. of 1802 (since repealed) specifi-

* This is admirably explained in Sir A. Lyall's *Rise of the British Dominion in India* (1893), p. 250, ff.

cally declared that "Government was by ancient usage the owner of all land"—a statement which was certainly not warrantable: it should be remembered, however, that this assertion was only put forward with the intention of giving a *locus standi*, from which private rights might be conferred or re-established. In another Regulation (XXV. of the same year, still in force) a safer ground was taken. It is there asserted that formerly Governments had taken the right to put in (and remove) persons to manage the land, "thereby reserving to the ruling power the implied right and the actual exercise of the proprietary possession of all land whatever." This Regulation shows distinctly that the British Government intended to repudiate the claim to be sole landlord, for it is entitled "a Regulation for declaring the proprietary right of lands to be vested in individual persons." Though the Regulation was actually applied only to the Zamíndári or landlord estates of Madras, still the preamble declares the intention to grant a "*permanent property* in their land, not only to the Zamíndárs, but also to '*other landholders*.'"*

There remains the case of Bombay and Sindh in which (unlike Madras) a Revenue Code (Bombay, Act V. of 1879) is in force. In this Code it was thought wise to avoid all question, by calling the individual landholder the "occupant," and defining his right as such occupant. The *right* is declared to be hereditary, and transferable, etc.; the conditions to which it is subject are the due payment of the land-revenue and the non-diversion of the land from agricultural uses without previous permission from the Collector. Mineral rights are also reserved to the State.

* The original design was to give to *all* lands a Settlement with fixed revenue like that of Bengal. This plan failed utterly. Hence no formal law was ever passed regarding the "raiyats" and their individual holdings; and Regulation XXV. is held not to apply to "raiyatwári" lands. As far, however, as the policy of Government is concerned, there is the declaration in general terms, in the preamble; and legal decisions in the High Court have left no doubt about the practical proprietary right of the "raiyats" in all non-Zamíndári villages. See the details in *Land Systems of B. India*, iii. 128-30.

If, under these circumstances, it is urged that the terms of the law comport with (or necessarily leave) a sort of superior or residuary landlordship to the State, it may be admitted. But this is hardly enough to warrant the general assertions to which I have alluded at the opening of this paper. In Assam and Burma, both being provinces where there was much waste land, and where almost the whole system of agrarian economy remained to be built up after the British annexation, it was also considered wiser to speak of a right as "landholder," than of a definite "proprietary right." This idea has found expression in the Land Law of Burma and of Assam. In the latter there are certain cases of old settled estates (settled under the Bengal law), and certain early grants "in fee simple" of waste land, which are, *eo nomine* (and exceptionally), "proprietary estates." In these provinces also we may admit a sort of residuary right in the State. But it must be remembered that in all these cases, there are absolutely no circumstances in which a Bombay "occupant" or an Assamese or Burmese "landholder" can be ejected by the State, now or at any future time, except as the result of process in default of Revenue payment. In the event of the land being expropriated for some public purpose (under the Land Acquisition Act) it is apprehended that the Government would *practically* have to give as much compensation, as it would for the definitely and legally "owned" land in the other provinces, though *technically* it might be urged that the "landholder"- or "occupant"-right is intrinsically something less valuable than the "proprietary right."*

To summarize results: it may be said (1) that originally, by custom, and by Hindu and Muhammadan law, the Sovereign was not owner of the soil, but had only certain

* It would of course be so in the instance of there being valuable minerals below the surface. But the law of several provinces reserves these to Government even where there is a private proprietary right in the surface. It is not theoretically requisite for a legal estate in land that the English law idea of "up-to-the-sky and down-to-the-centre-of-the-earth" should be maintained.

rights, including the disposal of the waste ; (2) that in later days the dismembered territories held by conquerors, and local authorities who had assumed independence, came to be regarded as owned by the ruler ; (3) that the British Government succeeded to this general (and by that time long established) claim ; (4) that the British Government in express terms divested itself of the proprietary title by granting private rights, either by legislation or otherwise, all over Bengal, Northern India and the Central Provinces ; and that only in Bombay, Assam and Burma (and some other smaller districts) does any residuary right in the State remain, or can be held to remain, by reason of the mode in which the landholder's interest is defined by law. Hence the "recognised ownership" of Government does not exist at all in a large part of India, and in other parts only in a very qualified manner.

The reason why some writers insist on still calling the Government the "real landlord," is perhaps traceable to a supposition that things ought always to be accountable for on English principles, and that in that view, the ancient "land-revenue" is best explained by calling it a "rent." This denomination is not, however, at all satisfactory, unless we insist on the impossible task of forcing Eastern relations into conformity with Western notions of landlord and tenant. Eastern lawyers had no difficulty in conceiving a real property in land, which was nevertheless inherently subject to a certain payment to the State on the one hand, and might (on the other hand) be subject to a payment to some other overlord, quite independently of contract. They had no more difficulty in admitting a real property subject to these limitations, than Western lawyers have in acknowledging an ownership which subsists in spite of easements or *profits à prendre* (which may be burdensome) held by someone who is not the owner.

In India, once more, we do not like to call the "Land-Revenue" payable to the State, a "tax." A tax is an impost leviable from year to year, which may be changed,

abolished or created, according to each Budget in Parliament. Ministries rise and fall in consequence of proposals for this or that tax to be levied. Each tax is continued, augmented or reduced by the power of the majority which supports the financial authority for the time being. The land-Revenue of India is a fixed thing: it is based on an old State principle which is in fact immemorial. It is only changed (if changed at all) at distant intervals, and then not so as to increase the *proportion* of the total value of the private holder's advantage to be taken by the State, but merely to maintain that proportion when, under circumstances of increased value of land and its produce, the last assessed rate no longer represents what is justly due. Moreover the assessment is expressly directed not to be changed, when the increase spoken of is solely due to the landowner's own labour, skill or capital expenditure.*

No doubt the "land-revenue" has *some* of the features of a tax; but as it is certainly not a "rent," and has not all the features of a "tax": why call it by either name?

Then again, it is said, Government undertakes the functions of a landlord; "it superintends all sorts of minor public works;" it "advances seed in times of scarcity;" it "feeds the people in time of famine." These are some of the points commonly put forward. As a matter of fact, I do not know what is meant by the first; Government makes public (district) roads, or its Local Boards do: it erects public buildings and constructs public canals, but nothing else. It is by a special law that it is empowered to make cash loans (on interest) to villagers and others, to aid in making improvements or in furtherance of agricultural work generally. But, in England, an Act of Parliament might be passed to-morrow to enable County Councils to make loans on interest to Agriculturists, and nobody would say that such a proceeding made the Sovereign the "recognised owner" of land in general. Nor if, under the conditions of English life, a famine were possible and public

* A matter obviously not considered in levying an income-tax, *e.g.*

officers were authorized to distribute public money or start relief-works, would any such result be held to follow. If in India Government devotes as much money as it can to cattle-hospitals and stud-farms, if it sells good breeds of sheep and oxen at a fair price, or if it establishes agricultural schools or classes, and collects agricultural statistics, I do not see what that has to do with any idea of landlordship, any more than the case of an European Government which provides free education, tries to suppress intemperance, supports religion, or establishes places of recreation or poor-houses. It is merely because, in India, such a large majority of the population lives wholly or partly by agriculture, that measures of public utility taken by Government mostly assume an agricultural form.

Private property in land is, in India, a somewhat peculiar thing ; because, in very many cases, there are concurrent grades of interest in the soil, existing not by *contract*, but by *status*. The upper right has been imposed upon the lower, or has admitted the inferior interest under specific local customs and conditions ; private right is also subject to a certain definite claim to a State contribution. The English theorist vaguely conceiving these limitations, imagines that they are inconsistent with "ownership," and that as (in his idea) there *must* be someone who is the "real" owner, Government is argued to be that person ; and therefore its demand on the land must be a "rent," and its care for the welfare of the (largely agricultural) population is "fulfilling the functions of a landlord." But the whole thing is a fiction, and is the result of trying to force Eastern institutions into Western moulds.

THE MUSULMANS OF BENGAL.

• BY JOHN BEAMES, (LATE B.C.S.).

AMONG the many profoundly interesting questions raised by the recent census of India, none is perhaps more important, both socially and politically, than that of the position of the Musulman population. • It is not only that they are more numerous than was generally supposed even by well-informed persons, but that they are rapidly increasing; that they exhibit a religious and social type differing in many respects from that of their co-religionists in other countries; and that they are beginning to lay aside that contemptuous indifference to European learning which once distinguished them, and to compete with the Hindus for the prizes which our system of government places within the reach of educated natives. They are, it is true, still in a minority; but it is no longer a small minority, for they are fifty-seven millions against two hundred and eight millions of Hindus, and they constitute one-fifth of the total population. And it must be remembered that the millions of Islam are far more homogeneous in faith and sentiment, far more easily stirred to unity of action, than the Hindus or any other section of the population. As yet, however, this unity is more a possibility than an actual fact, and differences do undoubtedly exist: the orthodox Sunni does not harmonize with the Shia, nor is the descendant of the former conquerors, whether Arab, Persian, or Turk, exactly similar to the man of Indian race whose ancestors were converted to Islam, by persuasion or by persecution, a few generations back. Still there is always so much going on under the surface and only imperfectly understood by rulers who are both foreigners and members of a different creed, that it becomes a problem of some difficulty to decide whether, in any given combination of circumstances, the tendencies to union, or those to disunion, would be the stronger. As a first step to the solution of this problem,

it seems that a careful study of the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the Musulman population of each province, taken separately, is essential; and from this point of view there can be little doubt that the province of Bengal affords the most favorable field for examination. For this there are several causes. In the first place, in no part of India are the Mahomedans (as we familiarly, but not very correctly, call them) so numerous. Out of a total population of 71 millions, no less than 23 millions are Musulmans, while in no other province do they amount to half that number. Even in the Panjab, which both from its geographical position and past history might be expected to be more largely influenced by Musulman tendencies than any other part of India, there are only 11 millions. In the North-Western Provinces there are 6; and in Bombay $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions only. But these figures do not sufficiently exhibit the full strength of Islamitic progress in Bengal, because the distribution of creeds is not uniform throughout the province. In Eastern and Northern Bengal, which are the special strongholds of Islam, the adherents of that creed exceed one-half of the population. It may in fact be doubted whether there is on the surface of the globe any tract where the Prophet of Mecca has so many followers as in Eastern Bengal; for if, as the Census authorities tell us, the Musulman population of the world is computed "at various amounts from 70 to 90 millions," more than one-fourth of the whole are found in Bengal.

In the second place, it must be remembered that they are not descendants of the old conquering races, but converts from Hinduism. Their peculiarities are thus especially interesting, as throwing light upon one of the most important questions of the day,—the influence of Islam as a great missionary religion. Both in Asia and in Africa this creed has spread with amazing rapidity. It has been embraced by races of the most widely differing origin and customs; and when once embraced, it continues to be held with a fierce, defiant tenacity, unparalleled in the history of

the world. Outwardly rigid, one and indivisible, seeming to afford no foot-hold for sectarian divergences, it is yet found, on closer examination, to be extraordinarily elastic and capable of existing under conditions which seem, at first sight, wholly incompatible with it. In Bengal it seems at one moment a mere veneer to Hinduism and the early nature-worship; at another it shows itself as a deep-seated, irritable fanaticism. A Bengal Musulman will worship to-day at the shrine of a Hindu idol, and to-morrow will be roused to fury at some real or fancied slight to the religion of the one God and His Prophet.

Thirdly, the importance of this great class lies not in its numbers only but in the fact that it is a vigorously growing class. Whether it be due to a more generous diet, a healthier climate, the absence of all objection (so strong among Hindus), to the re-marriage of widows, to the later age at which their women marry, or to all of these causes combined, there is no doubt that the Musulmans of Bengal are increasing very rapidly, and the time is probably not very far distant when they will constitute an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the richest and most progressive province of our Indian Empire.

To understand the character of this peculiar race it is necessary to begin with their history. A few years ago such a retrospect would have begun at an earlier period still, and philology would have been considered a sufficient guide till the time when history commenced. But the new science of anthropology has now stepped in and has rendered many of the old theories of philology either untenable, or at least doubtful. It is, therefore, no longer possible to write of those remote ages with any degree of assurance. Both sciences are, however, pretty well agreed in considering that the Aryan element in Bengal was very small and almost entirely confined to the upper classes. It is recognized that the mass of the population is non-Aryan in origin, akin to the numerous tribes whose scattered and broken remnants still inhabit the submontane Hima-

layan valleys; akin also to the Kols and Oraons of the Central Indian ranges.

It was thus on a population mainly non-Aryan, though ruled by an Aryan aristocracy, that the first Musulman invader, Bakhtyar Khilji, descended in 1203 A.D. As he dashed with a handful of troopers into the courtyard of the palace at Nudiya, the last Hindu King, Lakshman Sen, escaped by a postern gate, took boat and fled to Bikrampur, in Eastern Bengal. He maintained himself there for a time; but in less than a century the whole of Bengal passed under Musulman rule, and so it remained till the advent of British power, in the middle of the last century. During the whole of that time—nearly six hundred years—conversions to Islam went on. The history is obscure and full of gaps and mythical legends; but there is, on the whole, little reason for supposing that there was, except during the first fervour of conquest, either severe or long continued religious persecution. In many places there are, it is true, tombs of Muslim saints who lived and preached during this period; and their memories are still revered, pilgrimages are made to their shrines, and they are worshipped with rites which are, in many instances, superstitious and far from being consistent with the principles of Islam. But these holy men won their converts, it would seem, more by persuasion than by actual force. Once only, for about fifteen years from A.D. 1414 to 1430, was there any wholesale persecution, and on this occasion the persecutor, Jalal-uddin, was a convert from Hinduism. There are stories current of forcible conversion, but their very existence testifies to the rarity of the occurrence. There was not in fact much necessity for resorting to force. The bulk of the population were only half-Hinduized and their religion sat lightly upon them; while, to the lower classes, the equality and fraternity of Islam offered a ready and welcome escape from the degradation to which they were condemned by the Hindu laws of caste. In times of famine parents sold their children for bread; and all such children were brought up

as Musulmans and humanely treated. They frequently married into rich families and rose to high positions. Musulman history in all countries is full of kings who have risen from being slaves. Then again, as a means of escape from punishment for murder or other heinous crimes, a low-caste Hindu would often turn Musulman, his acceptance of the faith being considered sufficient atonement for the crime. Indirect pressure was undoubtedly sometimes applied, especially under bigots like Aurangzeb. There is a well-known family of land-holders, for instance, who were once Brahmins. Their estates were taken from them by a tyrannous Governor; and when they went to Delhi to seek for justice, they were told that their property would not be restored to them unless they turned Musulmans. They did so; and their estates are still in their possession; and they have ever since professed the faith they then adopted. Converts of this casual kind naturally neither knew nor cared very much for the religious tenets of the faith they had embraced. They retained and still retain many of the social, and even of the religious practices, of Hinduism, as well as of the earlier beliefs which Hinduism had not extirpated. The old indigenous religion, conquered and despised, has always held its own, and “*ferum victorem cepit.*” Conquered by Hinduism, it recoiled and infected that creed with its ideas and practices; conquered by Islam, it mixed itself with that simple faith and gave it locally a character widely differing from its original conception.

The most conspicuous feature in the religion of the Bengal Musulman is the worship of the *Pirs* or Saints whose tombs are found all over the country, and who are credited with miraculous powers. It is firmly believed that they can cure sickness, remove barrenness, grant rain for the crops and success in lawsuits,—the great passion of the life of every Bengali,—and even, in some cases, raise the dead to life. There are also certain mythical personages who are invoked in times of difficulty or danger. Some of these are known to other Muslim countries, as for instance

Khwaja Khizr, the ever-young, who drank of the water of life and can never die. He, in Eastern Bengal, is not, as in other countries, a strange mixture of Elijah, Alexander the Great and St. George, but the patron of sailors whom he protects from shipwreck. Then there is *Ghazi Miyan* who protects the wood-cutters in the dense alluvial forests of the Sundarbans from the tigers and crocodiles that abound therein. He is known by many names, as *Zindah Ghazi*, the *Sat Pir*, and others; and in some places he even bears the ensigns and assumes the appearance of the Hindu god *Siva*. That he was originally one of the local *daimonia* of the pre-Hindu nature-worship is shown by the fact that in many villages there are little mounds of earth, rude altars, at which offerings of rice, plantains and sweet-meats are made to him. He is believed to ride about the forests, invisible, on a tiger.

Like him, but even more mythical and uncertain in origin, are the *Panch Pir* or "five saints," whose worship is, however, not peculiar to Bengal. Their names are differently given in different parts of India, and they are invoked by Hindus as well as by Muslims. They too are probably survivals from the old nature-worship, clothed with new names as the centuries rolled on, but still retaining the number five—a number to which the natives of India ascribe mysterious properties.

In many other ways the Bengal Musulman offends against the rules of his religion. He lends money and charges interest, though he generally contrives to mask the transaction by some ingenious device. When small-pox appears in his village, he joins with the Hindus in worshipping *Sitala*, the goddess who presides over that dread malady; and he attends the great annual Hindu festival of the *Durga Puja* and makes offerings to the goddess, an attention which the Hindu returns by attending the procession of the *Tazia* or tomb of the martyr Husayn, at the festival of the *Muharram*. The similarity of the ceremonies observed at both these festivals has often been

pointed out by European scholars. It is in reality very difficult to tell whether any particular shrine is of Hindu or Musulman origin; for people of both religions make pilgrimages to them, and cases are not unknown where a shrine is claimed by both and worshipped by both, under different names. The number of marks of the prophet's feet in stones—*Kadam rasul*, as they are called—is considerable: scarcely any large city is without one, and many hairs of his beard are preserved in different places, and shown to the faithful for a small fee.

This laxity in matters of religion has not escaped the attention of orthodox Musulmans in other parts of India, and many attempts at reform have been made. The most successful is perhaps the movement set on foot by the Bengali, Shariatullah, and extended by his more celebrated son, Dudhu Miyan. It began about 1830 and resulted in the establishment of the sect known as *Farazis*, whose doctrines resemble to some extent those of the Wahhabis, though they have peculiarities of their own; but no amount of preaching seems to have been able entirely to eradicate the old heathen proclivities. Undoubtedly, however, this and other movements have had the effect of making them stricter in their religious observances, and reducing to some extent their irregularities. It is also a significant fact that ever since this revival began, the whole of Bengal is being incessantly traversed in all directions by Muslim mendicants who wander on foot about the villages, living on the alms of the faithful, and preaching. Sometimes they stay a long time in one place teaching the Kuran to children, practising a little medicine or conducting the prayers in the village mosque. The richer Musulmans also go on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in this and in many other ways keep up communication with the outer world far more closely than they did in former times.

It cannot be denied that this state of things possesses some elements of political danger. The wandering mendicants might, at any time, become as in times past they have

been, emissaries of sedition and excitors of popular feeling. But their movements are carefully watched, and they could be arrested at once if necessary. And perhaps there is not so much cause for apprehension on this ground as might be at first supposed; for the Bengal Musulman, though highly excitable and capable of all kinds of violence when excited, is not placed in circumstances favourable to political agitation. The leaders of the community are men of proved loyalty, who have nothing to gain and much to lose by any disturbance of the present state of things. The mass of the agricultural population finds an outlet for its emotional nature in the constant disputes about land which are of such common occurrence throughout the province.

The systems of land-tenure are intricate and complicated in all parts of India; but in no province do they attain to such formidable complexity as in Eastern Bengal. The custom somewhat pedantically called "sub-infeudation" has been carried to an extreme pitch. The Zemindars, or large landholders, have granted tenures of parts of their estates to persons who, in their turn, have granted sub-tenures; and the sub-tenants have made grants to others and they again to others; till, in the present day, it is no uncommon thing to find a whole host of persons living on the proceeds of one and the same estate. The names by which each grade of tenure is distinguished are numerous and peculiar; and the particular sort of right or title connoted by each name is difficult to define, the more so because these names are often only used within a limited area; thus a particular kind of tenure which is known by one name in one district will be known by quite a different name in another not far off.

There are cases in which between the Zemindar who pays the revenue of the estate direct to Government and the actual tiller of the soil there are found as many as eighteen or twenty intermediate tenure holders, each having a right to demand payment from the man below

him. The peasant who raises the crop sells it and pays his rent to tenure-holder No. 19. He in turn pays a portion thereof to No. 18, and he to No. 17; and so on, till a much diminished amount reaches the superior landholder, and a fraction of this only finds its way into the public treasury. As if this were not enough, it not unfrequently happens that the Zemindar himself owns some of the intermediate tenures and has thus to pay with one hand what he receives with the other; while as an extra aggravation of the confusion, the estate is often held by a dozen co-sharers, each of whom holds subordinate tenures under his partners. One such estate in the Faridpur district, covering a very large area, has as many as five hundred landlords, all of them men of the peasant class, most of whom are also tenure-holders of various degrees in the estate. In this part of India there are no official records showing the holders and tenants of each field, the area and boundaries, the rent legally demandable and so forth, like those found so useful, in other provinces, in diminishing the frequency and duration of law suits. Every dispute connected with land has to be fought out in the law courts; and as disputes are necessarily frequent with such a complicated system of land-tenure, such courts are numerous and afford employment to countless legal practitioners. In one district about the size of Kent, there are sixteen law courts, all in full swing for ten months of the year. In several of them indeed the judges complain that they are unable to overtake their work, and additional judges have to be appointed, from time to time, to work off the arrears.

Litigation is thus the principal occupation of the people and the greater part of them take a keen delight in it. A very enterprising, intelligent Musulman, who had made a fortune in trade abroad, returned to his native district after a long absence and began to look out for an estate on which to settle down for the rest of his life. He selected one, fertile indeed, and well-situated, but encumbered with

a number of very complicated lawsuits of long-standing, one at least of which was pending in appeal before the Privy Council in London. An English official whose advice he sought remonstrated with him against buying an estate so burdened with litigation; but the worthy merchant replied with a beaming countenance, "That is precisely the reason why I selected it. The conduct of all these cases will afford me amusement and occupation for the rest of my life."

Most of the principal landholders have several hundreds of suits always pending in the local courts and in the High Court at Calcutta; and a staff of pleaders and clerks for conducting their legal business is a necessary complement of their establishments. This love of litigation, however regrettable on many grounds, has at any rate two advantages. It creates a demand for legal practitioners, and thus affords a livelihood for a large number of the educated youths who every year are turned out by our schools and colleges in such continually increasing numbers, and who find it so difficult to make a career for themselves. And after all if a rich man must get rid of his money it is better that he should spend it on maintaining his clever and aspiring young countrymen than on diamonds and dancing girls. It is impossible not to feel pity for the educated youth of Bengal in the present day. Many of them are miserably poor, and they have to submit to much pinching and privation in order to obtain such an education as will enable them to earn their living. And yet when, after years of toil, they finally emerge from college possessed of a degree and often loaded with academic distinctions, they find themselves turned loose upon a society which has little or no demand for their services. The bar is overcrowded; medicine affords but a scanty subsistence; the service of Government cannot occupy more than a small proportion of them: What are they to do?

But to return to our Musulmans. The peaceful and somewhat prolix proceedings of the civil courts do not

always satisfy the needs of their passionate, excitable natures. A civil suit is too often the centre round which spring up numerous criminal cases. Especially when two powerful neighbouring landed proprietors are at feud with one another, the whole country side will be disturbed with affrays, murders and similar offences. A visitor to the jail at Barisal, the capital of the large district of Backerganj, would, at almost any time, see a large number of prisoners undergoing sentences for rioting with murder, rioting armed with deadly weapons, or some cognate section of the Indian Penal Code.

It happens somewhat in this way, to take a thoroughly typical case.* Six gentlemen of the Mukerjea family own a large estate which may be called Ultadanga. Five Banerjeas own the adjacent estate of Kakrabil. In some places the lands of the two estates are much mixed, and the boundaries are not very clearly defined. A little patch of half a dozen fields is claimed by both sides; and it is important to both to prove that they, and not their opponents, are in possession. The best way to effect this is by proving that the lands were cultivated by a man who held them under lease from, and paid rent to, this or that side. A big lawsuit on the subject is dragging its slow course through the Civil Courts, and on its issue depends the ownership of a number of villages. So the Mukerjeas give a lease of the patch to Miyan Jan of Ultadanga, a lean, wiry, black, little man with a bright eye, high cheek bones, a thin straggling beard and a general expression of concentrated determination and ferocity. Miyan Jan knows perfectly well that this very land has been tilled for some years past by Torab Ali of Kakrabil, under a lease granted by the Banerjeas. Torab Ali, another black, ferocious little creature, is well aware of all that is going on; and both he and Miyan Jan quite understand the part they are expected to play; and they are fully prepared to enter into the spirit of the thing.

* The names, of course, are fictitious though characteristic of the province.

So Miyan Jan waits till Torab Ali has ploughed the land and sowed it with rice ; and then, one fine day, he appears on the scene with plough and oxen and proceeds to plough the land over again. He has not been long at work before Torab Ali, with eighteen or twenty men armed with bamboo clubs, makes his appearance, rushes at Miyan Jan, knocks him down, and begins to unyoke the oxen. Miyan Jan was prepared for this, and shouts for help. Immediately, from behind a clump of bamboos not far off, twenty men start forth and attack Torab Ali's party. Both sides ply their sticks vigorously, and there is pretty sure to be a gun or two among them. The fight goes on till shots are fired, when they all cool down suddenly ; and both parties take to flight bearing off their wounded, of whom one, if not more, has a bullet in his breast and is either dead or dying. Then the village watchman, who has all the while been looking on from a safe distance, emerges into high official importance, and after a hasty inquiry gets into his boat—there is always a river close by—and paddles off, to report the affair at the nearest police-station. Perhaps he will carry the wounded men with him to be attended to at the hospital. But the hospital is many miles away and they die before they reach it. After this comes a very long investigation by the police, at which the whole country side at once, by common consent, sinks all its differences and labours earnestly and unanimously to mislead the police, to crowd as many lies as possible into the smallest compass, and generally to defeat the ends of justice. Eventually the truth or something not too far from the truth, is arrived at ; numerous arrests are made ; and there is a long trial before the Magistrate, embellished by much hard swearing and forensic eloquence. This results in a number of the accused being committed to take their trial before the Court of Sessions. They remain in jail for two months awaiting their trial, and finally are tried all over again by a judge and jury, with more hard swearing and more floods of forensic eloquence. The end of it all is death by hanging for the

ringleaders and long terms of imprisonment for all or most of the rest of them. When men are killed on both sides a double case arises, the accused in one case being the complainants in the other. This kind of thing is perpetually going on, varied by another favourite pastime, that of burning the houses of their enemies. All but the richest build their houses with walls of bamboo mats and roofs of thatch : as a man walks by nothing is easier than to thrust a pipe-light into the thatch and walk on. In ten minutes the house is on fire ; in an hour the whole village is in flames ; and in less than three hours it is a mass of blackened ruins. But if it is Kakrabil that goes up to heaven in flame this time, not many months will elapse before Ultadanga, in its turn, vanishes in smoke. Not much harm is done after all : the scanty furniture is easily and rapidly removed, a big wooden chest, a few pots and pans, some mats and implements of husbandry constituting all the worldly wealth of Miyan Jan and his fellows. The women and children pile up their goods under the mango trees and live there, while bamboos are split and woven into mats, grass is cut from the islands in the river, and the slight structures are built up again. This crime of arson is most popular in the Chittagong district, where, in one year, as many as 130 of these cases have been known to occur, often from the most trivial causes. " I will put the red wasp on your house,"—or " the red cock shall crow on your roof,"—is a familiar threat when two men fall out, and the meaning of the expression is well understood. If, a few days later, the threatened man's house is set on fire he knows at once who has done the deed.

The domestic relations of Musulmans of the richer classes are always enveloped in profound mystery and it is considered a breach of good manners to allude to them. A Musulman gentleman may sometimes go so far as to explain that " his house " is suffering from fever as an excuse for not keeping an appointment ; and it is permissible to express a polite hope that " his house " is in good health ;

but to go beyond this is to touch on delicate ground, or even to give offence. The peasant's life is more open to observation, and his women go about in public; but the first sign of a man's rising in the world is the seclusion of his females, and he at all times objects to anything like minute inquiry on the subject. Still, many things come to light in the course of police inquiries, or other official proceedings; and a man's neighbours will reveal matters concerning him which they would not speak of in their own case. Polygamy is, of course, allowed; but the peasant's liberty in this respect is restricted by his inability to maintain more than one wife. Divorce, in like manner, though merely a matter of pronouncing a few words, is limited by the necessity of repaying the divorced wife's dowry. The wife is generally a hard-working slave, who owes such liberty as she possesses to a remarkably sharp tongue and an unlimited power of scolding; and the large number of crimes to which the maxim "*cherchez la femme*" applies shows that there is much laxity in domestic morality.

But in this, as in many other respects, there are unmistakeable signs of improvement. The Musulmans are not wanting in intelligence; and they are beginning to see that by refusing to avail themselves of the educational advantages so freely offered by the British Government they are playing into the hands of their Hindu rivals, and virtually resigning to them the foremost places both in official and professional life. They are not insensible to the change that has come over their country, nor do they shut their eyes to the fact that the pen now rules where the sword ruled formerly. The leaders of Musulman society are fully alive to the necessity of teaching their youth the English language and those sciences to which a knowledge of English is the key; and though these enlightened views may, and probably will, take some time to penetrate the minds of the agricultural classes, yet the movement has begun, and having once begun, cannot be prevented from spreading. An educated Musulman is

prepared beforehand, by the history and traditions of his faith, to be more cosmopolitan, more receptive of western ideas, than the Hindu or the Buddhist. Already there are Muslim thinkers and writers who disavow the militant exclusiveness and bigotry which are too often attributed to their religion, and openly advocate a rationalized Theism, neither aggressive nor intolerant. It is to be regretted that more efforts have not been made to frame the course of education in our schools in India on broader lines, so as to meet the special requirements of Musulmans. In many large district schools, while there are seven or eight masters to teach English and Western Science, with a Pandit or two to teach Sanskrit, there is very seldom more than one Maulavi to teach Persian and Arabic—frequently there is not even one; and the course of studies is generally so arranged as to leave only the very scantiest margin of time for the Maulavi's lessons. Many a Musulman gentleman has complained to me that if he sends his sons to the district school he has to pay a Maulavi to teach them Arabic at home. The prizes offered for proficiency in Arabic and Persian are few and poor; and even in schools founded by wealthy Musulmans expressly for the benefit of the youth of their own religion—such as the Calcutta Madrassa, and the Mohsin endowment at Hooghly—Hindu youths have been admitted in such numbers as almost to monopolize the advantages of the institutions to the exclusion of those for whose benefit they were founded. This state of things has, however, attracted the notice of Government, and steps have, it is believed, been taken to remedy the evils of the present system. Measures have also been introduced for securing to Musulmans a larger share of official appointments. It is a matter of the greatest political urgency that these measures should be persevered in and expanded. A large, generous, tolerant system of education and patronage would do more than anything else to elevate the Musulmans of Bengal and to confirm and strengthen their loyalty to the British Government.

“THE PROTECTED PRINCES OF INDIA”:—

A PLEA FOR CONSTITUTIONAL UNION.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE appearance of another elaborate work on the so-called “Political System” of our Indian Empire, so soon after the publication of Mr. Tupper’s *Our Indian Protectorate* noticed by me in these pages, last January, is an interesting and significant phenomenon. “The Protected Princes of India,” now published by Messrs. Macmillan, is from the accomplished pen of Mr. Lee-Warner, the Bombay political who, I believe, divides with Mr. Tupper the claim to the reversion of Elijah’s mantle when Mr. Cuninghame leaves the Foreign Office. That two officers so highly placed in the Department, and so representative in every way of its best traditions, as Mr. Tupper and Mr. Lee-Warner, should almost simultaneously come forward to enlighten the British public on the very obscure and hitherto mysterious subject of the relations between the Paramount Power and the Native States in India, is, I think, a remarkable sign of the times. It indicates, I hope, that there has arisen a noise and a shaking among the dry bones of the Political Department; and that we may now hope soon to see the sinews laid upon them, and the flesh brought with the skin to cover them, and the breath come into them, so that they may stand up and live. Men like Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper are too clever, too thoroughly men of affairs, to be under the delusion that the old Abracadabra and Mumbo Jumbo business of the Indian Foreign Office can be long maintained, in times when not only all the great Chiefs, but also all their Ministers and hundreds of their subjects, are well-educated men of the world, many of them travelled cosmopolitans, familiar with our English Parliamentary system, with our free institutions, and with the usages of European life.

Time was—and not so long ago, for the distinguished Foreign Secretaries of those days are still honoured personages among us in London—when the relations between the Paramount Power and the Native States were treated as the Eleusinian mysteries of Simla and Calcutta, to be spoken of by outsiders with bated breath, and to be religiously guarded by the initiate from profanation. When Sir Charles Aitchison prepared his valuable collection of Treaties, Engagements, and *Sanads*, he was very careful—lest the world should be dazzled by too sudden light—to print very little more than the *ipsissima verba* of the instruments, with the baldest statistical, topographical, and historical statements. Even now, Mr. Lee-Warner, after describing the obscurity that still envelopes the subject and mentioning a few of the discordant and conflicting theories that have been put forward as if to accentuate the prevailing ignorance, meekly and timidly enquires, "Is it presumptuous"—yes, presumptuous is his word at page ix!—"to hold that some further light is needed to enable public opinion to form its own conclusion?" And speaking with a sort of guilty consciousness of profaning sacred things, or revealing masonic secrets, he adds—

"It may be freely admitted that there are dangers in inconvenient precision and in premature inferences. There is no question that there is a paramount power in the British Crown, but perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined. There is a subordination in the Native States, but perhaps it is better understood and not explained. After the labours of a century and a half, the British rulers of India have not entirely extricated themselves from the maze of complexities and anomalies which have retarded their progress in building up the Empire. The full stature of British dominion and ascendancy cannot yet be measured."

I suppose it is this altogether unnecessary fear of the dangers that are supposed to lurk "in inconvenient precision and in premature inferences," that has induced the Government of India to make a dead secret of the great exposition of Indian "political" law that is understood to have been prepared by Sir Mortimer Durand. This work is referred to, in confidential whispers, as "Durand's Selected Cases"; and it is stated, I know not with how

much truth, to formulate, or at least to foreshadow, a complete constitutional system for the relations between the Paramount Power and the Native States. There are few living men better able than Sir Mortimer to formulate such a system on lines that would at once satisfy the Princes, benefit their subjects, and strengthen the Empire. Why then this mysterious secrecy about his work? Is it that the Government of India have been doing good by stealth—showing more consideration for the Protected Princes than they are accustomed to—and are afraid that a disclosure will cause them to “blush to find it fame”? Or is it that the habitual harshness of their treatment is made too obvious in these “Selected Cases”?

This nebulous state of things was all very well—perhaps it was necessary—in the olden time, when neither Chiefs nor people knew much of anything beyond their own frontier, when the Government of India was not very certain of its own overwhelming power, and when its political officers went out into the Protected States on the understanding that their duty was to increase that power, and to encroach on the independence of the State, as much as they possibly could without coming to actual blows. The Resident's rights and responsibilities were best left undefined, if his great object was to increase his rights and diminish his responsibilities, as occasion might offer through the good nature, the weakness, or the necessities of the Prince. The more ignorant a Prince, the less likely was he to be able successfully to resist these encroachments; and on the *omne ignotum* principle, the less that was authentically known of the true rights of the Foreign Office, as against the State, the more elastic were those rights naturally found to be.

But since the Proclamation of the Empire in 1877, we have abandoned the policy of encroachment, and have consequently no more need of Abracadabra or Mumbo Jumbo. Mr. Lee-Warner calls our present policy, the “policy of Subordinate Union”; and ingeniously traces its

evolution, from the "policy of the Ring-Fence"—which is the name he gives to the policy of non-intervention in vogue up to 1813—through the "policy of subordinate isolation," as he calls the policy pursued from 1813 until the Mutiny. His historical chapters, illustrating the construction of the Treaty-map of India, are exceedingly full and interesting, and probably not more inaccurate than the exigencies of his theories render absolutely necessary. In this—the fulness, not the accuracy, of his historical retrospect—lies the chief point of difference between Mr. Lee-Warner's work and Mr. Tupper's; for the latter treats the subject in its philosophical aspect, and largely by comparison with similar or analogous systems, rather than from the historical point of view. The two writers fairly supplement each other; and between them—though they pay homage to the love of mystery so dear to the Simla Foreign Office by solemnly declaring that they write with no official authority—they construct a fairly complete and intelligible Constitution for the "Protected," as distinguished from the directly administered, portion of Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

Mr. Lee-Warner speaks of the Native States as being "in Subordinate Union with" the Government of India; and declares that it is "impossible to maintain the theory that the tie between the British Government and its protected allies is feudatory," though this theory is favoured by Mr. Tupper. I do not find, however, that the divergence on this point is anything more than a verbal one. Both writers are agreed that the Princes are entitled to be called Sovereigns; and both, following Sir Henry Maine's theory of the divisibility of sovereignty, point out that the completeness of the sovereignty varies enormously in the various States—from the almost complete internal independence enjoyed by the Nizam, down to the case of many petty chiefs possessing hardly as much power as a subordinate magistrate in British territory. On the other hand, both writers show the absolute need for a

greater or less amount of subordination; for the Power that is charged with the sole control of all foreign or international relations, and with the sole ultimate responsibility for security against external aggression and internal disorder, must, in the nature of things, be provided with the means and the right to execute these functions.

The Union of India, under the ægis of the British Power, was owing to the fact "that one supreme authority was needed to keep the peace, to arbitrate between State and State, and to unite these isolated groups of Hindu, Muhammadan, or Aboriginal societies, under one standard of allegiance and one tie of common interests." And Mr. Lee-Warner has stated, with equal precision, the obvious reasons, mentioned above, why this union must be, on the part of the Native States, a "subordinate" one.

This, then, is Mr. Lee-Warner's idea of the existing political organisation of that portion of the Indian Empire to which he gives the rather ill-omened name of "India under Home Rule"—as distinguished from "India under the Queen," by which he means, of course, the British Provinces of India. He admits that this political organisation may in course of time be modified, and that its evolution may perhaps be "in the direction of a Constitutional Union." But he sees difficulties, and apparently grave objections to this evolution.

"At present, however," he writes, "the two parts of the Empire are divided by separate legislations, separate judicial systems, and in its ordinary sense a separate allegiance. For, although the Manipur case has established the principle that both rulers and their subjects owe allegiance to Her Majesty, and can commit the crime of murdering British subjects, for which offence they will be tried by a British Court, still the subjects of the Native States cannot in British India claim the rights of British subjects without the process of naturalisation. If then the States are destined to be drawn into constitutional relations with British India, an entire reversal of past policy will be necessary, and the theory of a Constitutional tie may be rejected as inapplicable to present circumstances."

This is probably a perfectly accurate and judicious,* as it is certainly a perfectly frank, description of "present circumstances." But is not the mere statement of them

sufficient to brand our policy as a selfish and one-sided one, and to show that its "entire reversal," and the establishment of "constitutional relations," are things much to be desired? The relations here described are neither just nor rational, even in the small matters referred to; and they seem to differ from "constitutional relations" mainly in this, that the latter would have to be sufficiently just and sufficiently rational to bear the test of being publicly formulated.

For a large number, perhaps for all, of the Sovereign Princes of India, it would mean deliverance from an irksome bondage, if there were in existence a "Political Code," intelligible to all, and open to the inspection and judgment of the world, showing exactly where their independence ceases, and where British interference legitimately begins. And that, I take it, is very much what Mr. Lee-Warner means when he speaks of the establishment of "constitutional relations." Nor would it be a less boon to most political officers, who only desire to do their duty equally and impartially to the Paramount Power and to the Protected State, and have no sympathy with encroachment and brow-beating on the one side, or with laxity and disorder on the other.

Moreover it would at least mitigate, and perhaps eliminate altogether, that most noxious growth of intrigue, which is so frequently associated with the Residency system in Native States. For what is the nature, and what the origin, of this intrigue? It seems to arise very generally, in the course of the natural and legitimate struggle for power on the part of various persons or various factions in the State, from the notion that pressure can be brought to bear, through the Resident or through the Simla Foreign Office, that will suffice to set up one party or depress another. Now, it is not sufficient for us to be able to say—as undoubtedly we usually can—that neither the Political officers individually, nor the Foreign Office collectively, will be amenable to this pres-

sure; for so long as the pressure, whether exercised by fair means or foul, can effect the desired result, so long will endeavours continue to be made to produce it. But let it once be made perfectly clear that back-stairs influence, however powerful, avails as little in a Native State as it does in Calcutta or Bombay, and we shall hear no more of these complaints; and this will not be until the "Subordinate Union," now described by Mr. Lee-Warner, has developed into a "Constitutional Union," with duly authorised and codified conditions.

Mr. Lee-Warner acknowledges, apparently with reluctance, that if the *status quo* is maintained, there will be continual danger of what he euphemistically terms "benevolent coercion" being applied to the Native States by the Government of India, either *suâ sponte* or on the motion of the philanthropical faddists of the British House of Commons. This is what he says—

"The danger of the first period was anarchy, whilst the danger which followed the extension of the Protectorate was sterility, and a sense of irresponsibility in the minds of Sovereigns, protected as they were against rebellion and assured of independence in their internal affairs. The danger of the present period of relations arises from the side of benevolent coercion. The quickened current of beneficent and progressive ideas, which agitates the stream of British administration, finds its way to even the most sluggish waters of the Native States. All are not in the social condition of Manipur, but in none, save those which during long minorities have enjoyed a British administration, can a high standard of internal order and progress be expected. If then the policy so faithfully pursued throughout the nineteenth century, of preserving the Native States is to be maintained, infinite patience will be needed, and the solemn guarantees given by Parliament and the Crown will require to be constantly borne in mind by impatient reformers."

All honour to Mr. Lee-Warner for this frank and straightforward statement. Everyone who knows India, knows it to be absolutely true; and yet, I fear that comparatively few highly-placed English officers of the Political Department could be found to make such a candid avowal. And the truth goes far beyond even this. It is not at all necessary for the waters to be really sluggish—to use Mr. Lee-Warner's phraseology—in a Native State, in order to

bring down on it the “benevolent coercion” of which he speaks. The records of His Highness the Nizam’s government of the premier state of India, Hyderabad—formerly under the first Sir Salar Jung, as compiled by the Nawáb Azam Yar Jung and the Nawáb Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and subsequently under Sir Asman Jah, as compiled by the Nawáb Fateh Nawáz Jung and by himself, have shown a marvellous amount of real progress in nearly every department of the State ; and yet the enemies of the Nizam have been able to prevent the rendition to him of Berar, on the plea that it might be mismanaged under Native rule ! —although it is universally admitted that our prolonged retention of this, by far the richest portion of the Nizam’s territories, is utterly inconsistent with political morality or common honesty, and can only be maintained on the ground that might is right.

It may be admitted, as an excuse for Lord Elgin in this respect, that a Liberal Viceroy is under a great disadvantage in such matters as compared with a Conservative Viceroy. For the Radical party in the English Press and in the House of Commons, who look on the Government of India as their natural enemy, and are always ready to expose its misdeeds when a Conservative Viceroy is in power—thereby in reality strengthening the hand of the Viceroy for any reforms he may contemplate—are apt to become dumb dogs when a Liberal Viceroy is in power. These keen partisans have such an intense dread of the British public thinking any evil of a Liberal Viceroy, that as a rule even the most rabid Radical journals will only prophesy smooth things when a Liberal Viceroy is in power. And so long as the Press prophesies smooth things, I suppose it is too much to expect a Viceroy to move *suá sponte* in a direction that might possibly involve some amount of unpopularity with a portion of the English Press.

On the other hand, it is impossible to contend that, as matters stand at present, a Native State has a chance of being treated in the same way, and with the same con-

sideration, as a British Province. Let me offer an illustration. Let any one of my readers study for a few weeks the columns of one of the Calcutta vernacular journals most strongly opposed to Sir Charles Elliott's government of Lower Bengal ; then let him imagine the same accusations appearing, day after day and week after week, in the *Pioneer*, or some other such influential English newspaper, against the government of some Native State ; and then let him consider the remarkable contrast there would be in the results. The utmost that would be done for Sir Charles Elliott, after even the most universal popular outcry against him, would be, perhaps, that he would be called upon to withdraw a Trial-by-Jury Notification ; and even this would not happen unless the subject of the outcry were of a nature likely to attract public attention in England—if the outcry were about a comparatively uninteresting subject, such as extortionate Survey or Settlement proceedings, it would probably not be heeded at all. But in the case of a Native Government, the Foreign Office would soon be busy with an enquiry ; there would probably be a change of Residents, perhaps a change of some of the native Ministers, possibly even a *coup d'état* and a suspension or “ abdication ” of the Prince himself.

It seems to be perfectly clear that so long as such results are known sometimes to follow a popular outcry, produced either by inflammatory writings in the Press, by cases in the Law-courts, or by other similar means, so long will intrigue continue to be reckoned one of the legitimate weapons of political warfare in native States.

The alternative seems to be, to establish a “ Constitutional Union,” such as that mentioned by Mr. Lee-Warner, which shall largely increase the sovereign powers of the Princes, and shall induce them—for the sake of being placed, with their dynasties and with their chosen constitutional advisers, above the reach of outcry or backstairs influence—to accept also, at the same time, largely increased responsibilities at once to the Empire and to their own people.

An experiment, and a most successful one too, has already been made in this direction, in the case of Mysore, and also, to some extent, in that of Manipur. Mr. Lee-Warner discusses very ably, and at great length, the constitutional aspects both of the rendition of Mysore, and of the arrangements made in Manipur by Lord Lansdowne. It seems likely that similar arrangements might have been made by Lord Northbrook in Baroda after the deposition of the Gaekwár Malhar Rao, had it not been for the unsatisfactory result of the trial of that Prince, and the delicate position in which the Government of India was placed at the moment. And Lord Lytton went very far towards establishing a regular "Constitutional Union," at the time of the Proclamation of the Empire at Delhi in 1887, when some of the great Princes were proclaimed "Councillors of the Empress," and were induced to accept titles and standards from the Viceroy; and I have no doubt whatever that Lord Lytton's reforms in this direction stopped short at mere words and titles, which were never translated into acts—the Princes neither receiving greater powers or independence, nor acknowledging greater responsibilities—simply because the ignorance and stupidity of a section of the English Press rendered it difficult for the Viceroy to do anything more in the matter.

I do not wish to suggest that the great Princes of India as a rule would generally accept with anything like cordiality such a "Constitutional Union" as was concluded with the two States I have named; and it goes without saying that any reform not cordially accepted would be worse than useless, it would be simply mischievous. But it must be remembered that, in both the cases named, though for very different reasons, it was necessarily a case of "all give and no take" on the part of the Native States. No one can read the "Instrument of Transfer," that is printed by Mr. Lee-Warner at pp. 166-171, without being struck by the unnecessarily stringent character of the restrictions imposed on the State of Mysore—restrictions sometimes

so stringent as to be practically inoperative; and it does not appear that any equivalent accession of independence, dignity, or power was secured to the Prince in consideration of these constitutional responsibilities.

The Earl of Meath, writing in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century* with considerable personal knowledge of the Princes and peoples of India, earnestly advocates the admission of a certain number of the Princes to the British House of Lords. His lordship says—

“Some of these native princes are gentlemen of high culture and intellect, speaking English without the slightest accent, keenly alive to all that is passing in the world, and sincerely desirous of governing their territories both wisely and justly. Several of them have widened their minds by travel, have visited Great Britain, been presented to their Empress, and have made themselves acquainted with other portions of the vast Empire over which her rule extends. . . . Many of these men possess wealth and local influence, but owing to the system of Indian administration, are debarred from taking any part in public affairs outside their own dominions. What I have said of some independent Native rulers applies in a lesser degree to the Rajas, whose territories lie within those portions of India which are directly subject to the British Crown. Deprived of all opportunities of exercising their talents, their wealth, and their energies in the public service, is it wonderful that some of them should sink into listless sensualists or discontented idlers? The interests of the British Empire demand that no effort should be spared to tighten the bonds which unite Great Britain to her Eastern possessions. In a country like India, where birth, rank, and social position still retain their power over the minds of men, no means should be neglected of giving the princes and nobility some opening for their energies and ambition beyond the narrow confines of their own territories, of encouraging them to employ their great wealth and influence in the service of their country-people, and of utilising the conservative forces which they represent in the best interests of the Empire at large. I think most people will agree with me that, although India was conquered by the sword and probably for some time to come will have to be held by the sword, Britain would be wise to lose no opportunity of identifying, as far as practicable, the interests of the inhabitants of both portions of the Empire, and of showing the people of India that their union with Britain is conducive to their own political, social, and material welfare.”

These wise and generous sentiments of a typical English nobleman will, I am certain, be shared by more and more of our countrymen as they become familiar with the character and capacities of the Princes of India. I entirely

agree with every word I have quoted. I think Lord Meath's suggestion in every way an admirable one—at least in so far as regards the nobles of the British pale in India—and one that is certainly feasible, and that might be adopted with equal benefit to India and to England. Whether it is equally feasible in the case of the Protected Princes, and whether it would be equally satisfactory to them, I do not think it necessary here to consider; for I venture to believe I have shown that there is vast scope, within the Empire of India itself, for the immediate enlargement of their legitimate spheres of usefulness and administrative ability. Let the great Princes of India become "Councillors of the Empress" in reality and not merely in name. Let them become the hereditary constitutional rulers of their provinces under the Empire, with recognised sovereign rights, and with Imperial rank suited to their position as Princes of the Empire. Mr. Lee-Warner mentions that Lord Dalhousie, "for reasons of State," obtained the recognition of the Nawab Vazir as King of Oudh: why should there not be, under the Empire—on the analogy of the German Empire—a King of the Deccan, a King of Gujarat, a King of Kashmir, a King of Mysore? The recognition of the respective heirs to these potentates as the Prince of Hyderabad, the Prince of Baroda, the Prince of Jammu, the Prince of Seringapatam, and so forth, would only extend the principle embodied in the "Sanads of Adoption" of Lord Canning and Lord Lansdowne, and would still more closely identify those great Native dynasties with the Indian Empire. If their Prime Ministers were placed on the footing, and clothed with the rights, of British Lieutenant-Governors or Chief Commissioners, a much-needed stability would be added to the constitutional government of these Native provinces, which would assimilate their condition and administration more and more to those of adjacent British provinces, and put an end to the intrigue of which we sometimes hear. With the establishment of Native Courts and Native Governments such as

these, a vast field would at once be opened for the active employment and utilisation of Indian statesmanship, Indian administrative and judicial ability, and educated talent of every kind, which are now so grievously wasted, neglected, or misused, as Lord Meath has shrewdly observed. In spite of the discouraging events of the great Mutiny, and possibly because he rightly read the lessons of the general loyalty of the Princes and the uncertain disloyalty of their armies, Lord Canning cherished the armies of the Native States as a field for the exercise of the military aptitudes of an important section of the Indian populations. Under a properly constituted "Constitutional Union," the system known as that of the "Imperial Service troops" would, with the local Military Police, take the place of those armies, to the great increase both of the prestige of the Princes, and of the military strength and solidarity of the Empire. In education, in the construction of railways, in the encouragement of manufactures and mining and the arts, even in such things as famine-relief and sanitation and medical research, some Native States have given a good example to our British administrations. In all these directions, the immense fund of latent ability now lying dormant in Indian palaces and Indian colleges would find congenial occupation, that would surely increase the prosperity and the contentment of India by leaps and bounds. Some friends of the Indian peoples have lately been crying out for "Simultaneous Examinations" for the Civil Service, mainly because they believe that that arrangement would provide every year a few Indian gentlemen with the chance of a good political career; but with the development of constitutional government under the Protected Princes, each Native State would become at once a training-ground and an arena for native politicians, and its "Imperial Service Corps" a nursery for military officers of Indian birth. It may fairly be expected that the school of native politicians and native soldiers, thus generated and thus bred, would not only exhibit that "fidelity to their salt" which has always been a feature in

the Indian character ; but would also develop a real and sincere spirit of patriotism, that has hitherto been somewhat difficult to maintain. For when each State is a duly-constituted unit in, and an integral portion of, the Imperial Union, the natural patriotism felt for the State would reasonably become enlarged, and grow into patriotism to the Empire. Lord Salisbury, in a famous speech delivered at Stamford nearly thirty years ago, pointed out the immense political advantage to the Indian Empire that had been derived, and that ought to be derived, from the loyalty of the Indian Princes and the fidelity of the Native States ; the works of Mr. Lee-Warner and Mr. Tupper seem to show that the time has now come when that political advantage, if it is ever to be rendered effective and duly utilised, should be consolidated by the organisation of a Constitutional Union under the Imperial Crown of India.

PEREAT INDIA ; FLOREAT MANCHESTER—

THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES.

BY PANDIT UMEY SHANKAR MISRA, M.A.

IN a question on which the Government of India, every European official, almost all Anglo-Indian non-officials and even the Secretary of State for India, in his heart of hearts, are really unanimous, it would ill become a native of India to be silent. Yet neither has the so-called National Congress of denationalized Indians, nor the Indian Parliamentary Committee of their radical sympathizers, opened the usual floodgates of abuse regarding a matter which only concerned the true interests of India and not those of a body of place-hunters or faddists. Now that even a Radical Government has denied them the impracticable scheme of "simultaneous examinations," whereby Bengali Babus *et hoc genus omne* would have ridden roughshod over the rights to promotion of native subordinate officials and reduced the ruling power as represented by Englishmen, Mr. Dadabhoy Naorji and Sir William Wedderburn may perhaps attack the scandalous exemption of what are mainly Manchester Cotton goods from a general tariff of duties on imports that the Government of India have been obliged to fix in order to save the country from bankruptcy or a crushing over-taxation. It is not a question of "free trade" *versus* "protection," but of the imposition of small fiscal duty on imports. It is merely a question of whether and why a job is to be perpetrated in favour of Lancashire, so as to exclude its goods from duties that all others have to pay. The Commerce of the World once derived its stimuli from India, but now her ancient indigenous industries and manufactures have been killed, mainly by Manchester, and even the infancy of the revival of modern Indian industries on English models is to be sacrificed to their English rival!

A deficit of 30 lakhs has to be met for the year ending April 1895, of which the former 5 p.c. duty on all cotton goods imported into India would nearly remove half; yet the Secretary of State for India, as if more anxious for Lancashire votes than for the welfare of the Indian Empire, tells the Government of India to look for other sources from which to cover the Deficit. To what sources can he possibly refer ?

If to *income tax*, can any Government come down on incomes lower than Rs. 500 per annum or, according to the present exchange, of about £25 a year! Can the *salt-tax* be increased when it is already six times the value of the salt itself and men and cattle are deteriorating from the want of this sole condiment in the food of millions? Is salvation to be sought in an increase of the duty on *petroleum*? Is the remainder of the *Famine Insurance Fund* to be misapplied? The *Land Revenue* of Upper and Central India has already been increased by 22 lakhs and yet the deficit gapes as wide as ever. Are there to be further re-settlements or unsettlements of revenue and cesses where, as in Behár, "Peasant Life" can no longer stand them? The annual growth of drunkenness and litigation, as shown in the steady increase of the revenue from *excise* and *stamps*, cannot be greater than it is and should satisfy even those who wish to abolish our large and innocuous income from *opium* or those who wish to set us by the ears with fads about popular elections, interference with our religions and caste and needless agencies for widow-remarriage and the protection of children when, nowhere in the world, women and children receive such tender care as in India. Is the only luxury of the humble, *tobacco*, to be taxed when its yield will be general disaffection rather than a perceptible increase of the Treasury? The *sole* source of revenue, unless the salaries and appointments of officials are to be reduced by half in an already undermanned administration, are the *import duties*.

They are now certainly far more inclusive than ever, for even glass-bottles, not to speak of agricultural implements, timber, hides, skins, metals, stone etc. are now taxed, yet THE COTTON DUTIES which, according to a Parliamentary Resolution of 1877, were only to be repealed when the financial condition of India would permit it, have not been re-imposed in a general tariff which the fall of the Rupee to half, owing to India's connexion with Europe, has rendered a matter of life and death to the Finances of India! Can it be imagined that where everything is taxed and even a heavy export duty is charged on our rice, so as to "protect" our rivals in that trade, the only thing "unprotected" should be the cotton goods of Manchester, the duty on which, even if not increased as it should be, would have so largely removed our present embarrassments?

If such a state of things is permitted by Government, India will be forced to think that Great Britain has no wish to develop and benefit her great dependency, so far as modern commercial enterprise is concerned, for India is still overwhelmingly agricultural. Can the action of the Government be defended on grounds of "*equity*" and "*justice*"? India must now, alas! answer in the negative. The mere fact that the non-official members of the Supreme Council of India voted against the exclusion of cotton from the imposition of a duty clearly shows that the policy of the Government, at least in their opinion, was not guided by equity. The action of the Government of India, to the mind of the people, unless a satisfactory explanation is given, must also seem to be *unfair* and *one-sided*. Yet England is regarded in India to be great, *because just*. The destinies of the vast Indian peninsula are being shaped by England. India is at the mercy of England; but let her not be at the mercy of Lancashire. Merely to catch Lancashire votes and to throw India overboard, is not a righteous, or imperial, policy. The natives of India have already commenced to think that England does not

care for them when even a slight and narrow self-interest is concerned. Yet the material prosperity of England has been greatly increased by India, the brightest jewel in the British Crown !

The Government has found an apologist in Mr. O'Connor, the assistant secretary in the Finance Department, who discusses the question from a "fiscal" and "economic" point of view. Mr. O'Connor writes :

"If we levy strictly protective duties on cotton manufactures, that is duties which will have the effect of preventing free competition between imported goods and goods made in India, three hundred millions in India and beyond our frontiers who consume Indian and imported cottons must pay a price for them enhanced by the amount of the duty on the imported goods."

This argument applies with equal force to other imported goods, whereas the real question is when these have been made dutiable, why cotton should be exempted ? Mr. O'Connor further states :

"The duty on the imported goods will go to the State, but the equivalent of the duty which they will pay on the Indian goods will not go to the State, but into the pocket of the manufacturers." (The Indian manufacturers are evidently referred to.) "For it is obvious that immediately on the imposition of such a tax on imported cottons, all Indian goods will be raised in price by the amount of the duty. The people will thus be doubly taxed, the import duty (or rather a portion of it) being paid to the State, while the rest of the payment made by them will be a tax collected by and for the profit of certain manufacturers."

What an ingenious argument, and yet how utterly irrelevant or, at the best, a mere side-issue ! It assumes that as soon as a duty is imposed upon imported cotton goods—the Indian manufacturers will raise the price of their cotton. No doubt they will be *in a position* to do so, but *will* they do so ? If they do, to the extent of the duty imposed, the result will be that they will *not* be able to undersell the Lancashire traders. The presumption therefore rather is that the Indian manufacturers will keep the price of Indian cotton goods *below* that of Lancashire. Mr. O'Connor has, therefore, failed to make out a case, such as it is, for the Government of India, which was convinced against its will by the Secretary of State. I, therefore, have the less hesitation in appealing from Philip to Philip

or from unenlightened to enlightened and just British public opinion. There is practically no competition between England and India with regard to Cotton goods, for those of England belong to a finer class and purchasers that prefer the same should pay for such luxury. The proposed duty would therefore certainly increase the revenue without perceptibly increasing the cost to the richer customer. Even if this duty should indirectly benefit the Indian manufacturers, as Mr. O'Connor seems to fear, we should only have to chronicle alike an increase in the Revenue of the State and in the income of a particular class.

It is, I repeat, not a question of "free trade" *versus* "protection," but of an iniquitous exemption for improper reasons of certain goods from the payment of duty. Even the most "free trade" Government, must look to the state of the revenue of the country, before it can apply to it a theory which other civilized Governments and even the British Colonies reject. Be that as it may, our Indian Government is concerned with India and with raising a revenue in that country in the least irritating manner. I have been endeavouring to examine, however imperfectly, the general bearings of the question, and I am convinced that it can only be honestly solved in *one* way, if the welfare of India and the claims of equity are to be considered, namely by the imposition of, at least, a duty of 5 p.c., as before, on all cotton goods imported into India.

The *East India Association*, worthy of its old tradition of disinterested advocacy of Indian interests, irrespective of party, has, I understand, come to our rescue, where the blatant Congressists have failed. A Memorial on the subject of the injustice and evil results of the exemption of cotton goods from duty has been drafted by its Council for presentation to the Secretary of State for India and to Parliament. I trust that the success of the Association in this measure will convince thinking natives generally that among the Chiefs and old Indian officials that compose it are still to be found truer friends of India, than the *doctrin-*

aires who leave her in the lurch when their "microscopic minority" is not concerned, though the whole of India may be vitally affected.

The following is the Memorial alluded to :

TO the Right Honble. H. H. Fowler, M.P., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the humble Memorial of the Council of the East India Association sheweth :—

1. That your Memorialists are members of an Association formed for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India.

2. That the attention of the Association has of late years been frequently drawn to the straitened condition of the finances of the Indian Empire and to the necessity of imposing fresh taxation on the people of India.

3. That during the years 1886 to 1889 by the imposition of an income-tax and duty on petroleum, the re-imposition of the Patwari rate in the North West Provinces and the increase of the salt-tax, a sum of Rx. 2,800,000 was raised from the Indian tax-payer to meet current deficits.

4. That during the years 1888 to 1894, owing to the re-assessment and normal growth of the land-revenue and land cesses in the temporarily-settled provinces, the land revenue has increased to the amount of over Rx. 2,200,000.

5. That in spite of this additional revenue, supplemented by the annual growth of the revenue from excise and stamps, there was in the year 1892-93 a deficit of Rx. 833,412, and in the years 1893-94 of Rx. 1,792,800, and there is for the year 1894-95 an estimated deficit of Rx. 2,923,100 which will probably be increased by the further fall in exchange.

6. That to meet this deficit the Indian Government has found it impossible to increase the salt-tax, the income-tax, the already heavy stamp and excise duties, or the recently increased land-revenue, and has consequently had recourse to what it holds to be the only remaining source of revenue, that of import duties.

7. That notwithstanding that the Indian exchequer requires nearly 3 crores of rupees, which could be most easily raised by the imposition of a general import duty, the Indian Government has been forced by orders of the Home Government to adopt a partial and inequitable measure of taxation yielding only Rx. 1,140,000 and excluding from its tariff all cotton piece-goods, twist and yarn, which constitute half the imports into India and would yield, at the sanctioned rate of 5 per cent., a revenue of Rx. 1,350,000.

8. That, while taking as its model the Tariff Act of 1875, stated by the Finance Minister of India in 1882 to be "complete in itself for the

purposes for which it was designed" (*i.e.*, those of raising money by help of moderate all round import duties), and actually enlarging its scope so as to include goods exempted from that Tariff Act,—namely, agricultural implements, metals, silver, hides, skins, lac, stone, marble, wax, wood, timber and glass bottles, it has repudiated that model by specially excluding the bulk of articles previously included,—namely, cotton goods.

9. That in so doing at a time when the revenues of India are inadequate to meet its expenditure, the Government of India has violated the spirit of the Resolution passed by the House of Commons on July 11, 1877, "that duties levied on cotton manufactures ought to be repealed so soon as the financial condition of India will permit."

10. That, while attempting to justify this exemption on the plea that the duties on cotton would be protective (notwithstanding the fact that there is practically no competition between England and India with regard to the finer cotton goods), the Government of India has yet imposed duties on goods similar to those produced in India, such as jute, paper, woollen and silken fabrics, leather, tobacco, tea, coffee, fish, and oils, and has at the same time retained the heavy export duty on rice, whereby non-Indian rice is "protected" against Indian.

11. That in consequence of exempting cotton goods from the tariff the Government of India has been obliged to meet the deficit by an absorption of two-thirds of the famine-insurance fund, amounting to Rx. 1,076,200, which would otherwise have been spent on the construction of railways and irrigation works, or on famine relief; and further, in contravention of the current contracts recently made with the Provincial Governments, was demanded a subsidy of Rx. 405,300 from the provincial treasuries, thereby preventing the construction of new public works and the necessary repair of existing roads and buildings.

12. That, while refusing to reimpose a customs duty which Lord Herschell's Committee authoritatively declared to be "one which would excite the least opposition and indeed, it is said, would even be popular," and "against the repeal of which there is," according to Lord Kimberley's recent admission, "an unceasing outcry, as a cruel and oppressive proceeding on the part of England," the Indian Government has retained at its present level the very heavy salt-tax, in spite of the fact that the simultaneous lowering of this tax was held to be the chief justification for the abolition of the cotton duties in 1882.

13. That the Indian Government has hereby violated the principles which it laid down in 1882, when its Finance Minister, Sir Evelyn Baring, declared:—"I am indeed very far from saying that a free trade policy should be carried out at all hazards. 'There is not,' Mr. Gladstone once said, 'a free trade Government in this or any country which has not fully admitted that the state of the Revenue is an essential element in the consideration of the application even of the best principles of free trade. The question is essentially one of revenue.'"

14. That, to quote the *Times* of the 19th March last, while "the financial situation of India with which the framers of the resolution of the House of Commons had to deal was a situation of extraordinary pros-

perity and almost continuous surplus during the previous seven years, the Indian situation with which the House of Commons will be called upon to deal shortly is one of heavy, continuous and increasing deficit."

15. That by the inequitable and illogical policy which has been forced on it by the British Government, notwithstanding the protests of the authorized advisers of the Secretary of State, the Indian Government has excited a widespread feeling of discontent, and united native and Anglo-Indian public opinion in a unanimous protest against the injustice of sacrificing the substantial interests of India to the supposed interests of a section of English manufacturers.

16. That, at the present time, when the Indian Legislative Councils have been placed on a more popular basis by the direct intervention of the British Government and Parliament, it is peculiarly inopportune to introduce a measure so arbitrary in itself and so diametrically opposed to the expressed wishes of the Indian people.

17. In conclusion, your Memorialists beg to urge on you the great importance of permitting the Indian Government to raise its necessary revenue by that mode of taxation which is, in its judgment, best suited to the country and character of the people and to abandon a policy which is condemned by all Indian authorities, which is regarded with suspicion by the Indian people, and which has admittedly been sanctioned in the interests of persons other than the tax-payers of India.

ON BEHALF OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,

LEPEL GRIFFIN,

Chairman.

June 14, 1894.

THE EAST AFRICAN QUESTION,
WITH A NOTE ON THE ANGLO-CONGO AGREEMENT.

By "ANGLO-AFRICAN."

SENTIMENT, which entered largely into the public feeling aroused in connection with Uganda between four and five years ago, has contributed, quite as much perhaps as any exact appreciation of the political or commercial value of the country, to the determination of the course of events which has led to the declaration of a British Protectorate. This is borne out by the variety of opinion existing in Parliament on the general question, as well as by the less divergent views of the public outside, on a policy into the precise merits of which they have not concerned themselves greatly to inquire. The Uganda question might almost be said to have been discussed on academic, and to have been raised and settled on sentimental, grounds. No very striking accuracy of information illustrated the debate in the House of Commons on the 1st of June; and the act of Her Majesty's Government in declaring a Protectorate was approved because most people in this country had somehow come to the firm conclusion that it was the right thing to do.

The attitude of the Government on the question was an acknowledgment that Uganda was retained, not because it ought to be retained, but because an obstinate public opinion would be satisfied with nothing less. In bending its neck to this mandate, the Cabinet decided that people should have what was demanded, but nothing more. This is how the matter stands; but even as the Cabinet, after long resistance, came to its reluctant decision, the irony of events in the Uganda regions was demonstrating the absurdity of the attempt to ignore the inevitable. The pious, or desperate hope that all trouble to the parochial conscience would be laid by declaring a Protectorate over Uganda Proper, received a sad shock just as the immola-

tion of principle was made. And the justification for their policy which was pleaded by Sir Edward Grey on behalf of the Government rested for its grounds on considerations not of national interest but of party policy. National interest, it was practically confessed, there was none to appeal to the Cabinet, or that predominant section which is known to be strongly imbued with the "Little England" sentiment; but there were more potent considerations of party exigency, which Mr. Chamberlain summarised as the Ministerial avowal that Uganda "led to" the Local Veto Bill. It might have been supposed that a Government could explain, to a group of recalcitrant followers, their acquiescence in the strongly expressed opinion of the country by some apology more graceful and dignified than the exigencies of a legislative programme.

The Government have settled the Uganda Question, but hardly have they done so than the public (as well as the Cabinet) begin to perceive clearly that Uganda forms only a small, although a very important part of the business that has to be settled. The attempt to deal with the East and Equatorial African sphere of influence in the patchwork fashion adopted is a failure even in the stage of initiation. The sentiment which the annexation of Uganda was meant to propitiate will very quickly be succeeded by another kind of sentiment, when the shifts and devices of our Government for evading responsibility are contrasted with the straightforward methods of our less pretentious neighbours, and even the natives may begin to betray distrustful anxiety to know what it all means. Next door to us in East Africa, the German sphere is governed by Germany, and even Portugal is courageous enough not to get behind a screen. In the British sphere, the interests—commercial, political, philanthropic, and the rest—which this nation supposes itself to possess and has been eager to secure, are turned over by Downing Street to no less than five makeshift "administrations," all possessing diverse and sometimes opposite interests to keep them together in that state of harmony

which is essential to the interest of the regions they have to deal with, and to the credit of the great colonising nation they represent. We have Zanzibar, our Protectorate on the coast, supporting by a steady market for slaves that detested traffic which we strenuously declare it to be almost our chief object to extinguish. We have the Protectorate between the Tana and Juba rivers, for which we gave Germany (along with other consideration) the island of Heligoland. Here, under the administration of the British East Africa Company, we put an end to the legal status of slavery; but last year we transferred the territory to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who promptly revived the institution of slavery, and thus, with our sanction, extended the market of the favoured slave-trader in a new direction. Next, there is the British East Africa Company, which appears to have spent its resources so freely in supporting the honour of the British name and the interests of the British nation, as to have become, in the eyes of a Government which cares less for either of those objects, a reproach the consciousness of which makes its extinction much to be desired. Fourthly, we have the new and somewhat nebulous Protectorate of Uganda, of which the eventual limits are not yet clearly defined—and while we are waiting for a more exact definition of the boundaries the colouring continues to spread. Lastly, we have taken a new departure in territorial enterprise, the originality of which has excited surprise and other strong emotions among our continental friends, by leasing (rent free) to the King of the Belgians, for life, a region about fifteen times the area of His Majesty's kingdom in Europe. This enumeration sums our achievements up to date in the direction of meeting national responsibilities in Eastern and Equatorial Africa.

In great matters and in small, the adage is true that if a thing is worth doing at all it is worth doing well. It is easy to apprehend, with some measure of personal sympathy perhaps, the attitude towards this African problem of several of the members of the present Government. But

the acknowledged fact that, as Sir Edward Grey stated, they found themselves called upon to deal with a question which they had no part in creating, and with a course of events which they would have prevented in the beginning if they could, in no way lessens the responsibility of a Government or excuses hesitancy and reluctance in discharging that responsibility. When Mr. Gladstone's Ministry assumed office, in the autumn of 1892 their sentiments in relation to East Africa and Uganda were well known. But when they undertook to conduct the government of the country, they undertook to do it according to the expressed will of the nation. That is the first duty of every Ministry. It was generally understood that Lord Rosebery would continue the policy of Lord Salisbury, and the feeling on this point was so strong as to make it clear beyond doubt that Lord Rosebery was a "necessary man" to Mr. Gladstone's administration. The first question which came before him as Foreign Secretary was that of Uganda. The East Africa Company was definitely withdrawing from that country on 31st December, 1892; and, if Uganda was not to be left derelict and abandoned, prompt measures for its retention became necessary. Public opinion declared that the country should not be abandoned. Lord Rosebery's hands in this emergency were strengthened by public agitation, the importance of which the Foreign Secretary recognised when he reproached an influential deputation with not having shown undue precipitation in applying its pressure. The Company; at least,—the much-maligned instrument which had acquired Uganda for Great Britain at its own expense,—had not shown undue precipitation in turning over a vicariously borne and burdensome responsibility that properly belonged to the Government. The intention to withdraw had been known for over a year. It was clearly not Lord Salisbury's duty to hamper the freedom of his successor by leaving on record the policy which he had decided to adopt in the circumstances. After all, it was to the Company that Lord Rosebery had to

resort for help in the emergency. A threat was first conveyed through the medium of the press that if the withdrawal from Uganda were persisted in, the consequences would be all the worse for the Company. This step failing of effect, a supposititious danger from withdrawal on the stipulated date (31st December, 1892) was assumed, to give the Government a plea for offering to bear the cost of the occupation for three months longer. The Company, under pressure, reluctantly consented to give in to the fictitious necessity by remaining in Uganda till 31st March, 1893. Time was gained—only three months' respite, it is true—and time was the object. To this course a Cabinet were coerced which could not come to an agreement upon a policy. Further shifts followed, and in reviewing them on their own slender merits, as well as in connection with the somewhat contemptible result which they have led to after an interval of eighteen months, the situation of Lord Rosebery appears far from enviable. The three months' grace having been obtained, it immediately became evident that no time was to be lost in providing a *modus-vivendi* for the 1st April, 1893, when the grace would have expired. Here, again, the ill-requited Company was the first resource suggested by the situation to the Minister. Lord Rosebery offered Sir W. Mackinnon £40,000 to continue the occupation of Uganda and its dependencies. This was the amount which the Company required in order to carry on the work of administration over the territory. But the proposal to limit the subsidy to one year only did not recommend itself to Sir W. Mackinnon on any ground of public duty or national interest, and the Company which he represented had no advantage to gain by a further postponement for another,—a second,—year, of its own pressing policy of contraction of operations. The Company was prepared, from those motives of public interest which had already led it so far out of its original scheme, to continue the undertaking on Lord Rosebery's terms for a period of years. But the difference between the Government and

the Company on this occasion was that the former aimed only at a temporary shift, while the latter took the larger view of the national duty involved in the Uganda question. Lord Rosebery, or rather it is to be presumed his "pre-dominant partners," declined the Company's proposal, and suddenly (very suddenly, indeed, for the negotiation with Sir W. Mackinnon was still going on) hit upon a new plan of gaining time. A Commissioner was to be sent to Uganda to inquire and report, and Sir Gerald Portal was selected for the purpose. Somewhat inopportunately at the time, an indiscreet correspondent gave publication to a letter of Sir Gerald Portal containing strong expressions of opinion on the question of Uganda, and thus let the public into possession of private views previously very well known to most persons acquainted with Sir Gerald Portal and East African affairs. What the public did not know, however, was that the report called for by Lord Rosebery's instructions as to the best means of dealing with the territory in question whether "through Zanzibar or otherwise," had already been made by Sir Gerald Portal in obedience to a reference from Lord Salisbury just before the latter relinquished office—a reference so important in Lord Salisbury's opinion that he had authorised Sir Gerald Portal to transmit the substance of his report by telegraph if he thought it necessary. This report, which must have been in Lord Rosebery's hands immediately on assuming office, has never been disclosed. Its existence was concealed when Sir Gerald Portal was ordered to go to Uganda and report again. But the views expressed by Sir Gerald Portal in that first report were well known to many persons outside the Foreign Office, and were in the mind of Lord Rosebery when he framed the Commissioner's instructions to report on the best method of dealing with Uganda "through Zanzibar" or otherwise.

Sir Gerald Portal's scheme, which he was sent to Uganda to report a second time upon, consisted in the annexation of the British sphere of influence to the Zanzibar Protectorate,

and the reabsorption by the latter of the rights of the East Africa Company on terms of compensation. His second report, from Uganda, arrived in London, at the end of August 1893, by the hands of his Assistant Commissioner Mr. Berkeley. During September the public conscience began to be roused by discoveries boding badly for the Zanzibar scheme. The Protectorate of Witu and the adjoining territory on the east coast, which Germany had transferred to Great Britain in 1890, had then been placed under the British East Africa Company. The conditions of administration arranged by Lord Salisbury's Government and the Company involved the proclamation of British law as contained in the Indian Codes, which included the abolition of the legal status of slavery. On 31st July 1893, the Company declined to bear any longer the expense of maintaining a force of Indian troops in Witu, and surrendered the administration to Her Majesty's Government. Thereupon (it is believed in stress of financial conditions at the Foreign Office which Sir W. Harcourt refused to relieve by the grant of a sixpence) the administration of the Witu Protectorate was handed over to the Sultan of Zanzibar. The arrangement would have done very well, and was merely a step in anticipation of the larger rearrangement which was to follow on Sir Gerald Portal's report, had not the whole scheme been compromised by a gratuitous and stupid blunder. At once, with the sanction of the British Consul General (whose signature was attached to the proclamation) and of the Foreign Office, the Sultan of Zanzibar notified the extinction of British law in the British Protectorate, established Mahomedan law in its place, and re-instituted slavery. The discovery of this proceeding, which the Foreign Office vainly endeavoured in the House of Commons to disguise, put an end to the project of annexing any more British territory to Zanzibar.

Such was the untoward state of things which Sir Gerald Portal met on his return from Uganda. He arrived in England in November 1893, and it was not until the follow-

ing March that his report was laid before Parliament. This was not the report he had written from Uganda, but another, prepared after his arrival in London to meet the requirements of an altered situation. The former idea of placing the whole territory under Zanzibar was now brushed aside as impracticable (that is, as a project to attempt which after the Witu blunder would be hazardous); and a new scheme of attenuated British supervision was substituted at an expense of £50,000 per annum, as against £40,000 for which the East Africa Company had offered to do the work more thoroughly. How much of this last report, and of the scheme it recommends, properly belongs to Sir Gerald Portal, there is no means of knowing.* The report was probably a compromise with circumstances to which the able and much lamented young Commissioner was compelled to bend his neck.

That there is any permanency in the scheme of the Government, or indeed any serious attempt to do more than tide over a distasteful situation by a temporary expedient, no one can seriously believe. The situation is as unsettled as ever. The proposal with which the British East Africa Company offered to facilitate the scheme of the Government has been withdrawn after a year's failure to obtain an answer. Zanzibar is still in possession of Witu. As regards the proposed annexation of all the territories to this Protectorate, Sir Gerald Portal was not blind to one very serious consequence certain to arise. "Zanzibar would become involved in pecuniary difficulties from which she would expect eventually to be extricated by English help." A Return of the trade of Zanzibar which has just been

* Sir Gerald Portal was a Hampshire man, and not likely to use a term like "implement" which is indigenous to the north of the Tweed and unintelligible to most persons born south of that stream. Compare the following passages :

"I think no one can read the charter in its very explicit terms without feeling that the Company has failed to *implement* the conditions of the charter."—*Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords, June 1.*

"The existence of many pledges and treaties, made by that Company's officials, which it has been unable to *implement*."—*Sir Gerald Portal's Report.*

issued by the Foreign Office contains two statements which are full of warning to the British public in connection with any solution of the East Africa question in which Zanzibar may form a factor. The total revenue of Zanzibar is about £50,000.* "This protectorate," says Her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul General, "is practically dependent for its revenues on one crop; a crop, moreover, whose cultivation is more than ordinarily risky and whose produce is little more than a luxury." The crop referred to is that of cloves, the tax upon which provides the greater part of the public revenue. The report goes on to say:—"The cultivation of the island is at present entirely carried out by domestic slaves, the supply of whom is constantly diminishing"; and "The Indian money-lenders, to whom most of the estates are mortgaged, would be, if they were inclined to foreclose, in an even more powerless position, for they can neither command slave labour of their own nor is there any labour available for employment."

The two cardinal facts affecting the solvency of our Zanzibar Protectorate are thus seen to be (1) a precarious crop, the product of which is merely a luxury wherewith the market is overstocked, and (2) the supply of slaves, on whose labour the cultivation of the clove crop exclusively depends. The whole thing indeed, accentuated as it is by a British Consul deploring the economic loss sustained through the inadequate supply of raw slaves, is a practical comment on our public professions and past history which ought to be seriously considered. In 1873, we made a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar rendering illegal the further importation of slaves into Zanzibar and Pemba. That is 21 years ago, and the average life of a slave on the plantations is between seven and eight years. Whence then have come the slaves, or how, in the face of this law and under the eyes of an Agent and Consul-General, do they come to be held in servitude? The report supplies

* Exclusive of the rent paid by the British East Africa Company for its Concessions, about £10,000 per annum.

the answers. Zanzibar is now our Protectorate. If we carry out the law we have ourselves made, the public revenue will suffer, as well as the interests of those "Indian money-lenders" to whom the clove estates are mortgaged. So much for the manner in which British professions are carried into practice. The basis of solvency being gone, there is no other upon which the interposition of the puppet Sultan of Zanzibar between ourselves and our responsibilities in East Africa can be advocated. We should have to subsidise Zanzibar to keep it in existence, and we should thus have nothing whatever to compensate us for the odium of association with a slave-owning state.

There is only one method of dealing with the problem of Uganda and East Africa, and that is to have done with all makeshift expedients, and to deal with the territory as a whole. As a possible agency for this purpose Zanzibar is moribund beyond resuscitation. The Company is still available, but a proposal to rehabilitate the Company, after all the vilification applied to it, is more than we can expect from the present Government. It is enough to know that the Company is prepared to retire, or to go on, as may be most convenient to Government. Its failure, after all, was no more than failure to "implement" the unforeseen enterprises into which the interests of Great Britain at a critical period forced it to enter. Its resources, unaided, were not provided with a view to such responsibilities. The Company is entitled to compensation for its services rather than to reproach for inability to "implement" them without assistance. However, we have nothing specially to do at present with the affairs of the Company, except to refer to it, in passing, as an available agency and, irrespective of the use that may be made of it in future, as a claimant entitled to generous consideration for past services. As regards the general question which is now under consideration, no one can seriously regard the proposals of the Government as being either calculated or meant to be a final solution. The limitation

of the protectorate to Uganda proper, to the inexplicable exclusion of the adjoining and subsidiary states, at the same time that Unyoro is being conquered and the British flag hoisted on the Nile at Wadelai, is an act of policy which can only be interpreted as a sullen repudiation of responsibility, due, no doubt, to the feeling of the "predominant partners" in the Cabinet. And moreover, as one of their own supporters urged as a justification for voting against the Uganda policy, the establishment of a protectorate in the centre of Africa is an absurdity, and to vote money for such an object an absolute waste, unless at the same time efficient means of communication are provided. But the means of communication, the railway, the Government refuse to have anything to do with. The concession made by the Cabinet to public opinion has been ungracious and reluctant, and restricted to the smallest dimensions compatible with the appearance of doing anything at all.

But Lord Rosebery's Government, if they continue in office, or their successors, will be compelled to adopt a policy of larger lines; and it would be well to set about its consideration before the question is compromised by further experiments. If the chartered company is not to be rehabilitated and furnished with the legitimate means of administration—and its proposal to Lord Rosebery, in November 1892, for the administration and development of the whole sphere of influence involved an expenditure of £10,000 a year less than is now being appropriated to the little Uganda protectorate—there is no other course left but the direct assumption by Government of the control of the whole territory.

A statesmanlike scheme for the future administration of the sphere of influence, the outlines of which were given in the *Times* of 23rd April from what was described as an authoritative source, provides a solution of the question that ought to receive the careful attention of all who are interested in the subject. The key and turning point of the whole position appears to this capable authority to be the

extinction of our anomalous Protectorate of Zanzibar. After pointing out the Imperial importance of the Zanzibar ports as a naval base for the protection of our communications with the East in the event of the closing of the Suez Canal by war, it is shown that, by refusing to allow to Zanzibar the protection as a neutral accorded by the Berlin Act, we are inflicting on that state an injury for which we ought to give compensation.

"In justice, therefore," the writer adds, "if we are to make use of Zanzibar, as we now must for the defence of the Mauritius strategic cable, we must compensate Zanzibar for certain injury in case of war thus caused by us ; or we must, by dealing now with the East African question as a whole, take over Zanzibar and incorporate it as part, with Uganda and the intervening territory, of a British Protectorate administered on one homogeneous system." The taking over of Zanzibar would be "a matter of no difficulty, seeing that the Sultan's power is already nominal and there exists no successor's claim to the throne."

Among other practicable measures of combined policy and economy which the writer suggests, he points out :

"It is an outrageous anomaly for which no sufficient excuse has ever been offered, that the slave status in Zanzibar and Pemba should even now, under the existing system, be tolerated. Such a change as is here suggested would lead, in the opinion of the best judges, even now to no opposition, while the result would be that slaves no longer being of value would not be imported or smuggled into the islands, thus at once relieving us of the cost of attempting to stop, by measures shown to be futile so long as the slave remains legal property, the fresh importation of slaves. The cost of the present abortive attempt at repression is commonly estimated at about £100,000 per annum, chiefly due to the Naval Squadron required, involving as it does the payment of bounties to the captors, grants to the Missions who take care of the slaves captured, prize courts, etc. It is true a naval force could not be dispensed with in Zanzibar waters, but it might, if slavery were no longer admitted to be legal, be greatly reduced, and the vessels now employed in that futile and unpleasant service utilised for strengthening our naval forces elsewhere without any additional charge. We may then allow that half the present cost of our slave trade suppression would be saved, with the net result that while on the one hand we would, by the proposed change, which ought to be the first step in dealing with the East African question, save over £50,000 per annum on our present expenditure, we should also acquire the right which we do not now possess of imposing such taxes as might be just and necessary for the development of the country."

Is it not amazing that all the difficulty and cost of the so-called slave repression should be undertaken by us year by year, in consequence of the assumption upon which we proceed that a slave successfully smuggled into Zanzibar and Pemba becomes *ipso facto* "legally held"? Every slave who was legally held in 1873 may be taken to have died within the next ten years, and, as slaves do not pro-

pagate, those acquired after the 1873 stock could not be legally held under the terms of the Treaty. So that we stand in Zanzibar in the humiliating position of sanctioning, in the interest of revenue and of the British Indian money-lenders, that kidnapping of slaves which on the other hand we pose before the world as employing our ships to prevent. "If we catch you," we say to the slaver, "we are bound to punish you; but if you succeed in smuggling your slaves ashore, we will acknowledge them as legally yours, although the law says they are not." The sooner this disgrace is put an end to the better for the credit of the British name.

"Any splitting up the administration," concludes the able memorandum from which we have been quoting, "and tinkering of the present obsolete and anomalous state of things, involves great additional cost, much friction in administration, and certainly no such opportunity as the present is ever likely to present itself again for dealing with the matter on a broad and in the end an economic basis."

With this weighty statement from perhaps the highest living authority on the subject, the question is commended to the serious consideration of all who are desirous of seeing it settled alike in accordance with our honour and our interests, and those of the countries and peoples concerned.

NOTE ON "THE ANGLO-CONGO AGREEMENT."

THE recent Agreement with the King of the Belgians has not been touched upon, except incidentally, in the foregoing pages, as it is properly external, as a *fait accompli*, to the settlement of the East African question now pending. The Agreement, however, has great interest in this connection; and to judge merely by the conspicuous effect it has produced, it must be regarded as both opportune and effectual. To ourselves, its main effects (as it now stands) are two. A communication is secured with our sphere of influence in the south, and a buffer is interposed against the advance of France to the Nile from the west. That such a buffer, in lieu of effective occupation on our own part, was needful, is evident from the manner in which the agreement has "gone home." The solicitude of France concerning the

rights of Turkey on the upper Nile was not so conspicuous in connection with Tunis ; and any definition of those rights (or the rights of Egypt) in the Soudan, will involve at the same time the determination of the rights remaining to any country in a region which it has been compelled to abandon through want of power to retain it. Why France is so sensitive on the point of others' rights is explicable from the point of view of the Qubanghi, her advance from which has now been deprived of its object. For the present it is perhaps open to her to try a movement by another route to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal, even to Khartoum—which (saving again the rights of Egypt and Turkey) would be so serious that it must be guarded against. When England goes about making a railway from the Indian Ocean to the Victoria Nyanza, she ought at the same time to carry out the other and perhaps more important work of a railway from Suakin to the Nile at Berber. These combined works would give her an iron grip on the Nile and the Soudan which could not be broken.

It may be added that the policy embodied in the recent Agreement is not new. It was conceived, in 1890, by the late Sir William Mackinnon, who, on behalf of the British East Africa Company, concluded an agreement with the King of the Belgians on which the present one has been based. The chief object Sir W. Mackinnon had in view was to secure independent communication with the British sphere south of Tanganyika. It had from the first been his aim to connect Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika by means of treaties with the chiefs of the intervening territory, and the late well known Uganda missionary, Mr. A. M. Mackay, had decided to take service with the East Africa Company and make those treaties. Mr. Mackay's death prevented the realization of the design, and the treaty with the King of the Belgians took its place. This treaty, as stated in Lord Kimberley's despatch of May 23rd to Mr. Hardinge, was "not officially communicated to, nor sanctioned by, Her Majesty's Government," but Lord

Salisbury had cognisance of the negotiations and, it is understood, laid down the proviso that no cession of any part of the British sphere of influence would be permitted to be otherwise than temporary. This express reservation of sovereign rights is given effect to in the late Treaty by the process of a lease. Whether complications may arise on the lapse of the lease at King Leopold's death, is another question. In either of the events contemplated in the Agreement whereby the reversion of the territory to Great Britain is provided for, France may claim to be the executor in virtue of her own assumed reversionary right to the Congo State, and in such a contingency possession might prove to be the proverbial nine points of the law.

The importance of a territorial connection viâ Tanganyika between the British spheres in Equatorial and South Africa was fully recognised by Lord Salisbury in 1890, and everything that was possible was done to secure that object in the negotiations of the Anglo-German Agreement. But the insistence of Germany on the maintenance of a continuous boundary with the Independent Congo State stood absolutely in the way of Lord Salisbury's wishes, and consequently the boundaries were settled as they have remained since. How vitally important to her Colonial interests Germany regards that settlement is made evident to the world by her refusal to recognise the late arrangement. It must be confessed that the conclusion of this arrangement without reference to Germany was, in view of the character of the discussions in 1890, somewhat clumsy diplomacy. We need not here discuss the reasons of Germany for adhering to the position so firmly taken up in 1890 in regard to the Congo State, but we ought not to have disregarded or forgotten them. There is much ground for the feeling expressed in Berlin that Lord Salisbury would never have countenanced such an agreement as the present one. The arrangement proposed by the King and the late Sir W. Mackinnon in 1890 was, as has been said, the original of that just concluded, but the view of that arrangement which

was taken by Lord Salisbury was not followed in the present case. It is understood that Lord Salisbury would not have objected to the Congo State leasing to the East Africa Company the strip of land in question. Nor would Germany, probably, have objected, and it certainly would not have been sanctioned without her knowledge. But a lease of territory to a private company for commercial purposes is a very different thing, as we see now, from a lease of the same territory to a sovereign state. The friendship of Germany cannot be risked for such a consideration, and we have confidence that the mistake which has been made will be amicably adjusted without altering the friendly relations between the two countries, and also, it is to be hoped, without depriving our spheres of influence in Africa of the advantage of means of communication.

Germany's objections to the arrangement are confined to the one point, but those of France are neither so limited nor so clear. Germany objects to the competence of the Congo State to alter boundaries fixed by the Powers from whose recognition the Free State derives its existence. On the same ground France can only object with a good deal of inconsistency, since she has already agreed to the alteration of the boundary on her own side, and for the past two years has contemplated with equanimity the operations of the Kerckhoven expedition towards the Nile. As the claimant to the reversion of the Congo State, France viewed without objection an important extension of the territory of the State ; but, immediately the Congo State obtains this territory by recognising over it the sovereign rights of England, the whole aspect of the matter is altered. France has no rights within hundreds of miles of the Nile, and if Turkey has any, Great Britain is as likely to recognise them as the Power which annexed Tunis. But there is a further point claiming attention, and one of which France may expect to be reminded when occasion arises. She possesses a right of pre-emption on the Congo of which a good deal is made. That claim will be subjected to due examination

when it comes to be made, and it may not be wholly unconstructive to refer to it at the present time. In consequence of the publication in 1884 of the abortive Anglo-Portuguese Congo Treaty, and in order to avoid its consequences if it took effect, the International Association of the Congo (not then recognised as a State) signed, on 23rd April, 1884, the Agreement with France upon which the latter builds so largely. The following are the terms of the Agreement :

“The International Association of the Congo, in the name of the Free Stations and territories which it has established on the Congo and in the valley of the Niadi-Kwilu, formally declares that it will not cede them to any Power under reserve of the Special Conventions which might be concluded between France and the Association with a view to settling the limits and conditions of their respective action. But the Association, wishing to afford a new proof of its friendly feeling towards France, pledges itself to give her the right of preference, if through any unforeseen circumstances the Association were one day led to realize its possessions.”

Two points in this Agreement are apparent. The first is that the right of pre-emption refers to the contingency of the Association being led to “realize” its possessions. The second, and the more important point, is that the Agreement is not one between France and the Independent Congo State, but between France and the antecedent International Association. The validity of France’s right or claim of pre-emption will, therefore, whenever it comes to be asserted, have to depend on the extent to which the Powers concerned in the Berlin Conference of 1885 may be disposed to recognise it at all, even as relating to the districts possessed at the time by the extinct Association. The extension of the claim derived from the Agreement of 23rd April 1884 to the whole of the territories subsequently recognised by the Powers as forming the Independent Congo State, will hardly be countenanced by any Power at least having interests contiguous to those territories. On the whole,

France appears to have no valid ground whatever for objection to an Agreement which affects no rightful interest of hers, and in regard to which she is sensitive chiefly because it blocks the way of an unfriendly design of her own, of which her present anger is a frank confession. The Harrar incident illustrates the position in a similar way. Great Britain had agreed not to declare a protectorate there herself, but she did not bind herself to prevent any other power doing so. If France objects to Italy having Harrar, France is free to object, but she has no ground for resenting the fact that Great Britain has no objection to Italy. Nations, like individuals, are apt to be very illogical, and not specially dignified or prudent, when they lose their temper.

P.S.—Since writing the above Note, the announcement is made that the protest of Germany against the Anglo-Congo Agreement has been recognised by the abandonment of Article III., which grants to Great Britain a lease of the strip of territory between Lakes Albert Edward and Tanganyika. This was only to be expected, and we are indebted to the moderation with which Germany pressed her objection for an easy, if not very dignified, deliverance from the consequences of a diplomatic blunder which, under other circumstances, might have been serious.

- The cancelling of Article III., however, in no way affects the remaining and principal part of the Agreement. The lease to King Leopold of the territory west of the Nile was a consideration not for the strip of way abandoned on Germany's representations, but for the recognition of our rights over that territory by a contiguous State which had not yet recognised it. The objection of Germany to the competence of the Congo State applied to the one point touching her own boundary, and went no further. France must put up with the disappointment. We need not concern ourselves with the demonstration of despatching troops to M. Monteil on the Oulangi; France has a dispute with the Congo State on a boundary question in that quarter, and it is against that State the demonstration is made. French objections to the "competence" of the Congo State, it may be added, are hardly advisable in French interests, since they may tell eventually in another question of "competence" in connection with the right of pre-emption supposed to have been conferred by the document of 1884 above quoted. Accepting a lease by a State may be a new thing, but it does not involve nearly the same extent of international competence as granting to another power the pre-emption of all its territories. Such an act, on the part of a State constituted by the mutual agreement of the Powers, will, before being allowed to take effect, require the sanction of others besides France.

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.

THE commanding importance of the discussions on Indian Currency and Exchange has completely dwarfed into insignificance the fact that the great "Currency Question" is passing an acute crisis in various other parts of the British Empire. Yet the fact, though generally unknown or unnoticed, is undeniable. The West Indies, Hong Kong, the Straits' Settlements, Ceylon, Mauritius, the African West Coast, are all inconvenienced by the present system or rather want of system in Imperial coinage. Their Chambers of Commerce, and other parties interested in their welfare have appealed to Great Britain; but they have hitherto appealed in vain, for the Colonial Office, like the India Office, are adepts in the art of how not to do it; and while they remain inactive, the situation is rapidly becoming intolerable.

There does not exist in fact anything that can be called a British Imperial Currency,—such as should exist in a great empire,—such as Spain established and maintained in her palmy days, with a thoroughness that enables her Dollar and its descendants to pass current, even at the present time, over nearly all the world. We, however, not only have no Imperial currency, but even the British Royal coinage (£ s. d.) is not at present the prevalent, much less the exclusive currency of the whole Empire.

That Empire may be divided, so far as currency is concerned, into the following groups.

I. *British Gold standard (£ s. d.).*

1. The British Islands;—2. The Australian Colonies; Tasmania, New Zealand, and Fiji;—3. S. Africa, *i.e.*, Cape Colony and Natal, with their dependencies, including the

S. Africa Co.'s territory;—4. Off-lying minor places,—
St. Helena, Malta, Bermuda, The Falkland Islands.

II. *Special Gold Standard.*

Newfoundland.

III. *Foreign Gold Standard.*

1. Canada (United States Gold Dollar and its multiples);
—2. Gibraltar (Spanish Gold and Silver);—3. Many West
India Islands (U. S. Gold).

IV. *Legally British Gold, practically foreign coins.*

Most of our West India possessions.

V. *The Mexican Dollar.*

1. Hong Kong;—2. Straits' Settlements.

VI. *The Guatemalan Dollar.*

British Honduras.

VII. *French Silver.*

West coast of Africa, especially Gambia.

VIII. *British and Foreign Gold.*

Cyprus (French and Turkish gold).

IX. *The Rupee.*

1. India;—2. Ceylon;—3. Mauritius.

It is seen from this statement that there is current in various parts of the British Empire, a great variety of coins, both British and foreign. In many places, too, the foreign coins are not merely current *de facto* owing to trade, or rated according to intrinsic value on a definite scale, but they are actually *de jure* legal tender, sometimes concurrently with, and at other times to the exclusion of British coins!

• Excluding bronze for the moment, the following may be said to represent the gold and silver circulation of the British Empire: United States' Eagle, Half-Eagle, Gold

Dollar, Silver Dollar, half and quarter Dollar, Dime and half-Dime; British and Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns, with our 7 well-known British silver coins;—French gold (20 frcs. and 10 frcs) and 5-franc silver pieces (and less);—Spanish gold (Alphonso, rare) and silver;—Canadian Half and quarter-Dollar, and Dime and half-Dime;—Mexican Dollar;—Chilian do.;—Guatemalan do.;—Equador do.;—Peru *Sol*;—Rupee, half-, quarter-, and one-eighth Rupee; and some Danish and Dutch coins. These are not rarities, but part of the usual currency.

Besides this heterogeneous assortment of varying coins, we must note the following anomalies:

The Canadian unit of account is the Dollar, and her standard the gold U. S. Dollar; but there is no Canadian coin of that value, either in gold or in silver; and gold, as a matter of fact, is rarely used. As if to compensate for this defect, Newfoundland has a special gold coin all to itself—the gold double dollar. The former mint of Hong Kong for coining British Dollars having been insanely closed shortly after it was opened, this British Colony, as important commercially as it is strategically, depends on Mexico for its currency, and is being flooded, besides, with the Japanese *yen*. The Straits' Settlements depend on the Mexican dollar, but have local cents; and I believe they keep their accounts still—certainly did till lately—in Rupees. Ceylon and the Mauritius use the Indian Rupee, but divide it into Cents and ignore Annas, Pice and Pies. Gibraltar uses Spanish gold and silver, with British bronze. In Gambia and other parts of the West Coast, the French 5-franc piece is dominant. Though, legally, British coins alone form the currency of most of the West Indies, and accounts are in fact kept in £ s. d., yet in several places the U. S. currency and in others S. American and Central American coins command the market. In Honduras the Guatemalan Dollar is legal tender, while in other parts of the West Indies, there is no fixed currency. Any and every coin runs as it can, and even the Dollar belongs to

half a dozen countries. This year of grace, 1894, a colony complained that while it had no bank and no coinage of its own, its trade was seriously hindered by the concurrent presence of coins of the U. S., England, Holland, Denmark, France, Spain, and all the Central and S. American States! British New Guinea and British East Africa have as yet remained unattended to regarding coins.

Amid such confusion and variety, it assuredly is the duty of the Imperial Government in Great Britain,—the central power responsible for the unity, the stability and the welfare of the Empire as a whole,—to take speedy and systematic steps for evolving order out of chaos.

To do the Imperial Government justice, it must be admitted that they have not been quite unconscious of this duty. There have been Acts of Parliament, Orders in Council, and Royal Proclamations, from time to time, regarding not only British coinage in general, but also regarding currency in the Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire. But they have not dealt with the question on any statesmanlike system of gradually establishing a universal Imperial currency. Each case has been temporarily met, in a haphazard way, solely with the view of getting out of an urgent present difficulty by that means which seemed easiest and most profitable for England. The history of currency in Malta, for instance, and Mauritius, with the successive changes in coins and standards, would prove our ever-changing policy, while our having at various times coined rix-dollars for Ceylon, gold double dollars for Newfoundland, dollars for Hong Kong, and nickel silver money for places that would not use bronze, are instances of action taken without any definite system in view besides temporary relief. Even when, in pursuance of this shifty policy, steps were accidentally taken which might have resulted in the gradual adoption of an Imperial currency—such as the Order in Council of the 23rd March, 1825, making British silver and copper legal tender in the Colonies,—we speedily got off the right road by subsequent ordinances,

and returned to isolated, local, temporary enactments. Act 33 and 34 Victoria, c. 10 (April, 1870); authorizes the Crown to regulate by proclamation, among other things, (1) the dimensions and designs of any coin, (2) the denominations of coins, (3) the calling in of any coins, (4) the rendering of foreign (and if so, of colonial coins also, and those of our dependencies) to be legal tender anywhere, and (5) the establishment of branch mints.

The duty, therefore, of regulating Imperial currency is acknowledged and power has been given for the purpose; but want of energy and system has prevented any satisfactory result. The experience of travellers and merchants and the remonstrances of Chambers of Commerce show that much remains yet to be done in this matter, and that no further time should be lost in doing what is needed. Years ago the task was comparatively easy; but even now it is not impossible, though daily becoming more difficult.

Avoiding the vexed question of Monometallism v. Bimetallism, I confine myself here to the attempt of finding, if possible, a common link amid the confused array of coins which circulate in the British Empire.

It is a fact, as unnoticed generally as it is both certain and can be utilized, that among the various coinages current in the Empire, there is a certain denomination of money which, within an easily remediable difference, is common to them all, and can be readily expressed in the coinage of nearly every country in the world. This is the equivalent of the United States Silver dollar. It is nominally the equal of the various "Dollars" of Central and South America; and its near equivalents are our Double Florin, the French 5-franc piece, 2 Indian Rupees, and the Newfoundland $\frac{1}{2}$ gold double dollar. If the Indian mints were allowed to coin, for India, Ceylon, Mauritius, the Straits and Hong Kong, a silver dollar of exactly the same weight and fineness as that of the United States, and if the London mint were to coin similar dollars for Canada, Newfoundland, the West Indies, British Hon-

duras and Guiana and the West Coast of Africa, all these countries would be supplied with a British coin of the precise value of the many foreign ones which now rule their markets to the exclusion of our own coins, or are legal tender, or run concurrently with our own coins. The British Islands already have a coin of this kind; but with a refinement of perverse ingenuity we persist in styling it a "Double Florin" instead of giving it the name by which all coins of its species are known throughout the world—the Dollar. It cannot surely do any possible harm to England to change the names of two of its coins,—the Double Florin to the Dollar and the Florin to the Half Dollar; but it certainly would benefit greatly the Colonies which in any way deal with or use Dollars of any kind, to have an honest home-made British Dollar of guaranteed weight and fineness, instead of their being at the mercy, as they are now, of foreign countries for their supply of coins and trusting to foreign mints for the intrinsic value of what they get. Various British Colonies have specifically asked for a British dollar. A British dollar is, in fact, the sole means for establishing a common British currency throughout the Empire; it is a means as thorough as it is easily practicable; and a corresponding gold dollar = $\frac{1}{2}$ of a £ sterling would link gold and silver together on a sure and satisfactory basis, without any empiric changes in our time-honoured currency.

Having effected this object by this new coinage, one of two courses would remain open for adoption, with regard to Exchange.

1. The currency of each Colony or Dependency might be allowed to settle down, by the ordinary principles of political economy, to its proper rate of exchange with the sterling gold sovereign, according to the balance of trade and general circumstances of each, without the need of any positive action to bolster it by any artificial means.

2. A gold standard—silver coins being made simply "token money"—might be (as it ought to have been a

quarter of a century ago) adopted in all Colonies and Dependencies which at present use a silver standard.

In the first case exchange would continue to fluctuate in silver-using places, as it now does, with the rise and fall of the gold price of silver; but the fluctuation would be somewhat lessened by the common unit, and the mother-country would incur no expense. This plan may commend itself, therefore, as consonant with the traditional selfish policy of England's dealings in the past with her Colonies, but it is not statesmanlike, much less generous.

In the second case, continual fluctuation in Exchange (except within a very narrow margin, from balance of trade) would be settled once for all to the mutual benefit of all parts of the Empire; for such fluctuation does incalculable damage to trade,—not only to that of the Colonies and Dependencies, but, by reflex action, also to that of the mother-country. It would doubtless entail, at the start, a very heavy expenditure, to give a back-bone of gold to all the silver of the British Empire. This expense should be shared by Great Britain with all the places that require it. Her share of it would not, however, be an absolute loss or without a corresponding advantage. Her loans for this purpose would be eventually repaid, as none of her Colonies or Dependencies, except poor St. Helena, runs any risk of insolvency. The increase of trade resulting from this new departure would equally benefit all parties, and a long step would thus be taken in knitting together the various parts of the Empire.

Objections can, of course, be urged against this proposed change, as objections always can against every important and far reaching measure; and I should be doing the great question of an Imperial currency a gross injustice if I omitted some notice of the three chief arguments used against it, in the name of political economy.

We are told that interference is bad,—that trade settles all such questions almost automatically,—and that change

hinders trade. The hindrance, if any, is very temporary ; and the advantages secured give a fresh stimulus which far more than recoups the first slight loss. Trade indeed can and does settle questions of Exchange ; but ours is a question of Currency, though eventually linked with Exchange also ; and a Currency cannot be created by Trade. It requires legislation to make it legal, and to ensure, in the beginning, its use. All interference is not bad ; and hence every change must be considered on its own merits, and not be condemned solely from that innate conservatism of human nature, which, whether we call ourselves Tories or Liberals, is nowhere stronger than among the British. The duty of active interference in Currency, for the prevention of evil to trade, is, however, admitted, for it is undeniable ; and it has, as already proved, been exercised, as a matter of fact, by our Governments, though not always with wisdom. Other countries regulate and change their Currencies whenever necessary or expedient for their good.

As part of the proposed change is the giving of a gold back-bone to the silver currency of the British Empire, and consequently making silver coins mere "tokens," many will at once condemn the scheme as rash and injurious.

Some will begin to bandy about the words "Monometallism," and "Bimetallism." I belong to neither side. I hold that as each country is under circumstances different from other countries, its currency must be made to fit its circumstances ; and the circumstances of the British Empire, of which the head, England, is strictly a gold-using country, require gold to back its silver, in a uniform currency all over the world. Call it any "-ism" you like, that is what is needed ; that is what you must come to eventually, and the sooner the better.

Others, and a larger number, will simply shy at the words "token money," which convey to them merely an indefinite idea of financial danger and collapse, that they do not care to analyze. But wherein lies the danger ? Silver is just now "merely token money" in Great Britain, France, Germany, Australia, the United States, and

numerous other countries. What evils accrue thence? Simply none; and much has been gained. If it be objected that these have gold behind their silver, I reply, 1, that we also can place gold behind ours, and 2, that "token" money runs for its face-value in many places where there is either no gold or where it is but rarely seen:—in Canada, and many places in the West Indies where there is no legal limit to payment in silver, and in Java. Why should "token money" keep its token or face value rather than its intrinsic value? Because a coin is something more than a mere piece of metal:—it is bullion + the credit of the country issuing it, which pledges itself to redeem it in gold if called upon. Hence it is not true that a "token" coin means merely a "token" of fractional proportion to gold coins. It is that also; but it is mainly a "token" of the credit and solvency of the country to which it belongs. Now as the British Empire, both as a whole and in all its parts, is equally and eminently solvent, it is simply absurd that, in one and the same Empire, coins identical in weight, fineness, and stamped with the image and inscription of the same common Queen-Empress and representing the solvency of the same Empire, should vary in price as 24 to 13, simply because you call one a "Rupee" and the other a "Florin," when there is more than enough gold in Great Britain, Australia, India and the Cape to back the entire silver currency, present and prospective, of the whole Empire. When Germany demonetized silver, what else did she do but make its silver coins become "token" money, by a stroke of the pen? If you point to the subsequent dislocation of silver and the evils resultant therefrom, the reply is easy: It was not Germany that suffered from this step but only those who did not follow its example. If our proposed measure were carried out, *e.g.* in India, it would and could have no evil result for India, or the Empire at large; and we are not concerned here, except with that Empire. Let the rest of the world look to itself.

There certainly remains the danger that capitalists would work the Exchanges to pour in silver, and remove gold,

battening, like harpies, on the starvation of the people. They do it now for India and quite unchecked; they tried it in 1880 at Lagos; and in 1885 in Malta, when the Italian Government demonetized the old Sicilian Dollar. The Governor of Malta then informed the Home Government: "I regret . . . that private enterprise has been devoted to making as much as possible out of the situation; and if the Government had not interfered, the population in general would have been victimized for the benefit of a few capitalists." But as the capitalist was foiled then, and has been repeatedly, so can he be prevented, by severe and judicious legislation, from making profit on the ruin of portions of the Empire. All private transfer of silver *coins* from one country to another should be absolutely stopped: if anyone wish to export silver (or gold), let him do it in bullion, paying a small duty on the same; if he chooses to use coins, impose so heavy a duty as to more than neutralize his expected profit. Under this simple yet effective measure, while the necessary exports and imports of gold and silver would go on in the usual way, so far as was needed for commercial purposes including payment of balances of trade, the mere transfer of coins solely for personal profit at the expense of the public, would be stopped, as it is but right that it should be.

Most of the evils predicted by economists, arguing on theories, never come off in practice. The Shah has recently closed Persia against Silver; the Nizam of Hyderabad charges a duty on its import; Germany demonetizes it; the United States pass and then repeal the Silver Purchase Bill: none of them has been ruined by these violations of supposed principles. It is time that the British Empire should take active steps to consolidate its Imperial currency, undeterred by the bugbear of theoretical objections, which practically result in the greater evil of inactivity, ruinous to the people and their trade. What France has already done in her Colonies we surely are able to accomplish—the establishment of one universal Imperial coinage for the whole British Empire.

HISTORY OF ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN DISCOVERIES.

BY HORMUZD RASSAM.

I. ASSYRIA.

THOUGH Nineveh had been known by ancient and modern historians, and the inhabitants of the country have always looked upon the artificial mounds on the right bank of the Tigris opposite Mossul, called Koyunjik and Nebbi Younis, as the locality of the Assyrian Capital, no one ever imagined that there existed such remains as were subsequently unearthed by M. Botta, Sir Henry Layard, and the writer. Nor has the name of Assyria been forgotten in the country; because up to the present day the land that lies between Jazeera and the Greater and Lesser Zabs is known classically as "Athoor" or "Atoria,"—the first being the Arabic and the latter the Aramaic name for it.

It is true that Mr. Claudius Rich, formerly the Political Agent at Baghdad for the East India Company, had visited the site of Nineveh in 1820 and had brought home therefrom some inscribed bricks and a few other objects; but he did not attempt, in those days, to dig in any of the artificial mounds that abound in ancient Assyria.

Sir Henry Layard was the first traveller to notice, while on his way down the Tigris between Mossul and Baghdad, the widespread ruins of the "great city"; but M. Botta, the then French Consul at Mossul, was the first to attempt any excavations at Koyunjik. He was, however, not destined to find anything there; and, after a few weeks' fruitless trial, he abandoned the site and moved his workmen to a village, called Khorsabad, where he had heard that a native of the place had found, in digging a well, a sculptured marble wall. After he had dug there a day or two, he was convinced that the spot he was working at contained remains of ancient Assyrian splendour, and so it turned out; for it was found afterwards that the building he was exploring was no other than the ruined palace of Sargon who carried the ten tribes of Israel into captivity.

The palace of Sargon was found in a dilapidated condition, as fire,—the cause of the destruction of almost all the Assyrian palaces and temples,—had played havoc with that magnificent structure, and M. Botta was only able to secure a few sculptures to send to the Louvre. Most unfortunately, however, the bulk of the collection was lost in the Tigris between Baghdad and Basra while on its way to the Persian Gulf. They had been floated down the river on a raft of inflated sheep-skins; and through the mismanagement of the agent in charge of the raft, it sank with its burden of valuable antiquities to the bottom of the Tigris, where they still lie.

From the Khorsabad Collection we have, in the British Museum, fine specimens of colossal sculptures consisting of two human-headed bulls and

two mythological figures supposed to represent the Hercules of the Assyrians or Nimroud "the mighty hunter." These, which are in good preservation, were obtained from M. Place, the French Agent, by Sir Henry Rawlinson while he was British Consul General at Baghdad, in exchange for a number of bas-reliefs which I discovered in the palace of Assur-beni-pal (Sardanapalus) in the mound of Koyunjik in 1853. It is to be regretted that this collection which was given for the Louvre has also been lost, with the Khorsabad antiquities, in the Tigris.

While M. Botta was conducting, on a small scale, his explorations at Khorsabad, Mr. (now Sir Henry) Layard returned, in 1844, to Mossul, after having gone to Constantinople, with an authority to excavate at the mound of Nimroud, the ancient site of Calah, mentioned in the 10th chapter of Genesis. I was then acting as a clerk to my late eldest brother the then British Consul at Mossul; and as Sir Henry Layard wanted a helper in his undertaking he asked my brother to lend my services to him, which he did.

I need not enter here into his marvellous discoveries which are of world-wide reputation and have made invaluable contribution to classical knowledge. Sir Henry Layard's discoveries at Nimroud consisted of three palaces and a temple. The best he discovered was the only edifice found in Assyria uninjured by fire, belonging to Assur-Nazir-pal, the father of Shalmaneser II., the first of the Assyrian kings who came in contact with the Israelites in the time of Ahab in 860 B.C.

- The sculptures of that building, which now adorn one of the Assyrian galleries at the British Museum, were in better preservation than those of Khorsabad and Koyunjik; but with the exception of hunting and war representations most of the bas-reliefs in the different chambers were of a similar description, consisting of effigies of kings, eagle-headed figures, winged horned priests, eunuchs, and sacred trees. A few of the latter were sent to the British Museum, but the remainder were taken for different museums in Europe and America.

Besides the palace of Assur-Nazir-pal, Sir Henry Layard discovered a temple at the north-west corner of the mound, built by that monarch, and the remains of three other palaces belonging to Tiglath Pileser, Essarhaddon, and Saracus. The last of these is supposed to have been the monarch who, through his misgovernment and tyranny, brought the Assyrian Empire to desolation. One has only to compare his building with those of Assur-Nazir-pal, Sennacherib, or Assur-beni-pal, and he will have no difficulty in seeing how art had degenerated and poverty dominated under his reign.

The most important and valuable discovery Sir Henry Layard made at Nimroud in connexion with biblical history was a black marble obelisk, with four sides, covered on the top with twenty illustrations and cuneiform inscription recording the annals and conquests of Shalmaneser II. On each side there are five bas-reliefs showing the tribute which Shalmaneser received from different subdued kings, consisting of animals, specie and other gifts. The most interesting representation is that of the king receiving a Jewish Ambassador, who is kneeling with his head bent to the ground, exhibiting his servile homage to the Assyrian Sovereign. The inscription

mentions the tribute received from Jehu the son of Homri or Nemshi, king of Israel, who is called in the cuneiform characters Yana Apil Humri. The inscription above the said representation reads thus—"The tribute of Yana (Jehu) son of Humri (Omri), silver, gold, a golden cup, golden vases, golden vessels, golden buckets, lead, a staff for the hand of the king and sceptres I received." It appears also that in the year 842 B.C. Shalmaneser broke the Syrian league with the Israelites, when Jehu submitted and rendered him the necessary tribute. In the obstinate battle which was fought, Ahab contributed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 footmen to the forces of his Syrian ally, Benhadad.

The mound of Nimroud has been identified, from inscriptions found by Sir Henry Layard and myself, as the city of Calah mentioned in Genesis, where it is said that Nimroud the mighty hunter "builded Nineveh, the city Rehoboth and *Calah*."

While the excavations were being carried on at Nimroud, Sir Henry Layard commenced his researches in the mound of Koyunjik; and after a few days' labour he was rewarded by the discovery of the magnificent palace of Sennacherib, but the whole structure was found to have been destroyed by fire. Even the colossal human-headed bulls broke to pieces as soon as they were dug out. Fortunately two of them, which contained the record of the siege of Lachish and Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem, were so far in good preservation as to enable Sir Henry Layard to secure this important inscription to send to the British Museum.

According to Greek and other historians when the last Assyrian king called Saracus, was besieged by the Medo-Persian army in conjunction with that of the Chaldeans, under Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he shut himself up with his family in one of the Nineveh palaces which he set on fire and perished therein, about the year 606 B.C. The conquerors afterwards completed the destruction of the Assyrian capital by levelling its walls to the ground and delivering the whole city to the flames which reduced it to heaps of ruins. It is not quite certain in which of the palaces Saracus destroyed himself; but most probably he took refuge in Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, as that was the principal and most defensible of the royal residences at the time, being situated in the centre of the great city and protected on one side by the river Tigris.

It is said that the siege of Nineveh lasted two years, until, one spring, the river Tigris rose to such a height as to carry away a part of the city wall, which enabled the enemy to make a successful assault through the breach, as soon as the water subsided.

Four sites of the royal residences were discovered on the left side of the Tigris in what was considered Assyria proper, and which were I think within the metropolis, Nineveh. These were Koyunjik, Nebbi Younis, Nimroud, and Khorsabad:—like the Tower of London, and Westminster, Buckingham and Kensington palaces. There were other minor ruins within what I consider to be the radius of that "great city," such as Yarimja, Balawat, Karamlais, Bahsheeka, and Shareef-Khan. Taking the above-mentioned different oblong positions of the ruins with Koyunjik and Nebbi Younis on the Western limit, Nimroud on its Southern border, and

Khorsabad on its Northern boundary, we make the circumference of the old city about 60 miles, or three days' journey reckoning twenty miles a day at the rate a pedestrian travels in that country.

The position of the city of Nineveh has never been forgotten in the country; for Koyunjik and Nebbi Younis have always been looked upon as the site of the old capital of Assyria. Up to the present time Nebbi Younis is styled officially by the authorities as "Neneweh." I learnt this when I had to enter into an engagement with the guardians of the Shrine to allow me to excavate there. They merely mentioned the word Neneweh in the document and when I asked them why they did so and omitted the modern name of Nebbi Younis, they said that that was the only legal name they could use.

It is a notable fact that the present Chaldean Christians of Assyria still commemorate the Divine mission of Jonah to the Ninevites, by fasting three days in the year which they call Baoothee-Dnenweh or "supplication of Nineveh"; and according to tradition it is asserted that the days of humiliation have been kept up ever since the repentance of the Ninevites on the preaching of Jonah. The Sovereign of Assyria at the time, who is called in the Book of Jonah "King of Nineveh," is identified, from the Assyrian records, as Shalmaneser II., son of Assur-Nazir-pal, who fought against the foes of Israel and Syria and broke the league between Ahab and Benhadad.

After Sir Henry Layard's second successful expedition to Assyria, he relinquished his archæological researches; and as the Trustees were good enough to consider me competent to undertake the responsibility of superintending their researches in that country, which were then conducted on a small scale under the general control of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the then British Consul General at Baghdad, they asked me to accept the post. I had then come to England to complete my studies at Oxford; but as I took a great interest in Assyrian researches, and Sir Henry Layard and other friends desired that I should do so, I went out again to Mesopotamia, at the end of 1852.

During that expedition I conducted researches in different mounds, amongst which were Koyunjik (the principal seat of Sennacherib), Nimroud and Kalaa-Shirgat (the ancient Asshur). In all of these I discovered relics of the past, but my great success was in the first-mentioned site. There, I discovered, adjoining Sennacherib's palace, the edifice of his grandson, Assur-beni-pal, son of Essarhaddon, known by the Greek historians as Sardanapalus. Though the sculptures of that building were not so grand as those found by Sir Henry Layard at Koyunjik and by M. Botta at Khorsabad, yet the execution and design of the subjects depicted were artistically higher and finer than those found in other Assyrian structures. The lion hunt series, especially, now in the basement room in the British Museum, have been the admiration of all lovers of ancient art.

The kings of Assyria seem to have been fond of lion-hunting, for, amongst the bas-reliefs discovered by Sir Henry Layard in the palace of Assur-Nazir-pal at Nimroud, there is one which represents the last mentioned monarch engaged in the lion chase. From the different representations in the

sculptures of Assur-beni-pal's lion-hunt it seems that a large number were kept for hunting purposes as they are seen enclosed in strong cages; and when the royal personage is ready for the hunt an attendant, stationed on the top of the cage and protected by a barred case, lifts up the barrier and lets out the animal which is immediately attacked by the king either in his chariot or on horseback. In one representation the king is seen bearding a lion on foot and stabbing him with a dagger; and in another place the animals are seen attacking the king's chariot.

In the long lion-hunt saloon, which was about fifty feet long by twelve, I discovered the royal library of Assur-beni-pal, consisting of thousands of inscribed terra cotta tablets, amongst which were found the Assyrian legends of the Creation and Deluge. At that time (1854) cuneiform writing had not been properly deciphered and it was not till 1872 that the late Mr. George Smith of the British Museum, who had the sole privilege of access to them, came to understand their value.

At Nimroud I discovered a temple dedicated by Semiramis to the god Nebo. In this temple I found four statues of that idol, two small and two colossal; but in consequence of the expense only the former were brought to England and are now in the British Museum. It appears that the gods Nebo and Bel were worshipped both by the Assyrians and Babylonians; and Isaiah mentions them (xlv. 1) in his denunciation against the Chaldeans. One would think from the coarse limestone of which the statues are hewn that when they were made the Assyrians must have been in a state of great poverty; but I believe that when their makers set them up in the temple they were covered with gold leaf of which the enemy stripped them when the Medo-Babylonian army destroyed Nineveh.

Before I could finish excavating the whole palace of Sardanapalus, the term of my engagement came to an end and the Parliament Grant having been nearly spent, I returned to England in the summer of 1854. Soon afterwards I was offered an appointment under the Indian Government and I therefore did not go out to Mossul again; but my late friend Mr. Kennet Loftus, who had been in the employ of the "Assyrian Excavation Fund" to conduct researches in Southern Babylonia, was appointed to succeed me. Beyond recovering a few fragments of bas-reliefs from the outskirts of the palace I had discovered, he found nothing of importance in his excavations at Koyunjik or Nimroud.

After an interval of about twenty-four years, most of which I spent under Her Majesty's Home and Indian Governments at Aden, the Persian Gulf, and Abyssinia, I was asked in 1876 by the Trustees of the British Museum to go out again for them to Mesopotamia to conduct further researches in Assyria. The late Mr. George Smith had been sent out to that country, once by the Proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph" and twice afterwards by the Trustees of the British Museum, to carry on explorations at Koyunjik and Nimroud; but on his third expedition he fell sick and died near Aleppo. He likewise found nothing except a few inscriptions and other small objects, dug out from the palaces of Sennacherib and Sardanapalus which Sir Henry Layard and I discovered in 1847 and 1854 respectively.

I had in the first instance to go to Constantinople, to obtain a Firman

from the Turkish Government through the assistance of the British Ambassador, to enable me to carry on the required researches in Assyria, as formerly. Unfortunately I went there at a time when political complications had arisen between Turkey and Russia ; and whether from the weighty matters that troubled him or other reasons, his Excellency Sir Henry Elliott could not help me ; so I had to return home after having spent there four months uselessly. Most fortunately, however, Sir Henry Layard was appointed soon afterwards ambassador to Constantinople ; and it did not take him long to obtain for me the necessary permission.

As soon as I arrived in Mossul in January 1878, I engaged workmen and overseers to conduct excavations at Koyunjik and Nimroud. The trustees particularly wished the palaces of Sennacherib and Sardanapalus to be thoroughly examined for inscribed terra cottas, the remnants of the royal libraries ; and before many days were over I was rewarded by the discovery of a good collection.

Formerly we did not consider it worth the expense, when we discovered a palace, to dig out all the débris from the buried chambers, because in those days the reading of cuneiform inscription had not attained its present proficiency. Sir Henry Layard and I, therefore, tried, with the little money we had at our disposal, to procure for the British Museum what sculptures we could find :—not that we threw away any inscriptions discovered, but having only limited funds for the excavations, and only a few months in which to accomplish the work, we could not spare the money and time for clearing out all the rubbish from the different chambers. So we contented ourselves by digging only a few feet in front of the sculptures, to enable the workmen to carry away the earth without hindrance. Since the decipherment of the Creation and Deluge tablets, a good deal of interest has been created in Assyrian and Babylonian historical records, and all scholars are now anxious to obtain as many inscriptions as possible for further investigations.

In that expedition, I not only had the débris dug out, but I caused even the walls to be broken up ; because on two or three occasions I found pieces of terra cotta cylinders and tablets buried in some broken walls. One day I discovered by a mere chance a most valuable and perfect cylinder buried in a wall, with 1,300 lines of fine inscription recording the history of about twenty years of the reign of Assur-beni-pal. I was going on that day to Nimroud to see about my other excavations there ; but as I was leaving Koyunjik the overseer superintending the work asked me whether he was to cover a remnant of a broken wall with the débris they were clearing out or have it broken up and removed. Fortunately I told him that as we were breaking down all the walls of the palace he might just as well pull down that too ; and I had not gone away two hours before we were rewarded by the discovery of this valuable relic.

At the mound of Nimroud I came upon another Temple belonging to Assur-Nazir-pal, not far from that king's palace discovered by Sir Henry Layard in 1846 ; but the whole structure was found quite destroyed. Not a trace was found of the walls ; and the fragments of pretty enamelled tiles, which had evidently adorned the ceiling, were broken to pieces and

scattered about the building. Though we collected baskets full of the fragments, I could not even complete a single one for the British Museum. The only objects that I found whole and *in situ* were a marble altar and what seemed to me to be a vessel fixed in the floor of the chamber to receive the blood of the sacrifice. I also found marble seats with a few lines of inscription on them, which I suppose answered as seats for the ministering priests. One of these is now in the British Museum.

The excavations at Nimroud were not so deep as those at Koyunjik as we had only to dig one or two feet to come upon the building, while at the latter place we had very often to penetrate about ten feet before we reached any ancient remains. In one case where I discovered a limestone obelisk of Assur-Nazir-pal, we had to dig down about thirty feet before we got to it. This monument, now in the British Museum, is covered on the top with inscriptions and bas-reliefs recording the war expeditions of that monarch. The discovery of this obelisk and the magnificent terra cotta cylinder of Assur-beni-pal shows that an explorer may miss a most valuable relic by digging one or two feet from it, as happened to other archæologists.

To prove further that there may be still invaluable treasures buried in unknown localities both in Assyria and Babylonia, I shall show from my further discoveries in those ancient countries that it is not unlikely that there may be yet most invaluable records hidden under ground in all Biblical lands, which the spade of explorers has not yet hit upon. I often wondered, after I had made certain discoveries, how I, and other explorers, might have laboured for years and yet missed valuable relics by passing them in the diggings within a few inches. I have often had proofs that tunnels, shafts, and trenches, were dug by other explorers into the very heart of ancient edifices, and that still, by some unfortunate chance, the excavators had turned away when they would have come upon a valuable object if they had gone on straight, or that they went on straight and missed the prize, which lay to one side.

A few years ago, while an Arab was digging a grave in a mound called Balawat, about fifteen miles to the east of Koyunjik and nine miles to the north-east of Nimroud, he came upon a bronze object covered with figures and a few inscriptions. As he dared not move it whole from fear of the Turkish authorities, as it was illegal for anyone to dig for antiquities without license, he broke it into a number of pieces and sold them to different individuals. Fortunately one of those who purchased some of the pieces sent two of them to me in England. On going out to Assyria for the British Museum in 1877, I was determined to find out the spot and obtain, if possible, more pieces of the rare object, as I felt certain that the pieces which were dug out by the Arab belonged to a large trophy. On arriving there, however, I was dismayed to find that the mound where it was discovered was covered with the graves of the neighbouring villagers. I was afraid I should have some difficulty in excavating there, especially as I was certain that the Ottoman Authorities not only would give me no assistance, but that they might, on the contrary, throw obstacles in my way and prevent me from attaining my object. I therefore managed

through my Arab friends, on undertaking not to injure the graves, to get the villagers to consent to my opening a trench where I thought the trophy might be found ; and after a few hours' work I was rewarded by the discovery of the upper part of the monument, about five feet below the surface.

On uncovering the whole trophy I found that it must have been a two leaved gate about twenty feet square with fourteen plates, seven on each side. It was lying on a bank of earth with the top part rising to within three or four feet of the surface, and the lower portion stretching down about fifteen feet deep. This monument, now in the British Museum, is thought to be the coating of a huge gate the thickness of which must have been about four inches, as is shown from the bend of the nails that fastened the plates to the wooden frame. The illustrations on this object, —bas-reliefs in repoussé work,—are minute in detail and elegant in style, and represent battle scenes, marches, and religious ceremonies of the Assyrians. Each plate is divided into two tiers and surrounded by a large number of rosettes which served both for ornaments and for encircling the top of the nails that fastened the metal to the wood. The plates or bands of bronze did not cover the whole frame, and between each of the bands there must have been some ornamental cedar wood, which has rotted away and left the nails standing.

Some of the representations on the bronzes prove that the Assyrian kings acted on some occasions as high priests, and sacrificed kine and sheep. The mode of killing the animals was by stabbing them with a dagger through the heart. In one scene, the priest is represented offering a bullock and a ram, as a peace offering, in front of a tablet or stela of an Assyrian king hewn in the rock, and two attendants are in the act of throwing joints of meat into the sea as a propitiation to the element.

In the same mound I found a temple dedicated by Assur-Nazir-pal, the builder of the north-west palace of Nimroud and of two other temples found there by Sir Henry Layard and myself as already noticed. In the temple at Balawat, I discovered a marble coffer, with two tablets of the same material deposited in it covered with inscriptions. They begin with the pedigree of that king and relate his conquests, and then give an account of the erection of gates of cedar wood overlaid with copper to adorn the temple.

I have often been asked how the Assyrian structures came to be so covered with earth as to hide them from view for so many centuries, especially as it has been the general opinion that the Assyrian palaces consisted of only one story. But from my personal observations I believe that most of the royal edifices consisted of at least two. Even if the brick walls above the sculptures had been ten or fifteen feet high and five or six feet thick there would not be material enough to fill in the space between the walls of the large saloons and halls, especially the open courtyards which are from 100 to 150 feet square. When we consider that, in some instances, we found that the earth covering the ruins was about ten feet above them, it is probable that there were other buildings on the top of the one which was found buried below them. Herodotus mentions in his

history of Babylon that the houses in that city were built three or four stories high. As all the Assyrian and Babylonian palaces were destroyed by fire, excepting Assur-Nazir-Pal's palace at Nimroud which I have already mentioned, naturally when the lowest story was burnt down the one above it fell into it and afterwards, rain, sand storms and subsequent occupiers of the place caused the mound to look like a natural hill. The nature of the rubbish and the thickness of the walls led me to the belief that the Assyrian palaces were two or three stories high. The first story, or ground floor, was panelled with plain alabaster slabs most of which were engraved after they were built in, the sun dried brick walls to support them varying from four to six feet in thickness. The second and third stories must have been built entirely of sun dried bricks plastered and painted over with hunting scenes or martial representations, as both at Koyunjik and Nimroud Sir Henry Layard and I found pieces of sun dried bricks painted over with such illustrations. There is no doubt, from some of the unfinished sculptures and plain alabaster rooms found in different palaces, that the kings of Assyria had the different chambers panelled in the first instance with plain alabaster slabs and left the sculpturing of them till after the finishing of the building. Then each chamber was reserved for illustrating a different conquest of the king or hunting scenes. For instance, one room represented the conquest of Babylonia, another of Susiania, and another of Elam, etc. Two human headed bulls found at the palace of Essarhaddon at Nebbi Younis, and two others which Sir Henry Layard discovered at the northern entrance of the enclosure of Koyunjik, were found in an unfinished state and the wings of the latter remained partly uncompleted. In the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, one large chamber had been left plain, but Assur-beni-pal, his grandson, illustrated his Elamite campaign on it.

II. BABYLONIA.

For a long time I had had a great desire to make some researches in Babylonia; and having obtained leave from the Trustees of the British Museum for that purpose, I went down to Baghdad on a raft, in 1879, after I had left my nephew, Mr. Nimroud Rassam, to carry on the necessary explorations at Koyunjik.

From time immemorial the spade of the digger has been at work in exploring the ruins of Babylon either for treasures, brick, or antiquities; but I was the first who hit upon ancient Buildings.

Since the value of Babylonian antiquities had become known, the activity of the Arab diggers had increased in their spoliation; consequently my undertaking was looked upon with suspicion. Then the Armenian and Jewish brokers, who had been bribing them to dig for antiquities for them, felt that their illegal trade would be interfered with, as they knew that I was going to employ a large number of Arabs and would naturally find out the smuggling that was being carried on, and report it to the authorities.

This iniquitous traffic is most deplorable, because in the way the nefarious digging is conducted it is impossible for an ignorant Arab to extricate

fragile objects with care, and so half are either broken or lost. Worse than all they try to gain a few more piastres by breaking valuable inscribed objects and dividing them amongst different purchasers. For instance, if an Arab digger has received advances from two or three dealers, in antiquities he does not supply each in turn with what he finds, but breaks the most valuable relic and distributes it amongst them. I myself bought a valuable terra cotta oblong cylinder for the British Museum when I was at Baghdad, before I commenced my explorations: it had been found at Babylon, and was mutilated. The digger had tried to saw it into two pieces, and while he was doing so the upper parts broke into a number of fragments, a few of which were lost. The instrument which was used in cutting it must have been very blunt, because it had gnawed off nearly half an inch of the inscription.

The only way I could devise to stop the illicit digging of the Arabs was to make them such an offer as to induce them to give up their haphazard avocation and render me the service I required. This I knew would be more profitable to them at the end, and only the Baghdad dealers would be the losers. I therefore sent for the principal diggers and the chief man who was then carrying on extensive operations at the mound called "Babel," where he was pulling down solid walls of kiln burnt bricks for building purposes, and I spoke to them about my intention. The latter I offered to make a sub-overseer, which appointment he willingly accepted, and he forthwith began to render me active service. The former finding themselves in a fix, reluctantly accepted my proposal, which was,—that as I wished to conduct excavations in the district of Hillah on a large scale, and as my only object was to search for inscriptions, I would employ them for the purpose, pay them regular wages and let them have, besides, all the bricks they found. As a matter of course they found it difficult to refuse my offer, as they knew that if they did so, the local authorities would at once guess that the object of the workmen was not really to dig for bricks, but for antiquities. By this plan I was enabled to secure competent workmen without the risk of future trouble. It is gratifying to relate that after a short time when the Arab diggers began to get accustomed to regular pay, and good treatment, they no longer troubled themselves to sell the bricks they found in the excavations, as they were quite content to receive, at the end of the week, a lump sum for their work.

I found it was not an easy matter to explore systematically in the site of ancient Babylon, because from time immemorial the spade of the digger has been at work either in search of bricks for building purposes, or for treasure; and we know that after the destruction of Babylon the enemy had left no spot unturned for the coveted metal. The area on which the palaces of the kings of Babylon were erected is now divided into four different quarters by the natives; namely,—Jimjima, Quairich, Omran, and Jmjaleeba; in all of which I carried on extensive explorations, but I was able to find only a small remnant of the great palace within the last division, where Belshazar, as it is supposed, met with his fate. In all the four localities my workmen found inscribed terra cotta and clay tablets;

but the most valuable of these were discovered in Jimjima. Amongst them were found contract and legal documents, besides some silver ornaments and pieces of unworked silver which made me think that the spot in which the latter were found must have been a silversmith's establishment.

Nothing can now be seen of that famous city but heaps of rubbish in which are mingled in utter confusion broken bricks, pottery, and remains of enamelled tiles of different colours and designs. These latter, which are only found in Imjaileeba, are mentioned both in sacred and profane writings. The prophet Ezekiel alludes to them (xiii, 14 and 15); and Diodorus Siculus, the Grecian historian, says that "the walls and towers of the palace were covered with tiles of different colours representing hunting scenes, wherein were shown different kinds of wild beasts, with Semiramis on horseback, brandishing a spear, and, near her, Ninus in the act of killing a lion."

In the mound of "Babel" I followed the excavations of the Arabs who were digging for bricks, and uncovered four exquisitely built wells of red granite, placed parallel and within a few feet of each other, in the northern centre of the mound. The stones which completed them were elaborately joined together; and each well was built of circular blocks which must have been brought thither from a great distance higher up the Euphrates, as there are no stone quarries in the neighbourhood of Babylon. Each stone, measuring about three feet in depth, had been bored and made to fit the one below it so perfectly, without cement, that the whole structure looked as if the well had been hewn in a solid rock. These wells were connected with an aqueduct supplied with water from the Euphrates, and even then, when I had two of them cleared out, in the year 1879, the water was seen to ooze up through the débris, in the water course, during the rising of the river. These wells prove that "Babel" was the site of the famous hanging gardens of Babylon mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as the mound stands higher than any other site there. It is about 150 feet high and its almost square dimension is about 2,100 feet.

Unfortunately I could not find any traces of the arches and pillars mentioned by different historians, as the work of destruction has been going on for centuries in those parts; and the only reliable ancient remains that can be identified now, are the existing wells which must have been at least 150 feet deep.

I have an idea that the city of Babylon was situated on the eastern side of the Euphrates, as the city of London is on the left side, and north of the Thames, with the greater proportion of the Metropolis overspreading both banks of the "great river," about ten miles on either side. Herodotus mentioned that the wall of the city was about sixty miles square, 350 feet high, and 70 feet in thickness. His description is as follows—"The city stands on a broad plain, and is an exact square a hundred and twenty furlongs in length each way, so that the entire circuit is four hundred and eighty furlongs. While such is its size, in magnificence there is no other city that approaches to it." (Book I., chap. 178.).

At Birs Nimroud, or temple of Belus, I was fortunate enough to discover

the palace where Nebonidus was supposed to have been residing when Cyrus captured Babylon. It contained about eighty chambers and halls, only four of which yielded a few antiquities, showing that the building was erected by Nebuchadnezzar. The finding of that structure was very fortunate, and shows that explorers ought not to be discouraged if they sometimes fail. That same mound was tried for years by different archæologists in vain, and my only surprise is that they did not discover what I did after a few hours' digging. When I went to examine it in 1880, I felt convinced that the large mound or platform below the tower must contain either a palace or a temple; so I placed two gangs of workmen to try, according to my calculation, the most likely spot where ancient remains might be buried. The overseer, whom I appointed over the workmen there, had been in the habit, formerly, of digging at the adjoining mound where he used sometimes to find inscribed tablets. He had tried the Birs Nimroud platform but could find nothing in it. The consequence was after I gave him the necessary orders and went to see after the other explorations in Babylon, he abandoned the site at which I had placed him and went back to his old haunts. When I returned and found what he had done I ordered him to go at once to the spot I placed him at before; and to his surprise, after he had dug there not quite a day, he found himself at a wall which proved, afterwards, to belong to an extensive palace built by Nebuchadnezzar.

While my excavations were being carried on in the ruins of the palaces of Babylon, Birs Nimroud, Ibraheem-Al-Khaleel, and other localities, I went northwards in search of other ancient sites. One day while staying at an Arab's house in the village of Mahmoodia, about fifteen miles to the south-west of Baghdad, where I generally halted on my way from that city to Babylon, my host informed me that he had found in the neighbourhood, at a mound called Dair, an inscribed brick which he showed me. On examining it I saw it was like the numberless bricks found in Babylonia, bearing the name of Nebuchadnezzar. The place was not more than six miles from the village; but as the Euphrates had at that time overflowed its banks and inundated all the fields between Mahmoodia and Dair, we could not go direct to it. This accident turned out fortunate for me, because on being obliged to make a détour to reach the spot, I passed a very large mound which seemed to me an important ruin. On asking my Arab guide its name, he told me that it was called Aboo-Habba where Noah after the Deluge had buried a gold model of the ark. This tradition seemed to me very wonderful after I had discovered in the mound the ruins of Sippara or Sepharvaim, because we are told by the Chaldean historian Berosus (Frag. ii. 501, iv. 280), that Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt the old temple there as the sacred spot where Xisuthrus (Noah) deposited the antediluvian annals before entering the ark, and whence his posterity afterwards recovered them. As I saw from the fragments of Babylonian inscribed bricks scattered all over the place that the site was an important one, I made up my mind to examine it; and had there been any workmen with me I should have then and there tried it. The difficulty was the finding of workmen in the neighbourhood, as the Arabs of the place asked

exorbitant wages which I could not consent to give. I was able, however, soon afterwards to come to an arrangement with them, and I lost no time in commencing work there. I was rewarded, after three days' trial, by one of the gang coming upon the top of the wall of a chamber, and, on examining it, I felt convinced that it was a Babylonian ruin. This success encouraged me to prosecute the research with redoubled energy, and before many days were over we came upon other buildings in different parts of the mound. To my great surprise, after uncovering one of the rooms, I found it was paved with asphalt which proved afterwards to contain the history of the new Babylonian city that I had discovered. Before that time I had found all pavements in Assyrian and Babylonian buildings to be made of either brick, stone, or alabaster; and this novel discovery made me break into the asphalt. On doing so we found buried in a corner of the chamber, about three feet below the surface, an inscribed earthenware coffer inside which was deposited a stone tablet covered with inscription, upon which was represented a deity since identified as the sun-god, with two figures above, holding an emblem of the sun before him, and two priests leading a youth, evidently a prince, to present to him. Beside this there were also two perfect terra-cotta inscribed cylinders covered with minute cuneiform writing. I dug there afterwards for about eighteen months and discovered, off and on, thousands of inscribed clay tablets. Unfortunately they were not baked like those found in Assyria, and the clay of which they were made was so coarse that as soon as they were exposed to the air they crumbled to pieces. We found that the only way to preserve them was to have them baked which we did with success. Fortunately the most important documents were inscribed on terra-cotta cylinders of which a great number of different sizes and shapes were found.

The mound in which the building was found is about 1,300 feet in length by 400 in width, containing, according to my reckoning, at least 300 chambers and halls. Of these I had only been able to excavate about 130 as our explorations were stopped by the Turkish Government refusing to grant us a Firman to continue the researches in Assyria and Babylonia. It is very curious that I found at Sippara a duplicate copy of the Deluge tablet of the Assyrian text which I had discovered in Assur-beni-pal's palace at Nineveh, twenty years before.

This Sippara has now been satisfactorily identified with the city of Sepharvaim mentioned in the Old Testament in five different places. In 2 Kings xvii. it is said: "And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel." Then chap. xviii. of the same Book, Rab-Shakeh, in his boastful address to the Jews at Jerusalem about the victories gained by his master, Sennacherib, said: "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Iva?"

In the year 1881 I carried on excavations at a large mound called Tel-Ibraheem (or mound of Abraham) about fifteen miles to the north-east of Babylon where I found an extensive building, between 15 and 20 feet below the surface. This site is supposed to be the ruins of the city of

ancient Cuthah mentioned in ii Kings xvii, 24 and 30. With the exception of a few terra-cotta inscribed tablets and bowls containing Syro-Chaldaic and Hebrew writings, found in different parts of the mound, nothing of importance was discovered. The edifice itself bore no sign of fire or any other damage; and the chambers seemed to have been filled in with virgin earth after the walls were built and before any roof was put on. The height of the rooms was about 25 feet, the top of which was between 15 and 20 feet below the surface of the mound. Hence we had sometimes to dig about 45 feet before we could reach the bottom of the building, and to save expense we were obliged to excavate by tunnelling.

While I was engaged in my researches in Assyria, I heard that a large statue of black marble had been discovered by some travellers in a mound called Tel-Loh, near the river Hai in Southern Babylonia; so when I went to Baghdad, I enquired about the place, and as soon as I could I repaired thither to examine it. To my great disappointment, I found on arriving there that Tel-Loh was not in the Pashalic of Baghdad, but in that of Busra; consequently I was debarred by the condition of my Firman from excavating there; and so after three days' trial I abandoned it and returned to Baghdad, hoping that on some future occasion I might be able, through Sir Henry Layard's influence at Constantinople, to extend the limit of my Firman and resume my explorations there. I was, however, doomed to be disappointed, because in the meantime M. Sarzec, the then French Consul at Busra, had managed to obtain a concession from the Porte through his Embassy, which prevented me from visiting the spot again. Nevertheless during my short stay there I was successful in finding some inscribed clay tablets and a ruined temple from which I sent to the British Museum a large pebble socket of a door inscribed with cuneiform characters. I also found there innumerable curious inscribed earthenware symbols in the shape of a thick nail. The whole mound was covered with fragments of these, and up to this day no one has satisfactorily explained what they were used for. Assyrian scholars have identified this ancient site as that of Sitgulla, "the city of the great light," a place dedicated to fire worship: and they have found that the greater part of the antiquities discovered there by M. Sarzec bear the name of "Gudea" a Chaldean Prince who held the rank of a Viceroy under the King of Ur.

The other important discovery I made during my employment by the Trustees of the British Museum between 1878 and 1882 was at Van, the capital of Armenia, which is supposed to be near the site of the Garden of Eden (Genesis ii. 8). When passing through that city on a political mission in 1877, I had noticed an artificial mound on a high promontory overlooking the Lake to the east of the town called by the natives Tooprak-Kalaasi, which means in Turkish "earthen Castle." I then had no permission enabling me to excavate in Turkey; nor could I afford to remain at Van more than a limited time, as I had other duties to attend in connexion with the then existing Turko-Russian war. But being desirous of examining that mound as soon as I received my Firman from Constantinople, which I expected to reach me when I arrived at Mossul two months afterwards, I delegated Dr. Reynolds of the American Board

of Missions to carry on some diggings there, till I could send him the necessary authority. He kindly undertook to do the needful for me; and when he was able to do so he commenced excavating there. Soon afterwards Captain Emelius Clayton, the newly-appointed British Vice-Consul there, joined in the explorations and found some interesting relics, the choicest of which were bronze shields, embossed with animals and pretty designs in high relief, with inscriptions around the edge. They also came upon the remains of a temple built of square blocks of black basalt; and from the large number of similar blocks which I afterwards saw scattered around the place and in the town, I gathered that they all belonged to the same edifice. In the summer of 1880, I was able to go there and superintend the excavations in person; but though I tunnelled through the mound and dug a large number of trenches in different parts, I could find no trace of any other building. I succeeded, however, in discovering some interesting objects, most of which, being made of copper, went to pieces as soon as they were exposed to the air. I was able to preserve only a few fragments of ancient art, such as shields, cups, quivers, calves' heads belonging to a throne, and other ornamental objects.

In July 1882, the term of my Firman expired, and as British influence at the Turkish capital was then at a low ebb after the departure of Sir Henry Layard, nothing would induce the Sublime Porte to renew the concession granted us on two former occasions. The consequence was that we were obliged to abandon the sites in which I was most successful, and the Arabs have been allowed to play havoc with the remainder of my discoveries.

I have brought the matter to the notice of the Oriental Congress which was held in London in 1892, and I also submitted a suggestion to the World's Congress Auxiliary of Chicago, and urged the learned members of those two Scientific Congresses to use their influence in checking the vile destruction of ancient records that has been taking place for years in Biblical lands by greedy Arabs, and Armenian and Jewish dealers in antiquities. It is deplorable to relate that such nefarious acts are encouraged in a great measure by European and American purchasers, who forget that, for every object they buy, three or four are destroyed on account of the smuggling which is carried on in that illegal pursuit.

The iniquity of encouraging such an unlawful traffic cannot be better exposed than in what Mr. Justice Cave pointed out in the late libel and slander trial of "*Rassam v. Budge*," when the Counsel for the Defence pointed to two inscribed terra-cotta cylinders which he asserted had been so purchased by the authorities of the British Museum for a large sum. His Lordship remarked thus:—

"We all know that if you give £300 for a cylinder like the one produced, it is an incentive to people to steal. It is like the poachers; they will take your own game if you will buy it of them, or they will take it anywhere they can get it."

Unfortunately the Ottoman authorities are only very strict when any European Museum tries legitimately to obtain the necessary Concession, but they pay no heed to the smuggling carried on daily before their very

eyes by Arab diggers, whereby most valuable antiquities have been and are being destroyed.

There are still, I have no doubt, invaluable ancient remains buried underground in Biblical lands, which will be lost to the world for ever, if those in authority do not use their energy and influence to check the illegitimate traffic and to save what remains of buried treasures for the benefit of science and Biblical studies. England of all other countries ought to try and protect those sites where she has been marvellously successful in her operations, which were carried on in the first place by Sir Henry Layard and since then under my superintendence ; and I think it is a great shame that we are not allowed to recover the remainder of the Assyrian and Babylonian royal libraries which were discovered by Sir Henry Layard in Nineveh, and by me at Aboo-Habba, the Sepharvaim of the Bible.

I think all scientific public institutions, all over the world, ought to join together and solicit the help of their respective Governments to use their influence with the Sublime Porte, (the present custodian of all ancient Biblical localities), to allow a proper research to be conducted, by experienced explorers, either on their own account, or to entrust this work to the agents of other Museums, and to leave the allotment of the objects discovered to future consideration.

By this arrangement the remainder of the buried historical records will be reclaimed ; and both scientific and theological scholars will reap the benefit of fresh discoveries.

Brighton 7th June 1894.

THE VIDYODAYA.*

BY C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

WE have before us the January, February, March and April numbers of this journal for the present year. The journal is said by its editor, Paṇḍit Hrishikeśa Bhaṭṭācārya Śāstrī, to be "chiefly depending on Dr. Leitner." There can be no doubt that the editor has secured as contributors some well-known Sanskrit scholars. The *Yamarājavichāra-prahasanam*, "A Satire on the decision of King Yama," which begins in the January number, might remind Western readers of the Westminster Play. The Aristophanic realism of the *Nāndī* or invocation will be thoroughly understood by anyone who has lived in Calcutta. The *Sutradhāra* or manager refers to the approaching "great meeting in Calcutta, the metropolis of India, of those who are for preventing the use of opium" (*ahiphena*).

The play opens with a dialogue between two actors, one of whom loves opium and the other wine. There is a tacit assumption that everyone who does not take opium must be addicted to wine. The first actor is a votary of opium, as appears from the following monologue :

THE FIRST ACTOR (*yawning and looking furtively round*), *to himself*. "Alas! This morning I was so much occupied with worldly business of various kinds that I missed the proper time for taking my dose of opium; the consequence of which is that I keep yawning from time to time, and all my bones seem to be out of joint, and water is continually pouring from my eyes. So I will stand here and take an opium pill. But then my companion is known to have a great dislike to opium; so I dare not take it in his presence; for this young fellow, who is fond of talking a lot of useless stuff, will pitch upon this weak point, and begin beating the big drum, and thus give me a headache. So I must quietly, on some excuse, sneak out of his company."

The second actor, who apparently represents young Bengal, enquires the reason of his friend's perturbation, and is informed that a great misfortune has happened. The second actor is evidently loyal to the British Government in spite of his new ideas, and expresses a belief that no great calamity can happen under the rule of English officers. The first actor observes that his friend is loyal to the officers of Government, though loyalty is not in fashion with the eloquent sons of young Bengal, educated or uneducated. The second actor then celebrates in verse the blessings which the British Government has bestowed on India. It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the dramatist here is indulging in a little irony. He extols the impartial justice of the British Government, the levelling of all distinctions of caste and rank, the abolition of superiority not based on wealth, the shameless selling in the bazaars by Brahmans of the Mūkkerji

* *The Vidyodaya*, a Monthly Critical Sanskrit Journal. Printed in Calcutta, and published by the Publishing Department of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

family of wine, flesh, *et cet.*, and winds up with a panegyric on female education.

The first actor is eager to get back to his house on business, but after a little heckling is induced to reveal his real grievance as follows : " Have you not heard that the officers of Government have established a society for preventing the use of narcotics such as opium, *gánjá*, and so on ? "

SECOND ACTOR. Rubbish ! That is a good thing, not a calamity.

FIRST ACTOR. What do you mean ? Do you suppose that without narcotics poor people, who labour day and night to keep body and soul together, will long continue alive ?

SECOND ACTOR (*laughing*). Not continue alive ! Poor people are a burden to the earth ; they ought to be extirpated, root and branch.

FIRST ACTOR (*angrily*). Out on you, fool ! You are so constituted as not to know the difference between good and bad, to speak like this ! The labouring poor are the life-blood of the world : the regal pomp of kings would be at an end in a moment without them. Dear me ! This is the effect of the *Kali Yuga*. You desire the root and branch extirpation of those by means of whom you live, and wear all sorts of fine clothes, and make a display of refinement.

SECOND ACTOR (*downcast and ashamed, to himself*). The rascal says what is true ; so what am I to say ? (*Thinking a little.*) Well ! This is what I will say. (*Aloud*) If narcotics are necessary to preserve their life, what does it matter that *gánjá* and opium which all refined persons object to, and which encourage bad desires, and produce all kinds of calamities, are prohibited ? They will drink wine which is approved by all refined people, and produces all kinds of auspicious results.

FIRST ACTOR (*shaking his head derisively*). Yes ! This is just what will take place : no doubt about it. This is why I said " a great misfortune has befallen us. "

Both actors then break into verse in defence of their favourite indulgence. The following remark of the second actor probably explains the love which some of the educated men of modern Bengal are supposed to entertain for wine : " The men of the West are addicted to wine and flesh ; they meet with all kinds of good fortune, are victorious everywhere, and enjoy all pleasures ; while we, living on the roots and fruits of the forest, meet with humiliation everywhere. " It is unnecessary to pursue the controversy further. Our extracts will show the opinion that the Sanskrit-writing inhabitants of Bengal entertain with regard to the labours of the Opium Commission.

The February number contains a poem in praise of the veteran educationalist Babu Bhudeva Mukhopádhya, formerly inspector of schools in Bengal, who has given Rs. 150,000 for the benefit of Sanskrit learning. The money is to be spent in salaries to teachers of the Vedas, Law, and Philosophy. The generous donor is compared to many heroes of antiquity, such as Dadhichi who " gave to India his body worn out with excessive old age. " The poet points out that " a man who avoids the appropriate duties of his caste, and makes money by a hundred exertions, at the risk of his life, considers himself as fortunate ; " and then apostrophises the

donor, as follows, "an excellent man, like thee, who abandons money like straw, is hard to find in this world."

The "*Karkasāha Charitam*" seems to commemorate the exploits of Farokhsir, who gained the imperial crown of Delhi by the aid of the Sayad Abdullah. But the tradition followed by the author seems to differ in some respects from that adopted by Elphinstone in his History of India. This composition is partly in prose and partly in poetry. It contains some spirited passages. *Vahnisāstrānām nāyaka* for "Commander of the Artillery" is no doubt excellent Sanskrit, but reminds one a little of the efforts made by Latin versifiers to describe the siege of Sebastopol in Virgilian hexameters. But we must remember that some scholars hold that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with the use of artillery.

The poem entitled "Praise of the Deity by an atheist" seems to draw some of its inspiration at any rate from the works of modern Chārvākas of European extraction, though in stanza 8 the non-existence of the Deity is proved from primeval tradition, and stanza 14 may remind the reader of the *Śūnyavādinō Bauddhāh*.

We hope to notice the periodical again.

FOURTH REVIEW ON THE
 SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

I.—INDIA.

JAINA TEXTS AND PRAKRIT STUDIES.

JAINA SÚTRAS, TRANSLATED FROM PRÂKRIT

BY HERMANN JACOBI.

PART I.—THE ÂCHÂRÂNGA SÚTRA AND THE KALPA
 SÚTRA. (VOL. XXII.)

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

THESE two important and ancient scriptures of the Jaina sect have been for the first time fully translated and lucidly annotated by the eminent scholar Professor Jacobi whose admirable edition of the Prâkrit text of the Kalpa Sûtra had already appeared in vol. vii. of the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, the well-known series published by the German Oriental Society of Leipzig. It is difficult to regard without a feeling of disappointment the slight impression produced by the arduous labours in the field of Prâkrit of a small but earnest band of scholars in Germany who have brought to their thankless task an amount of learning and acumen of which even erudite Germany may be proud. It would almost seem as if the Brahmanical spirit of pride and exclusiveness had passed into the minds of Oriental students in Europe and had led them to consider that Hinduism among Indian religions and Sanskrit among Indian languages were alone worthy of study. Of the languages adopted by the two principal dissenting sects of ancient India, the Prâkrit of the Buddhists, concealed under the name of Pali and promoted in Ceylon and Burma to the rank of a sacred tongue, has indeed received some attention. But the Prâkrit of the Jains though in some respects more important attracts very few students. It is more important than Pali because that language has, to a great extent, passed, with the religion it represents, beyond the bounds of India, while Jaina Prâkrit stands in the direct line of descent from the primitive Aryan to the modern Indian tongues, and exhibits a more advanced stage of development than Pali. It has thus a more practical bearing upon the study of Indian philology than either classical

Sanskrit or classical Pali. Indeed none but those who have experienced the difficulty of bridging the gulf between classical Sanskrit with all its artificial exuberance of structure and the simple, highly analytical modern languages, can appreciate the immense advantages rendered to philology by such masterly works as Prof. Pischel's edition of Hemachandra, Dr. Hoernle's edition of Chanda's *Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa*, and the texts published by such eminent scholars as Weber, Goldschmidt and Jacobi. When the time comes for Prākṛit studies to obtain the attention they deserve, these works will be esteemed as the basis of all correct appreciation of the history of linguistic development in one of the most important branches of the Aryan family.

But the work now under notice merits attention on other grounds. The Jain sect has not, like Buddhism, perished out of India. It still numbers close upon a million of adherents, including the active, intelligent and wealthy Marwari merchants whose commercial transactions extend not only over all India but far into Eastern Asia, and into Europe. Surely the religious tenets, observances, and ideas of so prominent a sect deserve study not only from a literary but also from a political, point of view; for the Marwaris are very much attached to their religion. One of their leading men, the enterprising and notably public-spirited banker, Rai Dhanpat Singh Bahadur of Murshidabad, has spent large sums on the publication of Jaina texts, and other wealthy members of this flourishing sect have built and munificently endowed temples and refuges for aged and worn-out animals. Their religion forbidding them to destroy life in any form, the protection of animals has become one of the most interesting and touching features of their creed. The splendour and architectural beauty of Jaina temples, especially in Western India, are well known.

Jainism presents so many points of resemblance to Buddhism that it was for a long time thought to be merely a subdivision of that religion. Professor Jacobi, in his learned introduction to the text of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which should be read with his introduction to the Translation, proves that the two sects are entirely distinct. Buddha and Mahavira the founder of Jainism, though contemporaries, were two distinct personages. The age in which they lived was one of reaction against Brahmanical orthodoxy and the constantly increasing narrowness of its system. In early Buddhist writings Mahavira is often mentioned under the title of Niggantha-nātha a term peculiar to Jainism and signifying “chief of the Nirgranthas,” the special designation of Jaina monks. The asceticism which distinguishes both Buddhist and Jaina monks is shown to have its common source in Brahmanism. Poverty, chastity, truthfulness, obedience, abstention from injuring living beings, are the vows taken by Hindu *sannyāsis* just as much as by Buddhist *bhikkhus* or Jaina *nigganthas*. It is indeed a disputed point whether in some respects Hindu ascetics may not have borrowed practices from Jainas and Buddhists.

The Jainas possess a very extensive literature some of which is undoubtedly of very great antiquity. The *Āchārāṅga*, which, as its name implies, treats of the conduct proper to be observed by ascetics is perhaps the most ancient. Its style is rambling and incoherent, full of repetitions

and fragments of phrases from which it is difficult to extract any coherent meaning. The extremely able and perspicuous treatment of this oracular and nebulous text by Prof. Jacobi however, brings out the tenets inculcated in a surprisingly intelligible fashion. The minutely careful precautions enjoined on ascetics, in begging, in choice of a lodging, in eating, and in all the affairs of life, are exceedingly interesting and quaint. One doubts however whether they could ever have been fully carried out even by the most conscientious anchorite.

The *Kalpa Sūtra*, a later work, contains, with much repetition and monotonous phrase-making, the lives of the Jinas or successive Heads of the sect. Its date is probably about 514 A.D. Both in this and the *Āchārāṅga*, side by side with the driest technicalities there is a crowd of incidental remarks and allusions which throw a flood of light on the circumstances and conditions of life in ancient India. An extremely amusing picture of that life might be drawn by one who carefully pieced together all these scattered allusions. Their evidently truthful character stands in strange contrast to the as evidently mythical characters of the Tirthakaras or successors of Mahavira, one of whom, Rishabha, lived eight million and odd years, while others are several miles high, and all of them practised the most astounding austerities.

Apart however from these eccentricities, which are not peculiar to Jainism, but exist more or less in all Oriental religions, there is abundant material for studying the rise and growth of a peculiarly interesting and practically important phase of Indian thought, a phase which has had no transitory existence but which exercises as potent an influence upon keen-witted hard-headed merchants of the present day as it did upon dreamy ascetics two thousand years ago.

II.—CHINA.

THE ANCIENT CHINESE BOOKS OF DIVINATION.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIEUR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.,

Professor in the University of Louvain.*

In a former article (published in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. vii., no. 14, (April, 1894) pp. 386-395), I dealt with the Yi-King only, and endeavoured to determine its nature and contents and the system which should be followed in its interpretation, according to the intention of its authors. But the Yi-King was not the only book of Divination used in China before the Christian era.

This is proved first from the texts of the Tso-tchuen mentioned in my former article and to which I shall return further on; and next from the express statement of another work of which the perfect authenticity is not

* Translated from the French by the Rev. J. P. Val d'Eremao, D.D.

quite certain but the evidence of which cannot be passed over in silence. I mean the Tcheu-li,* in which we read (Book xxiv., Art. 1, Ta-pu, § 2): "The Ta-pu (Grand Augur) is set over the observance of the rules of the 3 yi or the 3 kinds of Changes, of which the first is called Lien-Shan, the second Kuei-tsang, and the third Tcheu-yi." This last mentioned need not detain us: it is the Yi-King of my former article. But what were the other 2 systems, with names quite different? Are we to consider them as special works? or simply as particular methods of interpreting the Yi-King?

A categorical reply is impossible. The books which bore these names no longer exist. We can speak of them only as they are mentioned by Chinese authors; and they are far from being agreed on this subject. Though they all admit that books bearing these names did exist in ancient times, yet this does not settle our question.

According to commentators on the Tcheu-li, the Tchu, the Shu, the Tu-tze-tsiun and other works, it would seem that the Lien Shan, and the Kuei tsang did not differ from the Yi-King except in a different arrangement of chapters. This, at least, is what the Shu and other commentaries of authority declare, when explaining the names of these collections. They derive Lien-Shan—"adjoining mountains"—from Kua LII., *Kan*, which is supposed to have been the first in this book; as its hexagrammatic figure, composed of the trigram $\equiv \equiv$ repeated twice, represents mountains. Kuei-tsang—"return to the receptacle,"—they derive from its first Kua having been *K'wen*, representing the Earth,—"the great receptacle to which all things finally return."

We cannot tell how far these statements may be true. The *Tcheu-li* say only that these 3 *methods* (and not *books*) of Divination have for their basis the 8 Kuas, and are, all three, divided into 64 parts. The commentators add that "they do not differ except in the manner of drawing the presage."

We are strongly tempted to laugh at their explanation of the names; for this derivation of the names, especially in the case of the Kuei tsang, is too unlikely to merit serious consideration. That a book should have been called "The Return to the Magazine or Secret Receptacle," because it began with the word "Earth," the great receptacle to which all things return, makes too great a demand on our credulity. As to the *Lien-Shan*, while the commentary Shu only says that it begins with the word *Kan*, which means one or more mountains, others (as, e.g., the Tu-tze-tsiun) give the explanation that "the mountains exhale *Khi*, the ethereal substance which is the foundation of all being,"—which is pure fancy. Equally unlikely are the explanations given for the choice of the initial Kuas, by

* The Tcheu-li, the first and much more correct name of which is Tcheu Kuan ("the Magistrates of the Tcheus"), is a book describing all the offices and duties, with all their details, as they existed according to its author, under the empire of the Tcheu, the 3rd dynasty, which reigned from 1122 to 255, B.C. This book, re-arranged after the restoration of literature has been held in China as an authentic work of that period. But many things in it are evidently due to the too fertile fancy of its later editors or compilers. See my article *The Tcheu-li*, in *Tung Pao*, 1894.

referring them to the different dynasties, each of which selected a different month for commencing the year. Thus the Tcheus had taken for the beginning of their year the 11th month of which the figure is "Heaven," which would thence become the first in their book of Divination;—the Yin-shangs, who began their year with the 12th month, would place first the "Earth," for which the figure is 12;—and so on. I need not weary my readers with more of these useless and tiresome details. (See the Lu-li-tchi.)

Among the various different methods of taking auguries, I consider, as the most probable, that of the Shu, resting on an example taken from the Tso-tchuen. For its better explanation, I must make a short digression on this book, and on the Kuo-Yu,* a cognate work.

Instances of auguries from a passage chosen by lot out of some book of Divination occur about 20 times in the annals of Tso-kiu-Ming. They may be classed under the 3 following chief heads:—

(1). A passage is drawn by lot directly from some book of augury: it has a complete and intelligible meaning; and the Kuas do not come in at all. Thus in the Tchuang Kong, An. xxii. (671 B.C.) after the marriage of King-Tchong, son of Li Prince of Tsin, the augury indicates (directly and without the intervention of Kuas) the two following verses, reproducing a passage of the Shi-King (iii., 20, viii., sh. 7. 8. 9):—

"The Phoenix and its mate, beginning their flight,
Sing harmoniously, in sweetest sounds."

(2). One Kua is drawn by lot, and from that Kua, one sentence, which serves the augur to divine the result of an undertaking. Thus, in the year xv. of Hi-Kong (645 B.C.) at the court of Tsin, the augur Tu-fu drew the Kua *K'z*, and from it the following three verses of four syllables:—

"The 10,000 charriots are thrice repulsed;
Besides these three defeats
They capture the Valiant Hu (fox)."

These verses are not found in our Yi-King.

(3). There are drawn by lot two Kuas, differing in only one of their 6 lines; and the desired response is sought in the figure corresponding to the line of the first Kua which has not its like in the second. Thus, in the xvth year of Hi-Kong, an augury was taken at Tsin regarding the marriage of a prince. The lot gave successively the Kuas liv., *Kuei mei* and xxxviii. Kwei. The difference, being in the last of the 6 lines, indicated the sentence:—

"The young lady has a basket devoid of fruits.
The Shi† offers a sheep without blood."

This text differs from that in our Yi-King only in having the phrases in a different order, and that the word *K'uei* (to kill, to cut in pieces), takes

* The Kuo-Yu ("State Discourses") are an historical collection of speeches made by the Princes, and more especially by their advisers, upon State affairs, during the period from the VIIIth to the Vth Century, B.C. Their compiler, who is believed to have compiled also the Tso-tchuen, flourished in the Vth or IVth Century, B.C.

† Meaning its keeper or officer.

the place of *tao* (to offer, to present). The two verses have, moreover the particles *Yih* and *Yi* in the middle and at the end.*

But this is not all. After these lines there follow many others, to which there are no equivalents in our present text.

"Therefore are they without gifts (for offering).
Our western neighbours have words of reproach.
But it is impossible to remedy these defects."

After these the augur proceeds to cite,

"The cart has its throng loosened; the fire has burnt his banner,
In vain they push forward the army; it is defeated at Tsong-Kien."

Nothing of this is found in our Yi-King; but a text in Chap. XXXVIII, presents some analogy with the last four verses: "The Chariot is seen to be captured; its bull is taken and dragged away; its rider is ill-used, and has his nose cut off." Except the word *chariot* every point differs. The word *Tsong* occurs indeed in the latter part of the chapter, but in a place where it cannot be considered as a remnant of the mutilated text of the *Tso-tchuen*. Neither chariot nor battle is there treated of; for the literal sense is: The outcast, the rejected, should he meet an honest man, may have happy relations (with him). All care being thrown aside, relatives draw together (bite their own flesh).

Of the three instances which I have given, the first, in which the Kuas are not used, does not belong to our subject. In the 3^d case, the sentence from which the augury is made is got by changing one Kua for another; the second, where only one Kua is taken, requires no such change. This is what, according to certain commentators, constituted the difference between the Yi-King and the other two books, and owing to which it got the name of Yi (Book of Changes).

This, however, cannot be true. For in the last cited instance, and in many similar ones besides, the text found under the heading of the Kuas does not belong to the Tcheu-yi, and must, therefore, have been taken from other collections. For any other conclusion, it would be necessary to suppose that the Yi-King of the Vth Century B.C. had subsequently undergone considerable alteration and abridgment,—a thing which no one, I think, will easily admit.

The Shu supposes that auguries were taken from the Tcheu-yi by the change of entire lines for broken ones, and *vice versa*; while they were taken from the Lien-Shan and the Kwei-tsang by a combination of the two lines placed in the only two ways that they could be.†

The Kuo-yu already mentioned also give us an instance in which the augur seeks a reponse without the aid of Kuas, and another instance, of a novel type, in which he draws the presage from the title only of the chapter (*i.e.* *Li*, the title of Chapter XXX.), which he takes in the sense of "scattering," and in which he sees a prognostication of the destruction of

* As the 3 following verses have 4 syllables, it is probable that these also must have had the same number, and that the true text is in the Yi-King.

† Perhaps it should be translated "The cars have their thongs," etc.; and it may be a question regarding the whole army.

‡ This is what the numbers 9, 6, and 7, 8 of the Shu mean.

the State.* It is easily seen that we cannot possibly say, whether these sentences used for auguries, inserted in the Tso-tchuen, and of which no trace is found in the Yi-King, did or did not belong to the other two books; or whether there existed yet other books on Divination, from which these sentences may have been taken,—books which have not only been lost, but the very names of which are forgotten. Some fragments of the Lien-Shan and the Kuei-tsang are quoted in existing works; but it is doubtful whether they are indeed from the ancient collections known under those names, or from later publications bearing the same title.

The Tang-tchi mentions a Lien-Shan, in 10 Kiuens, on which Sse-ma-Ying wrote a commentary; and in the other part, under Yuen-ti of the Liangs (552-555), another Lien-Shan is spoken of, in 30 Kiuens. In the Ti-Wang-she-ki we find the following quotation from the Lien Shan: "Yü married a daughter of To-shan, named Yu Niu." Another, in the commentary Tchu on the Shui King, is "K'wen, prince of Tsong, concealed himself in the desert of Yü Shan." Here let us note that these extracts give complete and intelligible sentences and historical facts, and not scraps of obscure phrases, like those of the Yi-King. This statement, too, that the Lien-Shan contained 10 (or 30) Kiuens is more than sufficient proof that some other work is meant and not the ancient book of Divination mentioned in the Tcheu-li. And this is all that we can say regarding the Lien-Shan collection.

Regarding the Kuei-tsang, our knowledge is neither more certain nor more extensive. The Tang-tchi and the Sui-tchi quote a book of this name consisting of 13 Kiuens, on which commentaries were written by the same Sse-ma-ying who explained the Lien-Shan, and by Pi-shi of Tsin. But Kong yin ta in his commentary on the Tchun-tsiu did not hesitate to declare this work to be a forgery and not the ancient book of Divination: the division into 23 Kiuens would, of itself, have told us this sufficiently. The Tsong-wen also rejects at least a great part of it, and says that the Kuei-tsang in the possession of the Hans is not the ancient book. "Three fragments of it now survive, which I have not been able to examine." The preface of the Tchong Heng Shu states that San Yun-pi, the great officer of Tsin, had written a commentary on this book, but that there remained of it only 3 fragments, of which the text was so mutilated and changed as to be unintelligible. *Kim shû sân piên puh hò. Kêu-i Wên tō Kiue lún puh hò hiún shik.*

Many Chinese works contain fragments of a book which they call the Kuei-tsang; but the formal testimony of Chinese writers renders it impossible to believe that these fragments belong to the ancient collection of that name.

The Tsa-kua-tcheng-i adds that "the Kuei tsang varied at different times,"—a thing which could not be said of a book identical in form with our Yi-King. Besides, the contents of these fragments saved from oblivion contain sufficient indications of a relatively recent date. Thus the Wen-

* See the Tsin-yu, Part II.

sin-long tells us that when the great archer, Yi,* had killed the 10 suns, "Shang-go fled to the moon;" to which the Shu-tching-i adds, that "the same Yi aimed arrows at 3 suns." The Wen siuen tchu quotes the phrase: "The man of higher rank pays attention to his car, the common man to his walk," (the former riding in his chariot, takes care that nothing in it is wrong).

The Tchwang-tze tsik-wen has the following words from our book: "Already the son of Wen wang consulted the holy (plant) and the kuas, at Yu-kiang." The Tchu-tchen-yi-tsong-Shwo gives *Kien* and *Siao tchuk* as the titles of two sections of the Kuei-tsang. Lastly, the Tai ping Yu kien, an Encyclopædia of the Xth century A.D., quotes, with others, two rather long sentences. The first tells us that "seeing the clouds descending from the azure of the heavens and heaped upon the ridge of his house, Niu-kua† drew from it a presage, and obtained the favourable prognostication, that it announced glory for the empire, peace and order for the earth, and concord among states. The second relates that the spirit Hwang, about to combat the spirit of fire, Yen Shin,‡ consulted the holy plant, through Wu-hien, and the reply predicted evils. But another passage in the same book tells quite a different tale: "When this consultation took place, Ming-ti said: 'Already the Prince of Hià, Yu, fled, mounted on a dragon; and he rises to heaven.' They drew the augury from this sentence, and found that it announced a favourable conclusion of the war."

This is what was contained in the Kuei tsang, of the Tsin and of the Song, as well as in that of the Tai-ping-yu-Kien.

We need scarcely say that this cannot be the ancient book. The myths of the archer Yi and his wife,—of Niu Kua,—and of the monsters in the beginning of creation are quite foreign to Chinese antiquity. They appear with the outcome of Tao-she-ism, with the writings of the Hoei-nan-tze, Tchwang-tze and Lie-tze: that is to say, with the sixth century of the ancient era at the earliest.

We must note, besides, that these sentences, complete in themselves, announcing facts supposed to be historic, in plain and intelligible terms, have nothing in common with the scraps of obscure phrases which make up our Yi-King, and which one finds everywhere among the quotations of the Tso-tchuen. These points, considered together with the statements of Chinese authors which I have given above, are more than sufficient proof that the Lien-Shan and the Kuei-tsang, of which fragments have been preserved, were books quite different from those anciently so-called. This is too evident to need further labour. Ma-tuan-lin, however, gives

* A celebrated archer of the 24th century (!) B.C., who rescued the sun from an eclipse by shooting arrows. One day there appeared 10 suns, a most unlucky sign. All these Yi killed and caused to disappear, with his arrows. His wife, Tchang-go, stole his ambrosia and fled to the moon, and is "the lady of the moon."

† Niu-Kua is a mythic being in Chinese cosmogony, made out to be the sister of Fu-hi, whom she helps to civilize man; but others attribute to her a part in the creation of beings, out of original chaos. She bears, on the body of a serpent, the head of a bull.

‡ These two spirits are the mythical representation of two legendary Emperors, Hwang-ti and Yen-ti (Shen-nong). The battle between them was fought on the plains of Tcho-lu. Wu-hien is held to have been the first augur.

formal testimony regarding the Kuei-tsang : "It was not in existence under the Hans ; it has no place in the catalogues of the Sut ; and it appeared between the Tsin and the Sut."

The question still remains to be solved, What is the origin of the three books of Divination ?

The Chinese commentators of our time unanimously say that the Lien-Shan is the divining book of the Hias, and the Kuei-tsang that of the Shangs, and the Tcheu-yi that of the Tcheu.* But can we accept their evidence ? There can be no doubt as to the reply. Not at all ; for this is the usual systematic disposition of the commentators regarding such matters, which will not stand a moment's examination. A few words will suffice to prove this.

First, we have already seen, in my former article, that till the reign of the first Tchou successors of Wu-Wang, China had no book of Divination resembling the Yi-King, as prognostications were drawn directly from examination of the branches of the sacred plant. This argument should suffice of itself ; but it is strengthened by the very nature of the evidence adduced for the opposite side. Thus the most serious of these historians, Huang-pu-mi, does not hesitate to add to his assertion regarding their origin the statement that the Lien-Shan was composed by Fu-hi, and the Kuei-tsang by Hoang-ti. The falsity of the second assertion enables us to judge of the truth of the first. Sse-ma-tsien himself goes so far as to assign the composition of the Appendices to Kong-fu-tze. Fu-hi, Hoang-ti and Kong-tze are the Manu, Vyāsa and Kalidāsa of the Chinese : to them is traced whatever is important, whatever they wish to canonize.

One fact, however, which we gather from the Li-Ki shows us how unblushingly the *literati* of the time of the Han treated such matters and falsified history. The Lün Yü ("Discourses of Kong-tze") quote these words of that great man : "I could explain the rites (*li*) of the Hias ; but (the princes of) Ki (their descendants) could not confirm my evidence. I could make known those of the Yins ; but (their successors) the Songs could not confirm my words." The words are reproduced in the Li-ki ; but note, in what terms : "I desired to see the doings (*tao*) of the Hias ; this is why I have been to the Kis, but they have not been able to make them positively known to me. There I have only been able to collect the calendar of the Hias. I desired to see the doings of the Yins ; this is why I betook myself to the Songs ; but they could give no certain account of their nature ; I have, however, received there the Kwun Kien (that is to say the Kuei-tsang). Thus what I have been able to examine there is the sense of the Kwun Kien, and the divisions of the seasons, of the calendar of Hia." If we were to accept this evidence, we should come to the conclusion that Kong-tze had had in his hand the calendar of the Hias, and the Kuei-tsang, and that he had found them among the descendants of the Hias and of the Yins. Now, as we have seen, these assertions are a forgery.

Nothing is so instructive as to read how the most learned and serious

* Three dynasties which succeeded one another in China : the Hia reigned 2205-1766, the Shang 1766-1122, and the Tcheu 1122-255, B.C.

of the Chinese encyclopædists narrate the history of the Yi-King. We can only smile at their effrontery; for it quite disarms criticism. Here, for instance, is what the Yü-Hai says regarding it: "Of old had Fu-hi begun to trace the 8 Kuas, to penetrate the power of the spirits, and to characterize the nature of different beings. He then increased the signs and brought their number up to 64. Thus matters stood till the 3rd dynasty. Afterwards there were 3 Yi. The Hias had the Lien-Shan, the Yins the Kuei-tsang. Wen-Wang of Tcheu composed the Kua-sze, which is called the Tcheu-yi. Next Tcheu-kong composed the Hiao-sze (the 2nd Text); Kong-tze composed the Appendices; Tze Hia handed down the whole; and matters remained thus till the destruction of these books by the Tsin. After that, the Tcheu-yi alone remained, and even of that, three sections of the Appendix Shuo Kua were lost. It was 'Nui tze of the Ho-nei who received it. In the early days of the Hans, it came into the hand of Tien-ho, who passed it on to Ting huan. Ting huan handed it to Tien Wang Sun; etc., etc."

But Ma-Tuan lin gives even more complete and precise details: an eyewitness could not speak with greater assurance. And yet the great bulk of these assertions is absolutely false, as has already been sufficiently seen; and the remainder is improbable. There is not the slightest trace of the Lien-Shan and the Kuei-tsang prior to the Vth century; and we know from the Kings that they did not exist before the XIth century.

Lastly, it would be very strange that the Ritual of the Tcheus should give, as of equal authority, its own Yi and those of the preceding dynasties, which had been subverted as tyrannical; and yet more strange that they should give to these the first place. It would be very strange, too, that the Tcheu had required a knowledge of them in their own augurs.

On the other hand, our Encyclopædists know nothing of the real propagators of the Yi-King, which the Tso tchuen makes known to us.

We should note that neither the Yü hai nor Ma tuan lin mentions any change made in the Yi-King by Wen-Wang. The few authors who do mention it, mix so much that is false with their account that their statements seem to deserve no attention.

I do not wish to enter into the discussion of the special changes attributed to Wen-Wang by Lo-pi, the man of many legends. There is, perhaps, already quite enough of this dry essay. So in order to close it with something interesting, I give a simple and plain translation of a few more Sections of the Yi-King.

I. *Kien*. Heavenly element; the active exciting principle.

1st TEXT: It originates, develops, maintains, completes (every being).

2nd TEXT: 1. The dragon in the abyss is useless, without action. (Symbols): The productive principle in the chaos generates nothing. The Prince shut up in his palace is of no use to his people.

2. The dragon which shows itself is in the fields. Beneficence indicates the great man.

3. The superior man is active, and vigilant all the day. During the night even, he attends to his duty. Dangers coming upon him (in such circumstances) produce no evil results.

4. The dragon agitating itself in the Abyss causes no injury.

5. The flying dragon dwells in the heaven. (The symbol of a superior man.)

6. The dragon which rises up and fights is the cause of injuries, and of regrets.

7. To see many headless dragons is a happy presage.

Note. In this series of phrases or expressions, probably taken from various books or consisting of various proverbs and placed here together, each one mentions a dragon,—the emblem of the productive principle, the generator, the Sovereign power. Perhaps the 4th (and similar sentences) should be translated, "The dragon raising himself is an unlucky presage," that is to say, when the lot falls on such a phrase it is a bad sign. But, if this is so, we may ask why each phrase has not its own similar prognostication? I cannot think that we have here the 5 mythological dragons, because they do not bear these names, nor have they these attributes. Moreover, we have here six dragons and not five.

XLII. *Lun* ; to diminish, deprive of, repress ; to abase one's self.

1st TEXT. Self-abasement, with sincerity, is a source of great prosperity, without regret. One will succeed whatsoever one attempts. How should one use this moderation? Two dishes may be used for the entertainments.*

COM : *Self-abasement, with sincerity*, etc. There is a time for repressing the strong and strengthening the feeble. There is also a time for lessening the full and filling the empty.

2d TEXT. 1. When an affair is ended, it is no reproach to hurry away ; but be careful of any damages resulting from it.

2. Do good to the just and chastise the bad, without diminution or exaggeration (of the due reward or punishment).

3. Three walk together (one of them is *de trop*). Diminish their number by one ; another will come, and the third will find his companion.

4. To diminish an evil causes one to be joyful.

5. To add (to one's goods) ten pairs of *Cowries* (little shells), and to be unable to refuse them, is advantageous.

6. To increase one's profit without any diminution is lucky and advantageous, whatever one is engaged in. Thus shall a Prince gain ministers, free from private interest.

Note. The title of the next chapter is *Yih* : to augment, increase, add,—that is, the opposite of this one. It is incontestible that the sense of diminishing is necessary in all the phrases given above, and that no other will suit.

XLVIII. *Tsing* ; Wells.

1st TEXT : We can change the sites of a city, but not of a well. We cannot lose, we cannot get one, at will. It is much frequented ; it is of great use.

2d TEXT : 1. A muddy well cannot serve for refreshment. • An old well (already dry) does not attract even birds.

2. A well, a fish pond which lets the fish escape through a hole, or of which the bucket is broken, is of no further service.

3. (Our) well is muddy, and cannot serve to quench thirst. Have pity

* That is, a moderate entertainment, as 9 dishes are required for a complete one. Cf. *W. Williams, sub voce.*

on us, that we may be able to draw water thence. Let the king understand our condition (and let him grant our request); he will derive great happiness from it.*

4. A well which is well constructed is a lucky thing.

5. When a well is clear and cool, its water is of service for quenching thirst.

6. A well which is well filled with water and free to all, is a useful and pleasant thing, and eminently profitable.

Note. This group of phrases serves to show the usefulness of wells and the value set on them in ancient times, when hydraulics were unknown and a good well even determined the site on which a town was to be built. Many commentators see in the well an emblem of the excellence of sincerity, and accordingly interpret the last phrase as "A well of water, clear and free to all, is an emblem of sincerity."

IV. *Meng*: a rough and ignorant soul, a being not well moulded.

1st TEXT: In order that a rough soul may become developed, it is not (I) the master who has to seek the young man, but he who has to seek me. The augur, when consulted once, gives his reply: if they make him search twice or thrice for it, he disdains further answer (*i.e.*, if they do not believe the first augury).

2d TEXT: 1. To dissipate ignorance and roughness (*meng*), punishment must be used. Warnings and punishments should be used in order to remove every cause for future regret.

2. It is a good thing to devote one's attention to the ignorant (*meng*), to help and to protect a young girl; thus will youth be able to triumph over its own imperfections (*meng*).

3. When you take a wife, do not consider her fortune.† The man who marries, without having learned self-control, will not be happy.

4. The ignorant man (*meng*), poor and abandoned by all, is unhappy.

5. The want of polish (*meng*) may be lucky for a young man (by compelling him to become submissive).‡

6. To correct roughness (*meng*) it is not good to be tyrannical, but to use means of severity in a suitable manner (to prevent its becoming tyranny).

These four instances will, with those already given, suffice, I think, to prove that the explanation of the Yi-King is, in the greater number of cases, simple and clear, and is found in the book itself. Generally speaking, we should not, without grave cause, go hunting among matters quite foreign to ours, and certainly not when good reasons oppose our doing so; neither should changes or excisions be made in the text without sufficient grounds for their justification. The natural interpretation and obvious sense of the words and phrases should, it appears to me, be always preferred, when there is nothing to show that we should quit it for another.

LOUVAIN, the 25th May, 1894.

* According to the commentators, this is a petition addressed to the prince.

† Or, perhaps, Do not marry a woman who, for her future, looks only to fortune,—which seems to agree better with the fundamental idea of *Meng*.

‡ This may be only a simple repetition of the words *Tong meng*, with the augural sign of a lucky lot.

HUGH ROSE,—LORD STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B.

BY THE RIGHT HONBLE. LORD DE MAULEY.

ENGLAND is teeming with hidden talent, the reserve which she can draw upon in her hour of need, the numbers obscured in the darkness of neglect, unable, from lack of opportunity, to dispel the shade which conceals them from public notice.

Hugh Rose, Baron Strathnairn, was no exception. For years he was unknown to his fellow-countrymen, until accident drew him to the front, and enabled him to display the qualities of a soldier, statesman and diplomatist.

After a brief regimental service in Ireland, where the amenity of his manners charmed its inhabitants, and the performance of his duties earned him the approbation of his employers, he was appointed Consul-General of Syria. The object of our Government was to restore the kingdom to the Sultan and to frustrate the designs of France in endeavouring to supplant the influence of England at Constantinople.

Mehemet Ali was the instrument she made use of,—one of those remarkable men who appear on the theatre of the world to divert the current of events and alter the destiny of nations. Endowed with a genius to found an Empire, he could have resuscitated the kingdom of Egypt, which has known no native ruler since the days of Cambyzes, and restored the ancient glories of the Pharaohs. His was a light that flashed for a moment over the darkness of Egypt, to fade under the blighting jealousy of foreign powers.

Impressed with the value of the discipline which he had witnessed in the armies of the continent, he had raised his own troops, with the aid of foreign mercenaries, to a high state of efficiency. He felt then that the moment had arrived when he could with safety break the chain. However loosely it bound him to the dominion of Turkey, it

galled his ambitious spirit; and he determined to throw off allegiance to a country which he abhorred and whose weakness he despised.

An opportunity presented itself. Syria was his Naboth's vineyard; and on the refusal of its ruler to restore to him a band of refugees who had fled from the tyranny of Egypt to the comparative repose of Syria, he at once launched his army, under Ibrahim, for the capture of Acre. The stronghold had been the object of all leaders of armies, from the days of Sesostris downwards. It was the repulse before Acre which elicited the remark from Bonaparte, that Sir Sidney Smith had caused him to miss his destiny. The place, however, which at a subsequent period crumbled under the fire of the English, held out sufficiently to enable the Turks to raise three armies. Ibrahim beat them all, and appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Could he have gauged the value of his victories, he might have marched into the town, driven from his throne that caricature of royalty—the Sultan, and altered the face of that portion of Europe; but the halo which surrounds the name of Constantinople dimmed his vision. He could not perceive that Turkey lay prostrate before him. Diplomacy and the more potent factor of a Russian army compelled him to beat a retreat.

Looking back through the vista of time, we cannot but reflect that our policy was a political blunder. Our object was to check the advance of Russia: the instrument lay in our hands—the victorious army of Ibrahim. We neglected it. The Crimean War loomed in the distance. Turkey had no time to lose, and she invoked in vain the assistance of England and France. She was compelled to fall back upon her hereditary enemy, Russia, to save her from the designs of her rebellious vassal. It was like the rabbit seeking the aid of the stoat to protect it from the grip of the weazel; and the treaty of Hünkiair Skelesy would have bound her hand and foot to the dominion of Russia.

Europe, however, was alarmed. There was that bug-

bear to statesmen, the balance of power, to be preserved, a phantom to be dispelled at any moment by the ambition of a Bonaparte or the statecraft of a Bismark.

Rose here comes upon the scene. Men and material we had refused to Turkey, but advice we gave her in the person of Rose. No selection could have been more fortunate; and a wide sphere was opened to his talents, both civil and military.* He found Mehemet Ali intent upon territorial aggrandisement, indifferent to the miseries of his subjects, or to the horrors which disgraced the religious feuds of the Druses and the Maronites. The Consuls having apprised Rose that a conflict was imminent between the rival sects, he rode at once between the opposing forces, the representative of English power and of English courage. It sufficed. They grounded their arms and disappeared. On another occasion he saved the lives of 3,000 Christians who would have been burnt at the castle of Abbaye. A church of great antiquity had been set on fire by the Druses. It contained as its altarpiece the picture of its patron saint: Rose with the skill of a London fireman let himself down by the burning rafters and restored the relic to an applauding and grateful rabble.

Whilst his personal gallantry commanded the admiration of his followers, his diplomacy had restored the influence of England which had declined under the intrigues of a foreign power. Summed up by Lord Aberdeen: "Colonel Rose was wounded in battle, had saved the lives of thousands of Christians, had allayed the feuds of the various sects which disturbed the peace of the country, and had caused the name of England to be honoured and respected in the East." But the Eastern question had become a European one: public attention was to be withdrawn from Syria to be centred in Turkey.

•
CRIMEA.

We note an advance in the political career of Rose. His successful management of affairs in Syria, although overlooked by the public, had brought him under the

notice of that astute observer of men, Lord Palmerston, who appointed him secretary of Embassy at Constantinople. He there met with a very different class of persons from those he had hitherto encountered. He was confronted with the vindictive genius of Lord Stratford, the arrogance of Prince Mentshikoff, the simplicity of General Canrobert, the pliant character of Lord Raglan. It taxed the resources of his courage, firmness and resolution. The very first duty which devolved upon him, in the absence of Lord Stratford, was to resist the design of Russia in dispatching Prince Mentshikoff to demand from the Sultan protectorate over all the subjects of the Porte professing the Greek-Antiochian persuasion.

An intercepted letter opportunely disclosed the intention of Russia to foment a revolution in Bulgaria in favour of the Czar. The firmness of Rose saved Turkey. There was a visible power in the British fleet then lying inactive in the Mediterranean. Rose promised its support. It galvanised the spirit of the Turk who in the paroxysm of the first terror would have acceded to the demands of Russia. For the sake of gaining one moment's ease, they would have adopted a course which would have ensured no ease at all. Rose's action was disallowed by the Home Government. It was presumption in an inferior officer, by scorning the trammels of responsibility, to preserve his country from the miseries of warfare. It is probable that a mere attitude of firmness would have averted the Crimean War. It was not to be. It seemed as if the fates conspired against us. We had rejected the alliance of Mehemet Ali, and ignored the value of Ibrahim's army in Turkey, and now we disregarded the warning voice of Rose.

Nor can we be surprised at the attitude of the Emperor of Russia. He saw hesitation at home, inactivity abroad ; that emblem of power, the British fleet, lying idle at Malta, our generals superannuated, our Prime Minister unable or unwilling to perceive the cloud gathering in the north. Above all, he mistook the tall talk of the Peace party for

the voice of the people of England. He little knew that Lord Palmerston was in the background, to lead that public opinion, slow to move, but steadfast in its resolve. How that great potentate must have smiled at the simplicity of the benevolent gentlemen who could approach with the terms of peace and goodwill in their mouths, an autocrat, one who looks upon man as nothing more than a pawn on the chess-board of ambition. But he was deceived, if he considered us as a nation of Quakers.

To war we went unprepared. There was no Chatham to direct, no Wellesley to lead our forces; our long peace had damped the military spirit of our generals; no superior genius had appeared upon the scene; and our army, instinct with courage, had no head to guide it—"A Samson without its locks." Lord Raglan, the companion in arms of Wellington, possibly the only man to select, had been too long shelved for supreme command. He never could divest himself of old habits, even that of calling our French allies, the enemy. Admirable in office for the routine duties of Home service, he was deficient in that grasp of mind which scans the future or controls the present. Whilst his army was starving in the Crimea, its resources were within hail; but he lacked the foresight of his former chief, which had ensured success both in civil and military operations. He had neither the inflexible will of a Wellington to stifle the opposition of a Spaniard, or the genius of a Marlborough to instil his martial spirit into the phlegm of a Dutchman. From his subordinates he could derive but small assistance: some of them may have remembered the glories of the Peninsular War, but they were antiquated, had never, since those days, seen the handling of troops, and were ignorant of the requirements of modern warfare—as rusty as a brown Bess in the shades of an Armoury. They seem to have left their P.P.C.'s at the door of the War office, and retired to the somnolent tranquillity of private life.

We had nothing to rely upon but the innate valour of

our troops. Our battles were nothing more than pounding matches, unrelieved by science, unaided by skill, which displayed little else than the courage and endurance of our soldiers.

England expected and had a right to expect a *Veni, vidi, vici*. It was doomed to the disappointment of a siege. Sebastopol, after the battle of the Alma, was at our mercy. We know from the Memoirs of Todleben that an advance was expected. It was never made. Time was given to the enemy to recover their spirits and their losses. Their army was paralyzed with fear, their generals were stupefied at unexpected defeat. The mere show of resolution would have insured the capture of the stronghold. There was not even a summons to surrender. We sat down before a fortress which might have been ours without striking a single blow. Never was a divided command more conspicuous for disaster than our alliance with the French. It was co-operation without concord, contact without cohesion. It required the master-mind of a Bonaparte to fix in the bond of union the conflicting views of the allied chiefs. After the battle of the Alma Lord Raglan felt inclined to advance, General St. Arnaud set his foot firmly, and refused.

How the martial spirit of Rose must have chafed under the marches and counter-marches of our army, at seeing the prize snatched from our grasp through the incompetence of our generals! It resembled more the exploits of a Corporal Trim at the siege of Namur, than the dash which had captured Badajoz, or stormed the ramparts of St. Sebastian. His duty was to report the course of events; and in his masterly dispatches, no mordant criticism is discovered, no reflexion cast upon the impediments which marred its progress.

Rose's position during the Crimean War was an important as well as a painful one, as the medium of communication between the respective commanders of the two armies. He was often exposed to the fire of the enemy, and several

horses were shot under him. It was also a painful one from being a witness to errors which while his genius condemned he was unable to rectify.

The altered relations between the French and English nations was exemplified by the fact that Rose was the first military officer of high rank, who had joined the headquarters of the French army as the representative of England since our old wars. He had already secured the esteem of the Emperor of the French by the sketch he placed before him of the expected campaign of the Crimea. With Canrobert, St. Arnaud and the French generals, he was always on the best of terms. The French officers appreciated his military genius, and his manners charmed them, being more in unison with the refinement of their own, than with the roughness of our national address, which too often wears the enamel from the polish of society. Rose always appeared to be on the spot when his services could be useful. We find him on one occasion at the council Board, resisting the dastardly proposition laid before it, for the evacuation of the Crimea. As a soldier he pointed out the impossibility of saving the war material in the face of an exulting foe ; as an Englishman the disgrace of a retreat, after the glories of the Alma. We also find him engaged in a very different pursuit, crawling like a deerstalker, to escape the sweeping fire of the enemy's guns, towards a place of strategic importance. Rose's escapes were miraculous ; his companion raising his head was killed, but Rose remained unscathed. On another occasion, when a fire occurred in a French magazine, stored with cartridges, Rose was at once at the spot, took the whole management upon himself, and by confining the fire to a small area, averted a catastrophe : this gained him the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

The termination of the war was approaching ; the walls of Sebastopol crumbled under the iron shower driven against them. Yet what had we gained ? Nothing but the empty glory of humiliating Russia. The very walls

were left standing, frowning menace for the future ; even the article in the Treaty which forbade the entrance of Russian ships into the Black sea was broken at a future opportunity. One thing, however, we had gained, we had saved Turkey. We had preserved that phantom dear to politicians, the balance of power. Turkey has been thrown into the scale to equalise the weights.

INDIA.

Rose was not long idle ; in 1858 he was appointed to the command of the Poonah division in the Presidency of Bombay. India to the superficial observer appeared happy, prosperous and contented. Not a cloud was to be seen on the political horizon. We had been living in a fool's paradise. It required the far-reaching eye of a Dalhousie to detect the discontent which develops into disaffection, as so often happens in mundane affairs when a trifling incident leads up to a catastrophe. It was a greased cartridge which ignited the fire of rebellion through the length and breadth of the land. No man was safe ; our trusted friend had become a deadly enemy ; the very Sepoys who had shared our difficulties and dangers turned upon us. A panic seemed to have seized upon Calcutta. In this upheaval of society, Lord Canning remained cool, relying upon the resources at his command. And at no time, even in the annals of India, was more talent or devotion displayed, than marked the efforts of the British, civil and military. •

Three columns were let loose upon Central India,—one under General Roberts towards Kotah, a second under General Whitlock on the right flank of Rose. Our interests centre with the latter. He started on his celebrated march from Mhow, to relieve Saugor, capture Jhansi, and finally Calpee. It was very much like a leap in the dark. He was furnished with no maps ; the country he traversed was little known ; the whole of central India was held by the rebels from Indore to the Jumna, from the Nerbudda to

the Chumbal. Jhansi, Calpee, all the chief towns, were in the hands of the enemy. Rivers had to be crossed, pitched battles had to be fought, fortresses to be taken. His march of a thousand miles under a blazing sun is a wonderful instance of courage and endurance.

There must be something in the climate of India which draws out the practical talents of our countrymen, tessellated as its soil is with various creeds and nations and interests, held in subjection by the iron grip of England. The subaltern does the work of a general; the clerk develops the talents of a statesman. The Clives and Wellesleys have left their stamp upon history, the Hastings and Dalhousies have rivalled in administrative talents the far-famed genius of an Augustan age. India drew out Rose. It enabled him to display his power of organization, and his knowledge of his profession.

The army placed at his disposal was without discipline, temperance or order; he felt the necessity of repressing the prevailing insubordination by punishment, short, sharp and decisive. As the result proved, he created a body of troops, which, to use the Duke of Wellington's phrase, could go anywhere and do anything. It is curious to observe how little the lapse of ages, or the improvements in the implements of destruction affects national character. Alexander in his wars with Porus found it necessary to interpose in the ranks, one Greek for three natives, to insure steadiness to his battalions; Lord Lake found that the same number was required to fix the volatile courage of Oriental troops. Not all the progress in the science of warfare has been able to imprint upon the Asiatic, the stubborn qualities of the British soldier. Rose took care to supplement his native troops by a due admixture of the British element and with one exception, they served him well.

Having placed his army in some sort of order he commenced his celebrated march. The jungle was alive with rebels whose numbers far exceeded his own; last but not

least, a tropical sun decimated his force with sunstroke and apoplexy. The relief of Jhansi was his point. The enemy had held it for the space of eight months. He reached it in twenty-one days, overcoming every obstacle in his way, fighting skirmishes on his flank, capturing the fort of Rathgarh before the ground could be cleared for his advance upon Saugor. Like all the chief fortresses of India the natural strength of the place was supplemented by the resources of science. A ridge of rock, a mile and a half in length, covered with jungle sloped from the West. The north of the fort contained houses; on the other side were fortifications. Rose made up his mind at once. A feint against the town enabled our troops to advance upon a spot commanding the place, our fire levelled the walls, and the enemy who had boasted that they would conquer or die, saved themselves by a nocturnal retreat.

Intelligence reached Rose that a large force of the enemy reinforced by the fugitives from Rathgarh was stationed at Barodia, under the distinguished leader, the Raja of Banpura. He marched at once under a burning sun, and drove the enemy before him through the jungle. The result of his successes was the relief of Saugor, the inhabitants came out some distance to meet him and expressed their gratitude for unexpected deliverance. The first object of the campaign was accomplished. Much, however, remained to be done. The armies of the enemy although demoralized by defeat, were formidable from their numbers, the nature of the country and the strength of their fortresses. Rose kept moving, he well knew the value of prestige, that invisible power which hovers over success, and vanishes before irresolution. Where his enemies reinforced by the fugitives from the captured fortresses or the predatory bands of the respective leaders of the rebellion opposed him, he dispersed them, overthrew the hydra before it could reappear with a tenfold audacity, cooled that fanaticism which under victory rises to blood heat, but falls to zero under defeat; and to zero he kept it by his masterly manœuvres.

In the meantime what was Lord Clyde doing? Wasting his time in lengthy preparations at Calcutta, then pushing his enemy before him with caution and with stealth as if a Bonaparte lay in ambush to pounce upon an error. Whilst Rose was dashing, he was creeping, it was the dead weight of a battering-ram compared to the flash of the fire-arm. Much, therefore, remained to be done before the two generals could join hands with each other;—the breaking up of bodies of the enemy, which sprung up like mushrooms from the soil; and fortresses to be accounted for. The most important from its position was Jhansi. Placed on an elevated rock, it commanded the plain; its walls of immense thickness were loop-holed for guns, which were admirably served by an experienced military officer. The Rani and her attendants were seen encouraging her troops; her life was spared by the humanity of Rose, who like the Duke of Wellington when he refused at Waterloo to fire on Bonaparte, declined the convenient offer of his bombardiers to rid him of an able and unscrupulous enemy. He did not approve of that species of warfare.

Lord Clyde and Lord Canning had rightly viewed the fall of the citadel as one of paramount importance. It was the stronghold of the enemy in Central India; but the attacking force was considered utterly inadequate for such an operation. Lord Clyde, with the caution characteristic of his race, advised a march towards Banda; Lord Canning, fearing the moral effects of a repulse, counselled delay. The messages of prudence arrived when the colours of England were flying upon the walls of Jhansi. Rose was too able a general to leave in his rear, a place of such strategic importance. Impediments however presented themselves before his object could be accomplished. The fort of Garracota had to be taken. The exhaustion of all supplies by the rebellious hordes of the enemy in the districts bordering on Saugor was another cause of delay. The hostile forces were thus enabled to occupy the mountain passes and fortify the forts of Seroi and

Marowra, and to line the difficult passes in the ridges of the mountains. Nothing apparently could daunt his purpose to attack Jhansi; but before he could do so a serious obstacle presented itself.

Tantia Topee, supposing that the Central Indian force was scattered in numerous divisions throughout the country, marched for the relief of Jhansi, under the impression that a small contingent was opposed to him. Nor was he wrong in his calculation. Rose, leaving a portion of his force to guard the investing troops, had only nine hundred men to meet twenty thousand under Tantia Topee. He attacked him at once. One of his guns was disabled by a cannon shot; there was nothing left for it but to proceed with the remaining one; he ordered the Hyderabad Cavalry to charge the enemy; but those men who had always exhibited the most conspicuous courage refused to stir. It devolved on the 14th Dragoons to advance upon the centre of the opposing force. The rout was complete. Rose following up his advantage pursued and captured the whole of their artillery; then returning, he reappeared before Jhansi and stormed it.

He had hoped by the celerity of his movements to have captured the Rani, but through the treachery or inefficiency of the native troops, she made good her escape. One of the strongest fortresses of India had fallen before a handful of British troops; an enemy numerically superior defended themselves in hand to hand combat in the streets and houses of a vast city, protected by fortifications hitherto looked upon as impregnable. For seventeen days and nights our troops had neither changed their clothes nor unsaddled their horses.

There was one more important fortress to be dealt with, Calpee, still frowning defiance. The hordes of rebel fugitives from Jhansi, the remnants of numerous battles running together like grains of quicksilver had again to be dispersed. A still more formidable enemy approached in the rainy season, which would have effectually delayed

military operations, and revived the drooping spirits of the rebel forces. At all hazards Calpee was to be attacked. Leaving a small garrison at Jhansi, he began his march. Information was forwarded to him that the Sepoys from Calpee reinforced by the Velaitis under the Rani and the Gwalior contingent, had under the command of Tantia Topee occupied Koonch, which in the event proved to be an outpost of Calpee. The place itself was difficult of access, from its numerous gardens, its woods and the strength of its walls. Rose from previous experience had discovered that nothing disconcerted the rebels more than turning their flank, and attacking their rear. By a masterly manœuvre he deluded his enemy and appeared before the town.

The rebels finding their line of defence turned, broke up into a helpless mass of fugitives scattered over the plains which bordered on Calpee. The pursuit was not relaxed, no breathing time was allowed to the defeated army to regain their spirits. Even the guns with which they had hoped to cover their retreat fell into the hands of the victorious army. His victory at Koonch had cleared the way for the capture of Calpee. Strong both from nature and from art, surrounded by tortuous and rugged ravines, it might have held in check an advancing enemy, but the fugitives demoralized by defeat, evacuated the citadel on the entrance of the British troops. It fell without a blow. Its capture fulfilled the objects which the government of India had contemplated. The Central Indian army had marched in five months through Central India. In thirteen general actions, it had defeated its enemy and taken possession of the strongest fortresses in India: an exploit seldom paralleled in military annals.

Rose was prostrated by the hardships which he had endured, five times he was attacked by sunstroke, to be relieved by buckets of water thrown over him. His men were struck to the ground from their ranks like flies in a shower of rain, but inspired by the courage of their chief

followed him under a burning sun which decimated their ranks. But even his iron frame was unhinged by fatigue and exposure. Under medical advice, he had actually resigned his command, when an event occurred which thrilled like an electric shock through the length and breadth of the land.

Tantia Topee and the Rani had rallied the fugitives scattered by recent defeats, recaptured Gwalior, and incorporated into their army Scindia's troops, the best organized of the native soldiery. Rose was not the man to seek relief from labours when work was to be done; it acted upon him like a tonic. He recalled his offer of resignation, and Lord Canning appreciating his services gladly accepted it. Brigadier Robert (afterwards Lord) Napier had in the meantime been selected for the command of the Central Indian Army; but with the magnanimity of an English soldier he waived his claim and placed his invaluable talents at the service of Rose. No time was to be lost. Gwalior must fall before the monsoon arrived. The usual difficulties presented themselves during the march,—badness of roads, defective maps, rivers to be crossed, heat like that of an oven. But Rose anticipated that a successful battle outside the Fort would, as at Calpee, ensure its capture. After a few skirmishes which damped the spirits of the combined forces of the rebels, he appeared before Gwalior. On the 9th of June he had marched from Calpee; on the 19th he had taken possession of Gwalior. The work was over. The last of the great fortresses of India had fallen. At Kotahki-Serai, the 8th Hussars charged through the enemy's camp. The Rani of Jhansi fighting in male attire was killed. "Woman as she was," wrote Rose, "she was the best man of them all." The rebellion was over. The Central Indian Army had cleared the ground for the steady and gradual progress of the troops under the command of Lord Clyde, and India was safe.

The meed of praise was showered upon Lord Clyde.

Rose received only its overflow. It is unusual to prefer the crawl of the tortoise to the speed of the hare; but the public fixes its gaze upon luminaries, unmindful of the satellite which illumines its course. The student of military history will arrive at a different conclusion. The rest which Rose so much needed he found at last in the honourable retirement of the Poonah command. After his active life, it must have appeared to him little more than a pageant. On the departure of Lord Clyde, he was raised to the chief command of the Indian army. One painful duty devolved upon him, to restore a sense of discipline to the local army which refused to settle down to the ordinary avocations of peaceful service. The 5th (Company's) European Regiment at Dinapore was disbanded and its ringleader shot. This timely severity checked the movement, and during the remainder of his command, he had the satisfaction of seeing his troops raised to the highest pitch of order and efficiency. He possessed that rare qualification of proving that the martinet can unbend and assume the easy demeanour of private life. One reform cannot be overlooked. He introduced the system of workshops, since very generally adopted in the service to wile away the tedium of camp life and to develop the industry and native talents of the British soldier.

His five years' command of the Indian army was a complete success; his soldiers appreciated his military genius, society was fascinated by the charm of his manners. His departure was an ovation, all classes vied with each other in doing honour to the chief who had borne so leading a share in the suppression of rebellion. The bands of the various regiments met him at different stations playing his favourite tunes.

He left his mark on the history of India. On his return to England honours were showered upon him. He was raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Strathnairn, and he was advanced to the highest rank of his profession,

whilst the decorations on his breast pointed to the triumphs of his successful career. He was appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland. He found its people as he had left them credulous and confiding. He arrived in the very midst of the Fenian agitation. He offered his services, as well knowing, how to suppress rebellion. His offer was of course rejected; it was too much to expect that the red tape of office should be relaxed to admit the light of his experience; but the energy and talent which he displayed in the performance of his duties smothered an agitation which might have developed into insurrection.

He died at Paris, full of years and of honours, respected and lamented. Peace to his ashes—they lie among those of a distinguished family in the Churchyard at Christ Church. Justice has not been done to him. Not a monument among those which grace or disgrace our national mausoleum has been erected to his memory, not a scroll or a slab to inscribe his merits or invite his example.

It matters little. He had served his country faithfully and well. The unblemished honour and the conscientious discharge of duty, the chief qualities which ennoble the character of an Englishman, were conspicuously centred in Hugh Rose.

PRJEVALSKI'S LAST JOURNEY.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, B.C.S.

" Where Alf the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man,
Down to a sunless sea . . . "

• *Kublai Khan.*

A CERTAIN tragic interest attaches to the narrative of Prjevalski's fourth expedition,—as though we were reading the great Central Asian traveller's Last Will and Testament.

And, in writing his "Journey from Kiabta to the Yellow River ; explorations on the northern border of Tibet, and past Lob-Nor along the Tarim Basin," Prjevalski seems almost to have had a foreboding that his fourth journey was destined to be his last. This impression is confirmed by the first chapter, "How to travel in Central Asia," avowedly written "with the object of handing on his experience to future travellers in the same regions."

Here Prjevalski gives abundant practical advice to his successors ; but he does far more ; for, quite unconsciously he has painted in strong, forcible touches, his own imperious character ; has given us a deep insight into the qualities and powers which made possible the accomplishment of his invaluable explorations, beset with endless, incalculable and almost insuperable difficulties. There is an uncompromising sternness and force in Prjevalski which compel our admiration, even when very hostile and antagonistic.

The sharp experience of difficulties met and combated through a long series of years, is condensed to a few sentences in his admonition to those "on whom will fall the enviable destiny of scientific exploration in Central Asia."—"His path thither will not be covered with carpets ; the wild deserts will not meet him with an engaging smile ; nor will the fruits of science fall of themselves into his hands. No ! at the price of heavy labours and manifold trials, physical and moral, must be bought even the first crumbs of discovery." . . . The leader of such an expedition "must indispensably possess both physical strength and moral force. Radiant health, strong muscles, and, still better, athletic skill, on the one hand ; and, on the other, a strong character, energy, decision ; these are the qualities which will best guarantee the success of an expedition."

Besides this is necessary a scientific training, general rather than special ; while, above and before all "an inborn passion for travel, an absolute dedication to the work, are potent levers of success ; for they will give courage and support in the difficult moments which the traveller will certainly be called to face. . . . The traveller must be an excellent shot ; and, better still, a passionate lover of sport ; he must flinch from no distasteful

task, such as loading camels, saddling horses, packing baggage ; in a word, he must not be white-handed ; he must have no delicate and luxurious tastes, for on a journey you must often dwell in dirt, and live on whatever Providence sends you. He must be inured to cold, for, summer and winter, he must dwell in the open air ; he must be incapable of fatigue ; and, lastly, he must have an even, well-balanced character, to secure the friendship and willing co-operation of his fellow travellers. . . . A traveller must be born, not made ; he must set out in the perfect vigour of manhood."

One feels, in almost every line of this, that Prjevalski is, quite unconsciously, laying bare the thews and sinews of his own indomitable spirit. Every economy of health and strength must be practised, "economies very difficult for an energetic, impetuous nature" like Prjevalski's.

But in spite of all precautions, the heavy years will "indelibly leave their impress ; and, sooner or later, 'the steep mountain paths' will break the horse's heart !"

Even Prjevalski's iron frame was gradually worn out in the wild Central Asian deserts, where frequent storms, constant clouds of fine salt dust, penetrating through the clothes into every pore of the body, and often producing intolerable inflammations of the skin, perpetual dirt on the body, the badness even of the drinking water, scorching heat, or damp cold that penetrates even to the marrow of the bones, the rarefied air of great elevations, are common and inevitable events of the traveller's daily life.

Almost intolerable were the cold months from October to March, which Prjevalski and his fellow-travellers were compelled to pass in the tents of nomad Mongols. In the greatest periods of cold, the side of the tent was protected with a double covering of felt ; and skins were often added to the felt. Nevertheless "at night the thermometer fell within the tent to -10° or -15° C ; and sometimes even to -26° C ; a not infrequent occurrence in the Central Asian deserts. . . . Under our sheepskins we slept warmly enough ; but getting up was bad ; and, still worse, going to bed, among the frozen skins. We sometimes slept in the open air, in a hollow in the snow. And under such a covering it was warm enough, though not altogether pleasant ; when the snow melted by our breaths began to trickle drop by drop down our backs."

In the hot months, the traveller's lot was hardly better. "We were drenched," says Prjevalski, "by perpetual rains, often mixed with snows. At these altitudes on the rare clear nights, even in July, the thermometer fell to five degrees below zero ; in the morning the ground was white with frost, and all standing water was coated with ice. Everywhere the damp was terrible. We slept on wet felt, and wore wet clothes. Our guns were constantly covered with rust. It was impossible to dry the plants collected for our herbarium. The loads and felt saddles of the camels were constantly soaking, thus adding enormously to their weight."

This perpetual rain must have been terribly punitive to the Kazaks and soldiers who accompanied Prjevalski ;—in his last expedition they were eighteen in number. Two of them had daily to pasture the baggage animals, often in drenching rain or driving sleet. The orderly and cook

had likewise to prepare tea or their unattractive dinner in the same driving rain or snow ; and at night the unlucky soldiers, soaked and chilled to the skin, utterly worn out by their terribly exhausting marches, at altitudes where the slightest movement demands effort, were forced to take their turns at sentry duty,—a measure absolutely indispensable to the safety of the party in the midst of wandering bands of Mongol marauders.

A special trial to the soldiers was the only obtainable fuel,—the dung of yaks and wild asses,—which was collected, with extreme difficulty, at a vast expense of time and labour. When collected, it was almost impossible to get this fuel dried, and unless thoroughly dry it would not burn at all. It was necessary to break the fuel in small pieces, and to dry it in the rare moments when the sun broke through the mists, shining fitfully, but with considerable warmth. Then the half-dried fuel was stored in bags and treasured as a priceless possession. One can easily imagine the length of time needed in these circumstances to boil even a cup of tea. Many a time the sentries spent the whole night over it. Prjevalski testifies warmly to the admirable behaviour and discipline of the Russian soldiers and Kazaks all through the terrible trials of his wilderness journeys, and we have ample evidence that his unstinted praises were well and honestly earned. "In general," he says, "our Russian soldiers and Kazaks possess ideal qualifications for these difficult expeditions. They are courageous, enduring, hardy, and easily subject to discipline ; and these same Kazaks make very fair taxidermists and not bad interpreters."

Prjevalski had to face another pregnant source of troubles, not less certain and hardly less disagreeable than the physical difficulties of an inaccessible and desolate wilderness. This source of dangers was the ignorant fanaticism and hostility of the Mongol masses, and the not less formidable "rascality and hypocrisy of individuals" ; for such the natural resistance of the natives and their hostility and suspicion of the motives of explorers inevitably appear to the explorers themselves. This is the darker side of exploration, and only personal experience will show how far stern and decisive measures are necessary to meet it. It seems clear that the only alternative to these decisive measures is, that exploration should cease altogether. Such is evidently Prjevalski's opinion. "Only the experience of my last expeditions," he writes, "finally convinced me that for the success of difficult and dangerous journeys in Central Asia, three safeguards are indispensable: money, a rifle, and a horse-whip. Money,—because the natives are so greedy that they will not hesitate to sell their own fathers. A rifle,—as the best guarantee of personal security, especially in view of the extreme cowardice of the natives, many hundreds of whom will fly before a handful of well-armed Europeans. Finally, a whip is equally indispensable,—because the indigenous tribes, for centuries accustomed to savage slavery, admit and appreciate brute force alone."

Without such "decisive measures" Prjevalski's sharply-won experience taught him that it was impossible to escape an endless series of humiliations and insults of every sort and kind ; and at every step to meet with a flat refusal even of the absolute necessities of the expedition. And where requests and representations of all sorts had proved utterly inefficacious,

and were absolutely ignored, an order instead of a request, when suitably supported, invariably proved successful.

From many practical examples of Prjevalski's necessitarian doctrines we may choose one. When the expedition had penetrated to the south-east corner of Tsaidan, which belongs to two chiefs, Dzun-Zasak and Barun-Zasak, Prjevalski applied to the former for several baggage-camels, and a guide to north-eastern Tibet; both camels and guide to be suitably paid for.

Dzun-Zasak at once began to excuse himself on the ground that he had no good baggage-camels, and no guides acquainted with the routes to north-eastern Tibet. He also listened unwillingly to the request that he should sell fifty sheep, and barley for the horses. Prjevalski was forced to terrorise Dzun-Zasak, and to give him four days to fulfil all his demands, under a threat of more decisive measures in case of refusal.

Dzun-Zasak was, according to the great traveller, a born rascal, who had developed his talents in every sort of fascality, at the expense of the Tibetan pilgrims on the caravan route which passed through his territory. He consulted his neighbour, Barun-Zasak; and they and their satellites laid their heads together to concoct a plan for getting rid of their unwelcome visitors. As the result of their cogitations they ended by bringing Prjevalski about twenty utterly worthless camels, and the same number of lean and ill-favoured sheep. The request for an interpreter was met by a flat refusal.

Prjevalski relates the further developments of the incident thus: "Then, without any further discussion, I put Dzun-Zasak under arrest in our camp-tent, placing an armed sentry near him. The chief's assistant, perhaps a greater rascal still, was chained under the open sky; and one of his satellites who, during the examination of the camels, had dared to strike our interpreter Abdal, received a thrashing on the spot. These measures had the wished-for result; not only immediately on Dzun-Zasak, but also indirectly on his neighbour, Barun-Zasak. The latter found us a guide, and after two days they brought us fourteen excellent camels, forty-six sheep, and a part of the supplies, all of which was duly paid for."

Incidents of this kind happened continually all along the route; and it was only by having recourse to such "vigorous measures," as a condition of self-preservation, that the expedition was able to reach the source of the Yellow River—Hoang Ho,—and the northern frontier of Tibet.

It is very curious to notice the different attitude taken by various Central Asian tribes towards Prjevalski's party. The Tunguts were steadily and implacably hostile, more than once openly attacking the Russians, for which, says the great explorer, "they got a lesson."

But most of the natives were almost completely indifferent to the doings of the little party of foreigners, whose tents for a brief space dotted their boundless wastes; while some, among whom were the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, maintained from the beginning a distinctly friendly attitude. But in spite of this friendliness, quite genuine though it was, the travellers were called on to face endless obstacles, subterfuges, and hindrances of every sort, which might impede their progress towards the

gates of the Dalai Lama's Capital. This Prjevalski unhesitatingly attributes to the veiled antagonism and secret diplomatic interference of the Chinese, who were determined at all hazards to prevent the expedition from penetrating into north-eastern Tibet. This determination they carried into effect by acting on the native chiefs, in part through detailed official instructions, and in part by calling to their aid the deep well-springs of superstition or religious devotion,—whichever it be called,—by expedients sometimes unscrupulous and often ludicrous in the extreme.

"The order was given that no one should sell us even the smallest portion of land, however much we might desire it—not even a square yard. The Chinese assured the natives that if we could get hold of even that much land, we would plant a willow on it; that it would grow extremely rapidly, and that the shadow of its branches would soon cover a wide expanse; then, said the Chinese, the Russians will not allow anyone to come under the shadow of their tree, and all the space it covers, they will claim as their own. . . .

"On another occasion the Chinese spread the story that in the large cases which contained our natural history collection, Russian soldiers were concealed in eggs like chickens, for economy of space and provisions! and that presently, if the Russians got a foothold in the country, they would hatch their reserve corps out, and overrun the whole land. These and other stories, such as the tale of Prjevalski's bearing a charmed life,—a very dangerous fiction, as good marksmen might easily be tempted to test it experimentally,—or the much more beneficial belief that anything stolen from the Russians would cry out "I am here! I am here!" till it was found again,—were freely circulated. We can easily imagine that, if they once get a hold on the fancy of the people, they may echo back and forwards across the Mongol deserts till they find their way into some *Jataka* book of the future.

Prjevalski tells another good story, referable this time to the *Jataka* books of the past. Near the town of Shin-Che, on the road to Koko-Nor, is a very ancient Chinese cemetery with an old stone gate, and several stone pillars, about ten feet high, still standing. On these pillars were rudely carved horses and idols; and Prjevalski was astonished to find that quite recently the hoofs of all the horses and the heads of all the idols had been broken off. The reason of their mutilation was this. The fields of the Tunguts round the graveyard had been injured, most probably by storms, in such a way that they had the appearance of having been trampled down by horses. The Tunguts at once, with marvellous perspicuity and logical insight, discovered the delinquents in the stone idols, which, they reasonably concluded, had been in the habit of feeding their horses in the fields by night. They at once lodged a complaint against the carved idols and their stony steeds; and the Chinese authorities, fully rising to the occasion, gave immediate orders to knock off the feet of the horses, and the heads of their riders. It would be interesting to know whether this story can be shown to have any occult connexion with the mutilation of the statues of Hermes, in the days of Alcibiades.

The life of the nomad Mongols is as simple and unsophisticated as their

faith,—if we judge the latter by their summary treatment of these monumental robbers. Their ever-moving homes are tents of felt. Their only property, their flocks and herds. Brick tea, boiled with salt and milk, butter or tallow, and flour, the flesh of sheep, more rarely of horned cattle and horses or camels, form their frugal,—if, for us, hardly appetising,—fare. Cattle which have died are by no means refused by the Mongols, especially if they happen to be fat.

We should probably take exception to their cookery even more than to their bill of fare. The water for the tea can never boast of any special cleanness; while it can sometimes substantiate large claims in an opposite sense. The internal economy of sheep, considered an admirable ingredient for soup, is esteemed all the more if the bloom has not been taken off it by washing; for after all, such foreign bodies as may be present are only permutations and combination of grass; and grass, as everyone knows, is clean and juicy. The butter not uncommonly contains cows' hair, and other unconsidered trifles. The wooden cups are even frequently rubbed with dried desert fuel,—we have already described it,—instead of cloths; or a skilful lick of the tongue, deftly curved, is sufficient; and then the nomads carry them, very conveniently, inside the baggy front of their shirts, next the skin.

A certain side-light is shed on this last ingenious habit by the information that the Mongols consider washing in the last degree unhealthy; all of them, their moon-faced dames included, not unnaturally refuse to run the risk of chills invariably accompanying the bath; the winds must really be very trying there. And they are also very careful of their complexions; they wipe their faces sometimes with an old soft cloth,—which must not have been newly washed; and the dames occasionally bathe their faces in fat sheep's broth, whose future history is mercifully concealed from us.

One sees a manifest fitness in Prjevalski's observation that only the sense of sight is keenly developed among the nomads, while the other senses are very dull. The nomad's sense of touch can react only from contact with felt and hides, wool and desert fuel. Salt tea, sour milk, and mutton alone flatter his palate. He never hears any sound but the neighing of horses, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of cows, the hideous cry of the camel, the wild rattle of the Shaman's drum, and the dull roar of desert storms.

To these qualities, the Mongol adds extreme laziness, apathy, and unmeasured quantities of the better part of valour. They are, moreover, extremely good-natured, hospitable, fairly honest, admirably adapted to family life, in their patriarchal way, full of mild satisfaction and content.

But in harsh contrast to these excellent Mongols stand the Tunguts, who, Prjevalski tells us, are mere land-pirates and marauders. They are as "coarse, greedy, and egotistical" as animals, and like many animals, become uneasy and restless under a steady gaze. They drop their eyes and turn their heads away, trying to get behind somebody else. Their faces reminded the great traveller of the North-American Indians, and even more of gipsies with a dash of Mongol feature.

They live in tents made of coarsely woven yak's hair. All that they

own, they wear ; and go to sleep fully dressed, merely falling forward—"like cattle," says Prjevalski,—with their noses on the ground. Their tents are gay with the gambols of young lambs and yaks ; and the interior appeals very strongly to one of the senses mercifully blunted among the nomads. Original in their manner of life, they are not less original in their etiquette. They, like the Tibetans, protrude the tongue to greet an honoured guest ; and bidding farewell to comrades, knock their heads together.

Prjevalski found the peoples of Lob-Nor much more sympathetic and human, though even here he complains of apathy and idleness. Yet even the most apathetic are fond of music, songs and dancing. Happy are the peoples, says the explorer, who are ignorant of vodka, which invariably leads them into the path of ruin. And his Kazaks especially applied this maxim to the gay, vivacious Matchins. The music of the concertina, introduced in the deserts of Turkestan by the same Kazaks, never failed to produce an overwhelming effect.

"The report of this marvellous and inconceivable instrument spread far in advance of us, so that the first request of the authorities who came to meet us was generally for a taste of its quality."

Prjevalski finds certain common characteristics among all these peoples, however different in race, religion, type and language. "On the whole moral side of their nature is impressed the stamp of limpness, lack of control and desultoriness. The exceptional condition of their historical development, in which for centuries slavery has been the mainspring of social life, has produced amongst the Asiatics, for the most part, unlimited hypocrisy and utter egotism. Laziness and apathy, which the natives themselves would probably describe as a delicious *dolce far niente*, Prjevalski reproaches to the nomads not less than to the stationary tribes, who are unwilling to exert themselves in anything that does not concern the gratification of their immediate appetites.

"From the borders of Siberia and Turkestan, to the heart of Tibet," says Prjevalski, "we constantly heard the words 'gently' and 'slowly' among the natives ; but never the words 'quickly' and 'rapidly.' 'Good people never hurry ; only robbers and marauders hurry !' the Mongols and Tunguts often said to us." The great explorer does not tell us whether there was in this a subaudition of criticism on the rapid marches of his expedition. Everywhere among the natives, laziness and easy-going manners are highly respected.

"The fellow is so poor or so ill-bred that he travels on foot," is one of the most characteristic Central Asian proverbs ; and Prjevalski thinks that cultivation is as impossible for the nomads as for their sandy wastes. One can easily understand how amid the scant possibilities of nomad life, in wildernesses where Nature is a malignant power to be endured and suffered, not a beneficent potency to be taken advantage of, the more sluggish, staid, and passive side of character must inevitably be the most developed. No active energy is here demanded ; the excesses of cold and heat, of storm and tempest, call for resistance but never for exertion ; "therefore an energetic character is not only not profitable, but even injurious to its

possessor ; he will beat himself to death against the bars in his fruitless struggle. As for every coarse work, you want here not a sharp lancet but a blunt, heavy chisel."

Prjevalski evidently believes that these Mongol and Tungut nomads belong essentially to what Sir Henry Maine used to call the unprogressive section of the human race. The manners and methods of Europe are for them unassimilable ; and any contact therewith can only result in injury to the natives,—destroying them morally, it will not revive them intellectually. A living evidence of this is to be found on the Russian as well as the Chinese frontiers of Mongolia. On these border territories, the nomads are totally different in character from the tribes of inner Gobi. The reason is simple ; coming in contact with civilization, they absorb only its follies and its vices, while they lose their own simplicity and good-nature. "The more talented among them become perfect rascals."

A last quotation : "On the seventh of May, early in the morning, we forded a series of narrow streams of the new-born Hoang-Ho, and pitched our tents on its right bank, three verst^s [two miles] below its issue from Odantala. Thus our long-continued efforts were crowned with success ; we saw now, with our own eyes, the secret cradle of the mighty Chinese river, and drank the water from its source. Our joy knew no bounds . . . of two great lakes which the new-born river passes, we called one 'Russian' and the other 'Expedition' ; let the first of these names witness that the first man to reach the mysterious birthplace of the Yellow River was a Russian ; let the second enshrine the memory of our expedition."

ANCESTRAL WORSHIP IN CHINA AND "FAMILY WORTH-SHIP" IN ENGLAND,

AS A PRACTICAL BASIS OF EFFICIENT STATE
ADMINISTRATION.

BY MAJOR R. POORE.

WHEN we reflect that in all countries among ancient peoples the principle of Ancestral Worship has been, or still is, the leading feature upon which their administration, law and religion rest,—that striking remnants are still existing in Europe, often where least suspected,—it is certainly singular that this all-important element in the history of the human race should have received so little attention.

The name "Ancestral Worship" is no doubt unfortunate, leading the superficial to the conclusion that it is a mere adoration of the Ghost of the Ancestor. But if its true spirit is understood, it will be found to be of a totally different character:—it really means the highest culture of the Faculty of Judgment, based on the facts or experiences collected by the ancestor.

When we say the "spirit of a thing," we do not mean a Ghost incarnated, but its entire and true essence; and so is Ancestral Worship to be interpreted as an invocation or recalling of the judgment of the departed ancestors.

The most valuable heritage which a parent could hand down to a child is the experience of life as a constant living "inspiration." This is "the Spirit" that Ancestral Worship keeps alive, perpetuates and gathers safety upon. It is the essential condition for the preservation of a family and of the aggregate of families—or a community. In fact, it is the condition from which, what we call, COMMON LAW has sprung.

It may somewhat hurt our self love, to compare our artificial modern society,—so full of most ingenious contrivances, family discords, class hatreds, and extreme uncertainty as to the future,—with that of China.

China to the present day remains a country which, compared with the rest of the world, has not been reduced by force of arms or been overrun with speculative theories. It presents the sole and remarkable feature in the history of nations of a country which has never been administratively conquered and therefore has never had its Family Record broken down. And by "Record" must be clearly understood, not only the noting of family or local events, but the procedure which enables each family practically to administer its own concerns, and which in like manner is applied to all administrative groups, from the Family to the nation—so that the Family is the *bonâ fide* administrative unit of the Nation, and all administration is modelled on it.

Ancient cults were apparently based on three foundations, which were treated as "initiations," "mysteries" or studies :

"The mystery of Judgment," or collected and established facts :

"The mystery of Time," or of sequence and method : and

"The mystery of Production" of life and livelihood.

1. Of these three, "Ancestral Worship" dealt more particularly with the mystery (initiation) of Judgment.

2. Closely allied to this was the study of astronomy or the initiation into the Laws of Time.

3. The mystery of Production was that the production, according to natural Law, whether of the actual animal or for livelihood, should be true and without waste.

The first mystery would be the most important as a necessity to the early man that could not be overlooked ; for his appliances were few, and these few had to be cherished. Hence the veneration for experience and the care taken by Ancestral Worship to collect and to embody judgment in its traditions.

Unfortunately, the constant conquest and re-conquest of tribes and nations, from India and westwards, together with the habit of transporting whole tribes and nations

and mixing them with others, for the deliberate purpose of subduing them by breaking their record, tended to the destruction of the mystery of Judgment in all these countries, substituting for it mythological incarnations taken from the mystery of Time and the mystery of Production, and more or less centering round a sun-myth as the type of a light that was gone.

As no writer on China has so ably and practically described the actual practice of the Family Principle as M. G. E. Simon in "*La Cité Chinoise*" it will be valuable to quote him on this subject.

In the chapter on The Family he thus describes the position :—

"Without justice there can be no prosperity. The principle (experience) of the life of the ancestors must not be forgotten, and it must be impossible that they should be forgotten, and as no one can perform this duty if the family becomes extinct, Marriage becomes a sacred duty."

"Thus so far from chaining, as has been said, the living to the dead, Ancestral Worship is the source itself of progress and its strongest stimulant, as a preparation for the future is its most immediate obligation. The past which exists no more for us, the present which passes away, and the future which is not as yet,—here united in one idea,—become the most marvellous and life-giving realities."

After a further description of the subject M. Simon describes the Family Feast or Sacrifice. And it must here be noted that the "*Sacrum facio*" of Ancestral Worship, unlike the sacrifices of the more speculative mythological cults, is not an atonement or retribution for duties disregarded or faults committed, but an offering in witness of duties performed. Nor does the conception of the faction fight of the Zend between the principle of good and the principle of evil, exist, the sole point being a judicial inquiry to determine between, "*That which is,*" and "*That which is not.*"

At the family gathering, as described by M. Simon, all wear their holiday garments :

"The Father with his wife and the elder members of his family seated at the square table on which are placed the Family Register and other books, opens first the Register. It is the family record and in its folios

are contained the entries relating to civil life, births, marriages, deaths, and the family judgments, praises of the dead, their biographies and wills.”

“It may be truly called the sacred Book of the Family. It is not only the proof of its spiritual and temporal existence ; it also alone attests the civil status of the early Chinaman, and is received as evidence by the authorities when necessary. For these reasons it is kept with a care which saves the State from all interference and control, etc.”

“The family book which every Chinaman must some day keep, demands a certain amount of education. He must know how to read and write, etc.”

“Reverting to the meeting, the father having opened the first book, inscribes in it the events which have taken place ; it is there that the marriages, if there are any, receive their consecration from the father and mother with solemn rites. Then taking another folio, he reads, or causes to be read by one of those present, the biography of one of the ancestors. On this he comments, drawing attention to the titles the subject of the memoir possesses to the recollection of posterity, and exhorts his hearers to follow the example he has given.”

“A new biography is read at each meeting until all are exhausted, when the series is recommenced, so that everyone soon knows them by heart, and not one of the more meritorious ancestors is unknown. There are few, even humble, peasants who are ignorant of the history of their family for several centuries, etc. . . . And lastly a few articles from the law. These lectures finished, as well as the comments and explanations of which they have been the object, the Family transforms itself into a Council, and if necessary into a tribunal.”

“The father again takes the Family Record ; and, addressing himself to those present, inquires if anyone is indebted to the public taxes ? This is the first question ; for the entire family would consider itself dishonoured were one of its members in arrear with the State, giving a functionary the right to interfere, to make a demand. If such should be the case, the necessary advances are made to the individual in arrear. The second question is, whether any of the members of the family have any litigation or difference with another family ?—in order that steps may be taken for its peaceable solution, or, if needful, for the appointment of arbitrators. Lastly, any differences existing in the Family itself are enquired into. Should a misdemeanour or crime be in question, the accused is at once separated from the others present for trial ; or, if information has to be obtained or proofs collected, the member is remanded to the next or a special meeting. It has already been stated that an appeal lies from the judgments of these tribunals to those of the State, but so great is the respect in which they are held that this right is seldom exercised.”

There is much resemblance, in Chinese customary law, to the details of ancient Roman practice : *Jus Tributum*—*Jus Privatum*—*Jus Civitatis*,—*Jus Gentium* ; and a more minute resemblance in family practices and ceremonies than could have been conceived, considering the distance of

time and place. And here a suggestion may be made as to the origin of Canon Law. *Jus Tributum* was essentially *Family Law*, dealing with succession, wills, births, marriages, deaths, divorce, hospitality, etc., because all evidence resided alone in the Tribe or Family. When the European Ecclesiastical system claimed the position of universal family to the greater or less obliteration of the natural family, it also took upon itself the administration of the Family law, together with the side-issues arising from it.

Again: To those who have practically studied the procedure of the old courts of English Counties,—Courts Leet, etc.—there is an extraordinary resemblance of procedure to the exact routine above described by M. Simon of the individual family administration in China. For instance: Till quite recently the procedure of Quarter Sessions opened by a charge from the Chairman noting any necessary record or change of Law. Then came entry of Record, followed by administrative procedure with the aid of grand and petty juries, and, lastly, civil and criminal causes. This procedure was evidently an embodiment of the administration of the ancient English Family.

M. Simon also remarks, that administrative and judicial functions are administered by the same functionaries in China, as in the old Courts of English Counties, the distinction being, not the modern doctrine of the *separation* of judicial and administrative functions, but the discrimination between the procedure of arriving at a VERDICT OF FACT and the delivery of JUDGMENT or "FINDING" on such verdict:—thus submitting administration to the same test of judicial enquiry as crime.

The true course which naturally results from the Family Principle, is well described in the old saying of Tacitus "of great things the people, of small things the Princes"; or in other words: On the evidence of the whole people, organised in jury groups, lay the onus of VERDICT OF FACT (by far the most important part of any transaction),

while on the Chiefs lay the ruling or FINDING on such Verdicts.

Montesquieu, the great apostle of the modern doctrine of separation of judicial and administrative function, no doubt found the procedure of the Local Parliaments in France very unjust ; because they had become close bodies with the jury functions almost obliterated, and in many cases the interested parties judged their own causes. But such abuse was no reason for separating judicial procedure from "Administration." What can be so important as *administration* ? We do not all have occasion to stand in the dock ; and, with most, a civil case is a rarity ; but *administration* touches us at every turn, and is a constant appeal to our pocket and livelihood. Why then should all those safeguards which are considered so necessary to protect the criminal be taken away from the free and well-conducted part of the public ?

The confusion of mind which led to this did not always exist ; and while and wherever the Family principle is in predominance, it is clearly seen that, as in the Family so in the group, it is of primary importance that the organisation should be such that all possible experience, all possible evidence, all possible witness should be easily and naturally gathered for every possible necessity.

Here was the value of jury grouping ; in order that the evidence and knowledge of all might be forthcoming on matters common to all, Ten Families in every neighbourhood were grouped as a responsibility for the Peace and collection of dues. The presentment of these formed the Jury of the Village or Tithing,—the Presentments of the Tithing, the Jury of the Hundred,—the Presentments of the Hundreds, the Jury of the County,—the Presentments of the administration of the Counties, the Grand Jury or Assembly of the Nation. Finally : a Panel of this assembly was the origin of the Privy Council, or Supreme Court. These are English names ; but a similar organisation for the chain of evidence was universal, and naturally sprang from

Family Worth-ship, and its object was a certain reliable verdict of fact up to the point of common consent wherever the fact lay,—so that the margin for Error in Judgment might be reduced to the smallest proportions.

Nothing is more illustrative of the reverse of this than the present systems of public administrations. And laying aside Imperial matters, what can be a greater instance of mismanagement than our local governments?—a general and complete ignorance of common affairs resulting in an unlimited margin for error, a constantly increasing taxation, and enormous debts run up in times of prosperity, instead of reserves in hand for times of adversity. Nobody defends this result, but it is condoned on the abstract ground that popular government must be extravagant.

A very large expenditure is being constantly incurred to form more or less close and isolated bodies for these administrations, and often a good deal of heat and squabbling arises over the individual; but no sort of care is taken, nor is any organisation in existence by which such men might be able to produce the evidence or knowledge of the neighbourhoods they represent.

Election of men takes the place of re-representation of Fact. The first will represent neither men nor Fact; the second will, naturally, represent both. For the constant sifting of Fact searches all men and alone produces truly popular and free government. The present system is not popular government, but the formation of oligarchies; and oligarchies always have been and always will be an extravagant, weak, and ephemeral form of government, from the absence of the jury function, and because this function has to be supplied from fictitious sources.

The essence of the evil is this, that the Unit of Government is made to rest on a lifeless department instead of the living body of men.

All feel the evil, and with many it weighs with cruel pressure on the daily life of their own Family, bringing it to pass that a man's bitterest foes are often those of his own household.

This being the case surely a remedy would be welcome.

Such a remedy exists in the restoration of Family administration. It is within the reach of all,—is of the simplest possible character,—is extremely practical, and very far reaching ; and its actual utility only requires to be known to ensure its universal acceptance.

It has been suggested to me that I should cite actual personal experience, both in private and local public action, as explanatory of this paper.

I would, therefore, like to point out how much is lost and how many families are ruined, by each generation having to buy their experience isolated from former generations, making the same mistakes and leaving nothing behind them to assist future generations. How little is the idea of family combination for mutual aid and support understood !

The child should honour the parent, and if this is rightly understood it ensures prosperity and even probable extended existence. But the Parent must first begin by honouring the child, by training its judgment.

The habitual calling of the Family into consultation is a check on action from impulse ;—such procedure cannot avoid being of the greatest value toward training the judgment, as it necessarily obliges the nature of evidence to be early understood.

Forms of politeness are also of great importance, for the reason, that a child, knowing by habit that a certain form is required ; is put at its ease ; and therefore its thoughts need not dwell on itself, so enabling it to use its mind without the burden of self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is the destruction of observation.

There can be no greater comfort to Parents than to find their children loyally supporting them, and one another. The foundation for this is to train the judgment ; and for this there is nothing better than the habit of adjudication on ordinary affairs.

The same spirit of examination of evidence having been

first acquired in the Family, can then be extended to administrative groups beyond the Family : thus it becomes the nucleus of the procedure of all Courts, administrative or otherwise. Hence the whole fabric of jury grouping ; which enabled every administration to collect and group the whole evidence of its neighbourhood on any subject connected with it.

I have been very much struck with the necessary result of such an organisation : and at the same time I so felt the impotent isolation of mere election, that when County Councils were established, being elected for a district, I got the villages to divide down to groups of ten families, more or less, living in neighbourhood, each group forming a committee and selecting a chairman. The chairmen of these then form the committee of the village, and the chairmen of the villages the committee of the District—so that when any question arises the district can be well searched about it. Not the least of the advantages is the smoothness with which everything works and the good will established. In one case the organisation was applied to take up land, which in a short time proved a financial success, and was carried out without the smallest difficulty, friction, or jealousy. A responsible grouping, by small bodies, beginning with the Family, is the only basis on which self-aid and true government can be established.

Salisbury, 1st June, 1894.

BIOGRAPHIES (WITH PORTRAITS) OF THEIR
HIGHNESSES, THE PRESENT AND THE
TWO PRECEDING "AGA SAHIBS " OF
BOMBAY, THE CHIEFS OF THE KHOJAS
AND OTHER ISMAILIANS,

THE DISCIPLES OF "THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN,"
THE SO-CALLED "ASSASSINS" OF THE CRUSADES.



H.H. AGA SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH, THE PRESENT AGA.

IN "the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*" of April and July 1893 are to be found respectively the results of recent enquiries into "a secret religion in the Hindukush and in the Lebanon" as also regarding "the Kelám-i-pir and Esoteric Muhammadanism." The July number contains a biography of the young Chief who is now at the head not only of the Khoja community of Bombay and elsewhere, but also of the bulk of Ismailians generally throughout Asia and Africa. It is not our present purpose to recapitulate, however briefly, what has already been said regarding the secret tenets of what we believe to be a Muhammadan adaptation to *all* religions. We shall merely endeavour to place before our readers some of the particulars more directly connected with the history of the family of which the present youthful representative, H. H. Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan, has already given proof of courage, ability and helpfulness to our Government and to the cause of order. During the cow-killing riots that distressed Bombay last year, it was noticed that no member of the Khoja community had joined in them. Nor was the strongest provocation wanting. Within the gate of the Aga's palace, two Khojas were pursued and murdered by a maddened crowd, but the command of the Aga had gone forth from Poona, where he was then residing, that any Khoja taking part in the disturbances would incur his severe displeasure and so no retaliation whatever was taken by sectarians whom History connects with the misnamed "Assassins," but who to all that know them are models of probity, loyalty and forbearance. At the same time, the happy result of the attitude of the present Aga Sahib, shows the importance of ever taking into our counsels the religious leaders of the various communities in India, few of whom would approve of the Hanifite Maulvi Sami-ullah, who, on the eve of this year's so-called "*Baqr-eed*," has urged the obligatoriness of the sacrifice of a cow by Muhammadans, when this is neither their general law nor practice and when it can only serve as a threat to Government and to the Hindus. We trust that the services of the Aga Sahib, whose portrait we

publish in the garb in which he presides at the Muharram mournings, will be remembered at any distribution of honours that may be worthy of his influence and position.

His father, Aga Ali Shah, Aga Khan, was the first who gave us an indication of the mode in which the doctrine of metempsychosis is viewed by some of his followers.



H.H. AGA A'LI SHAH, THE SECOND AGA, FATHER OF THE PRESENT CHIEF. *

At the end of this paper will be found further details regarding this amiable Chief, communicated by an independent source as is also the account of the organization of the Khoja community. We remember his enlightened interest in researches regarding the Hindukush Muláís, who recite the following verses in honour of the ever-living representative of Ismail, their 7th Imám, "the Lord of the Age," his lineal descendant :

"Nobody will worship God, without worshipping Thee, Lord of the Age !
Jesus will descend from the fourth heaven to follow Thee, Lord of the Age !

Thy will alone will end the strife with Antichrist, Lord of the Age !

Thy beauty gives light to heaven, the sun and the moon, Lord of the Age !

May I be blessed by being under the dust of Thy feet, Lord of the Age !"

The grandfather of the present Aga, Muhammad Hasan-ul-Huseini, the founder of the Ismailian dynasty of the Agas under an Indian sky, contributed to the making of Persian, if not of Indian, History. He was the first chief who was called Aga, an appellation which is now given as a title to his lineal descendants in the Ismailian Popeship. His ascent to the illustrious ancestor, the chivalrous A'li, the son-in-law of the Prophet, is shown in the following genealogical List, which is repeated by Khojas on certain occasions. Rough as the enumeration is, it is of great historical importance and is corroborated, especially in its earlier and more important parts, by the evidence of Arab and other Historians, whilst its later names similarly rest in an indisputable unbroken chain of lineal descent.

- * Thus also do the Druses of the Lebanon exalt the dignity of their Ismailian "Maula Al-Hákim" as ruler and Imám of the Age to a position at least next to the Deity, and prohibit all other worship, except that of Hákim, in the sacred Covenant which was published in the "Asiatic Quarterly" of April 1893.



H. H. MUHAMMAD HASAN-UL-HUSEINI, THE FIRST AGA, LORD OF MEHELÁT
IN PERSIA.

LIST OF THE LINEAL ANCESTORS OF H. H. THE AGA KHAN.

(1) H. H. A'LÍ, son-in-law of the prophet, 1st Imám. His son was Hasan, the second Imám, whose younger brother (2) Husain, the martyr of Kerbelá, was the third Imám ; his son (3) Ali, Zein-ul-A'bidin, was the 4th Imám and his son (4) Muḥammad Bákir, the 5th, whose celebrated son, the philosopher (5) Imám Ja'far Sadiq or the Just, was the possessor of many known and secret sciences. (6) ISMAIL (the eldest son of the 6th Imám, died in his father's lifetime, but is acknowledged as the 7th Imám by the Ismailians who derive their name from him, whereas the ordinary Shíahs acknowledge 12 Imáms, viz: the 6th Imám's second son, Musa, as the 7th Imám, his son A'lí Riza as the 8th, his son Abu Ja'far as the 9th, his son A'lí Askari as 10th, his son Hasan Askari as 11th and Muham-

mad, surnamed the *Mahdi*, who vanished but whose reappearance is expected, as the 12th Imám. All the Ismailians, however, do not go beyond Ismail, but as we are concerned with the line of descent ending with the present Aga Sahib of Bombay, we proceed as follows: 7. Al Wási' Muhammad. 8. Al Wáfi Ahmad. 9. Al Taqí Kásim. 10. Al Rázi Abdullah. 11. Al Muhammad Mahdi (the first Ismailian Khalifa of Egypt). 12. Al Koem bi-amr-illah Ahmad. 13. Al-Mansûr bi-quwat-illah A'li. 14. Al-Muazz li-dîn-illah Saad. 15. Al-Aziz b-illah Nasr. 16. Al Hákim bi-Amr-illah ibn A'li. 17. Al Záhir li-Dîn-illah A'li. 18. Al Mustansir B-illah Muádd. 19. Mustafa li-Din-illah Nazar. 20. Sayyid Hádi. 21. Al Mullah Mahdi. 22. Hasan A'li, Zakarahu-s-salám. 23. A'la-ud-dîn Muhammad. 24. Hasan Jelaluddin (as-Sabbá). 25. Al A'la Muhammad Shah. 26. Ruknuddin Khur Shah. 27. Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah. 28. Kásim Shah. 29. Ahmad Islám Shah. 30. Muhammad Shah. 31. Mustansir A'li Shah. 32. Abdul-Salám Shah. 33. Mirza Abbas Shah. 34. Abu Zer Shah. 35. Murad Mirza A'li Shah. 36. Zu-l-fiqár Shah. 37. Nur-ud-dîn Shah. 38. Sayyad Khalilullah. 39. A'ta-ulla Nazr A'li Shah. 40. Ab-ul-Hasan Shah. 41. Kásim Shah. 42. Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Beg. 43. Sayyid Ja'far Shah. 44. Mirza Bákir. 45. Shah Khalilullah. 46. *Muhammad Hasan* (AGA KHAN). 47. A'li Shah, Aga Khan. 48. Aga Sultan Muhammad Shah, the present Aga Khan.

In a future issue we hope to be able to examine in detail the appellations and history of the successive inheritors of the dignity of the spiritual Chiefship of a community, the ramifications and influence of which are often to be found where least suspected. In the meanwhile, our readers must be referred to the interesting account given by the late Sir Bartle Frere of "The Khojas, the disciples of the old man of the mountain" which, by the generous permission of Lady Frere and of the publishers, we have reprinted in pamphlet form from *Macmillan's Magazine* of

August and September, 1876. We may, however, now give an independent account of the organization of the Khoja community in 1894, as also a few biographical notes regarding the three last incumbents of the Ismailian Pontificate. It may be mentioned that the present holder of this high heritage who was born on the 7th November 1877 recently celebrated his birthday according to the Muhammadan lunar Calendar on the 27th Shawwál A.H., when he was inundated with congratulatory telegrams, to which we may be allowed to add our own wishes for his prosperity and that of the interesting community over which he presides.

“ THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHOJAS.

For practical purposes of administration, India is divided into various districts, with very slight differences in their administration. The city of Bombay shall be mentioned first. The principal officers there are the Mukhi and the Kamurias, appointed for life by the Aga himself, from well-to-do families.* These, with the assistance of the best-known amongst the influential poor, and a certain number of the wealthy members of the community, settle all disputes on social customs and questions of divorce by the decision of the majority. In such matters the Aga never interferes. The control of religious affairs, however, lies entirely in his hands. When in Bombay, he gives audience to all comers, on Saturdays, and, whether in Bombay or not, he makes it a point to hold a levée on the day of the full moon and on certain festival days. During the Ramazán, at whatever station he may be, the usual Mahomedan Nimáz is recited every evening as also on the Bakree-Eed and Ramazan-Eed, and after this the particular Khoja prayer is said in his presence, after which he leaves. At certain times there are large gatherings of his followers when he addresses the assemblies on religious and controversial sub-

* The “ Mukhi ” is, more specifically, the Treasurer or Steward ; and the “ Kamuria ” the Accountant.

jects, the speeches being added to, and forming a component part of, the religious books of the Khojas.

If invited by any, even the poorest follower in Bombay, provided the person is accompanied by the Mukhi, the Aga invariably accepts the invitation. The Mukhi cannot decline to accompany any Khoja wishing to prefer the request that his house be visited.

The province of Cutch has lost greatly in Khojas, owing to emigration. Till lately, one man was appointed over all its Jama'ats (congregations) and to him local affairs were referred; but the community were dissatisfied with the power exercised over the decisions of their assemblies and permission was given them to elect Mukhis and Kamurias. When differences arise and the decisions of the Jama'ats are not considered satisfactory, references are made direct to the Aga. Four or five ministers are appointed for the different districts. The appointments are almost exclusively honorary, though the incumbents are allowed to exercise a sort of veto on the decisions of the Jama'ats, a right which is seldom acted upon. These offices are quasi-hereditary, as a member of the same family invariably succeeds on the demise of an occupant of the post.

The province of Kathiawar consisting not of traders as in Cutch and Bombay, but chiefly of tenant-farmers, is broken up into sub-divisions according to the different native States of which the Khojas are subjects. It is the best organised. Religious matters are entirely dissociated from monetary affairs. To look after the latter, a Kull-Kamuria is appointed for life. The present official is Ibrahim Ismail, Treasurer of H.H. the Nawab of Junaghad. He selects Kamurias for the provinces or States under him and these hold the posts for a term of years. The collections of offerings reach the Kull-Kamuria, who forwards them monthly to Bombay. For religious disputes and difficulties about social customs, an arbitrator is appointed in the person of a chief minister, who is at present Cassim Ismail, a brother of the above-mentioned Kull-Kamuria. He rules

supreme over the four other ministers appointed by the Aga who refer difficulties to the chief minister. Like the posts mentioned above, these are quasi-hereditary. In the villages, Kamurias and Mukhis are elected by the community and these are subject to the above. They manage their own concerns, referring, when differences arise, to the minister of their district with the right of appeal to the chief minister. Appeals seldom reach the Aga and the followers here are the most contented in India, the ministers, Mukhis, Kamurias and the Jama'ats being very popular. The Aga occasionally goes on a tour through these States halting at the principal towns to receive the people of the surrounding villages of the district.

Next comes Sind in importance, divided into Karachi City and the Province of Sind. In Karachi City, the Minister, Mukhi and Kamuria are appointed by the Aga for a term of years or for life and, as in other provinces, local affairs are managed by them ; but appeals from their authority to Bombay are frequent. Last year H.H. visited the town and was met at Keamari, the landing place, by thousands of Khojas all in holiday attire, conducted in a rich palanquin to a carriage of state, and accompanied by the crowd on the five miles of journey to the Camp. In the districts of Sind, the Ministers do not interfere with religion and all affairs are managed by the Mukhi and Kamurias who are elected by the community in the different villages. A similar administration is carried on in Ahmednugger, Poona, Rutnagherry and Southern India ; in fact, wherever as many as a dozen Khojas are found, and their contributions arrive even from Rangoon and other parts of Burmah. The Jama'at of each village or town appoints a Khoja whom they pay to teach the children and educate them in the tenets of their religion and instruct them in the principles of morality. Though the attendance is not compulsory, it is generally very good.

Before ending these few words on the internal management of their affairs by the Khojas it may not be out of

place to refer to what is so dreaded in every Indian community, viz. excommunication. Should the Jama'at of a village consider a Khoja's actions such as to put him out of the pale of their community, he is boycotted by all in his village. He can appeal to the Minister of his district, but, should the judgment be confirmed, instead of being severely avoided by his village alone, beyond the precincts of which the excommunication did not hold, it now extends to all the places in that district. If it be not confirmed, the excommunication, of course, is removed. A further appeal is allowed where the previous reference has caused dissatisfaction, but such seldom reach the Aga. Any excommunicated person, however, can obtain forgiveness and be received once more into the community, if he performs certain penances imposed, either by the first tribunal, or, after cases of appeal, by the tribunal to which the appeal was made, or by the Aga himself.

In speaking of the Khojas, we must not forget colonies in Africa, along whose eastern coast are the towns of Zanzibar, Bhagamoholla, Kilwa, Mombassa, and others extending on to Ujiji. The Khojas are traders. They elect annually, or, in rare cases, once in three years, a Mukhi and a Kamuria, for the management of local affairs. In Zanzibar these officers are elected annually, and, though the same persons may be re-elected, this has been known to take place only three times in the history of the Jama'at. Here contributions arrive from the coast, Mozambique and some new settlements excepted which deal direct with Bombay. Two ministers are appointed for Zanzibar, one having been the late Sir Tharia Topun. The other is 'Rahmatulla Hamani. Their power and influence with the Khojas is very great."

"BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THEIR HIGHNESSES, THE
SUCCESSIVE 'AGA SAHIBS' OF BOMBAY.

Shah Khalilulla, the great grandfather of H.H. Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, whilst residing for a short time at

Yezd, was murdered by a Persian mob incited to the act by a Mullah who termed the Ismailis "heretics" whom it was lawful and praiseworthy to kill. Amongst the Persian King's ministers there were many relatives of the murdered man and owing to this and the fear of disturbances that might arise from the desire of revenge on the part of the Ismailis, Fateh Ali Shah, the Shah of Persia, ordered the Mullah to his camp, cast him naked into a freezing pond and had him beaten with thorny sticks. Khalilulla was succeeded as head of the Ismailis by his son, Mahomed Hassan-al-Husseini; the appointment was confirmed by the Shah and the lad adopted and brought up at the royal court and there married to a daughter of the King. Accustomed in childhood to be called by the pet name of "Aga Khan," the sobriquet remained with him through life, and his son and grandson in India were called "Aga Khan" after him, a name that will probably continue in India while the family has a representative. On the death of Fateh Ali Shah, a civil war broke out in Persia, the princes taking the side of Zil-es-Sultan, the eldest son, and the other nobles and Mirzas fighting under the standard of Mahomed Shah, the father of the present Persian monarch. Amongst the ablest supporters of Mahomed Shah, then governor of Azerbijan, were Aga Khan of Mehelat and one of his relatives, a powerful noble of the same province of Irak. These two for their services were received in high favour at Mahomed Shah's court, the one being made Lord Chamberlain whilst Aga Khan was sent at the head of an army to conquer the province of Kirman which had declared in favour of the then Governor-General of the province, a son of Fateh Ali Shah. The latter was defeated and after a number of engagements was taken prisoner and sent to the King who ordered his eyes to be put out. In this enterprise, the Ismailis were of great help to their religious leader. Mahomed Shah was so pleased with Aga Khan that he appointed him the leader of the forces destined to take Herat, but a rebellion breaking out in Kerman the

King was forced to take his troops in person to besiege Herat. Before long Aga Khan was a rebel. The apparent cause was an insult from the prime minister. It so happened that the minister once lay ill with fever when a certain Abdul Mahomed, formerly a servant of Aga Khan, came to the house and following the Eastern fashion of displaying the *ne plus ultra* of attachment and devotion walked round the sick man and prayed that the illness might leave the minister and fall upon him. It chanced that matters fell out in accordance with his prayer and the servant Abdul Mahomed soon became the great Mirza Abdul Mahomed,* the friend of the prime minister and a great power at court who dared through the minister to ask in marriage the hand of his former master's daughter. The reply was an insulting letter couched in terms of Eastern abuse, and the minister, Haji Mirza Agasi, formerly a recluse and a philosopher and still a leader of a large section of the Sufis, determined, being all-powerful, to find a means of driving Aga Khan into rebellion. The latter on undertaking the conquest of Kerman had paid half the expenses of the war on a promise from Haji Mirza Agasi's predecessor, Kayam Makam, that he might recoup himself from the revenue of the province. This revenue was now demanded by Haji Mirza Agasi. It was the last straw. Aga Khan was long ready to rebel. On his reception at the court of Fateh Ali Shah and more so after Mahomed Shah ascended the throne, the Mullahs expecting to rise to power and influence under a Sayad dynasty had made proposals to Aga Khan to raise himself to supreme power, and the Mujtahids of Ispahan and Irak endeavoured to excite dissensions against what they called the rule of the Tartar. Civil war raged with varying fortune to either party, but the Mullahs hung back and Aga Khan was glad to lay down his arms when a promise reached him from the prime minister, strengthened by the carrying of a Koran on the

* His son, now an old man, is a pensioner of H.H. Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah's.

occasion, that he would be allowed, if hostilities ceased at once, to enjoy perfect liberty as a country gentleman on his estates at Mehelat. But he had scarcely surrendered when he was made prisoner and taken to Teheran. His wife in the meantime was at the Persian court and knowing that the Shah was an ardent Sufi, she dressed her son as a dervish and made the young man appear before the King daily to read and recite poems in praise of forgiveness. Moved by these the King pardoned Aga Khan. But this did not suit the minister. When Aga Khan was returning to Kerman he found a regular boycott established by the minister's orders and having to fight even for his food, was once more driven into open rebellion. An army was sent after him and Aga Khan was finally forced to quit the Kingdom taking up his quarters in Afghanistan. His brother continued the struggle in Persian Beluchistan, took the strong fortress of Bum and established himself governor of Bumpur as deputy of his brother Aga Khan. This was about the time of the first Afghan war. At Kabul, Aga Khan made the acquaintance of the English garrison and on one occasion helped them with his irregular cavalry. Finding his monetary resources almost at an end he went down to Sind to collect money from his Indian followers to renew his war with the Persian monarch, but meeting Sir Charles Napier he joined him in his conquest of Sind and has been praised in very high terms by that General for his truly soldierly qualities. Through our ambassador at the court of Teheran a request arrived from the Shah that Aga Khan be removed from the West of India where his presence was a constant menace, and the old warrior was deported to Calcutta where he received a pension from the British Government and the title of Highness. On the death of Mahomed Shah, he was allowed to proceed to Bombay, where he settled at one of the houses in Mazagon still in the possession of the family. There he took to horse-racing, his chief pleasure in life. It became such a passion with him that in his old age, decrepit and blind, he was to

be seen, when he could move out, frequenting the Grand-Stand, riding there on a led horse, roused by the mere vicinity of the race-horses he loved. He died in April 1881 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Aga Ali Shah, who, during his father's second rebellion, had left with his mother for Kerbela and had spent his time between that place and Bagdad in hunting and pleasure-parties in company with the Zil-es-Sultân, the forty days' King, and the exiled princes. There he married and had two sons whom he brought to Bombay. In India, his father deputed him to visit his followers in the different provinces, especially those of Scinde and Kāthiawar, where he organized the jama'atkhanas and taught his disciples. His spare time he gave to hunting, being a good shot and fond of sport. His wife died in Bombay and some time after he married the daughter of a Shirazi family settled in the city. After the death of his second wife, he married the lady who till now has acted guardian to her son, the present Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan. She is the daughter of Nizam-ud-Daulah who had formerly helped Aga Ali Shah's father at the Persian court before renouncing the world to lead a life of retirement and contemplation. After the death of Aga Khan, when Sir James Ferguson was governor of Bombay, Aga Ali Shah sat, for some time, as additional member of Council. His two sons died, aged 33 and 30 respectively, about nine months before their father, who departed this life at Poona in 1885.

Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, whose education is all but finished, is considered by the Persians in Bombay as the leading man in their Society. He also moves in both European and Indian circles and gives promise of a bright career. In the meantime, he does not neglect his followers in the different districts when for a fortnight or more in every year he receives their homage and teaches them the tenets of their religion."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. VI., page 454).

XXVII.

TRAVANCORE CORONATION CEREMONIES:

(An account of the *Tulabharam* and *Hiranyagarbham*,—ceremonies obligatory on the Rajas of Travancore,—given to Sir W. Elliot by a Travancore Brahman.)

It has long been the imperative duty of every Raja of Travancore, as soon as possible after his accession to the throne of his forefathers, to perform two expensive ceremonies, called *Tulabharam* and *Hiranyagarbham*; for their performance alone can enable him to bear the title of *Kulasekhara Perumal*, and confirm him on his ancestral throne. Although several of the ancient Rajas are found not to have thus legally acquired the title, perhaps from a failure of the requisite pecuniary means, yet those princes had reigned before the whole principality had acknowledged one sole sovereign. Since the reduction of the petty chiefs by Raja Mârtanda Varma of Attingal, all the princes seem to have undergone these ceremonies, with the exception of the two who were excluded, by reason of their sex, from their performance.

Hiranyagarbham alone can render the prince efficient to wear the crown of Travancore; and in order to be eligible for that, the Raja must have previously performed the ceremony of *Tulabharam*.

I. *Tulabhâram*.

Tulabhâram is derived from *Tula* = "a pair of scales," and *Bharam* = "weighing," meaning weighing in a pair of scales. This ceremony is the more expensive of the two, as it not only requires a large quantity of gold correspond-

ing with the weight of the prince, but much more money besides to serve as donations to several pagodas and to attendant Brahmans.

An auspicious day being previously fixed, the Raja sends his summons to all the *Namburies* (local Brahmans) to attend at the ceremony, and assist him in its performance. These people live in the southern parts of Travancore, their principal seats being Trichur in Cochin, and Trivandrum in Malabar near Calicut. Whatever may be the pursuits in which they happen to be then engaged, they must abandon them and repair without delay to the place appointed for the celebration of the ceremony. When the high priests of these Brahmans come, the Raja is required to go forth to meet them, and to lead them to the place allotted for their residence, paying them all manner of attention and reverence. Modern civilization, however, has introduced changes into this custom, which denoted the superiority of ecclesiastical rule. Instead of the prince, the head-officer of the palace goes, and after communicating to them the ceremony for which they are required, he desires from them a memorandum of the details of its observance, the provision required, and the penance which His Highness should previously perform. This is only a matter of form ; for every preparation has been already made agreeably to ancient custom. Great numbers of Brahmans, both local and foreign, assemble, and have to be fed and maintained without distinction. Prayers are periodically chanted in the Grand Pagoda at Trivandrum. About a week before the actual commencement of the ceremony, His Highness has to perform some highly mortifying penance. Then the ceremonials commence, which last 7 days. *Homams* or sacrifices, together with the recital of the Vedas, are performed by certain *Namburies*, whose hereditary privilege it is to officiate on such occasions. The foreign Brahmans are not allowed to take part : they are only appointed to attend the *Namburies* in their duties. As the seventh day approaches, a large temporary *pandal*, or decorated pavilion,

is erected in the grand Pagoda, well ornamented with tinsel work, Mango leaves, and Plantain trees, as prescribed in the Hindu *Shastras*. The four sides are secured with strong railings to restrain the crowd of spectators from entering the sanctuary. The *pandal* is built generally in an elevated spot, so that all the people may see the weighing of the prince. On the morning of the 7th day, the gold already collected for the purpose and converted into massive bars is taken with great pomp to the Pagoda, followed by a large number of spectators who crowd to get even a slight glimpse of the ceremonial. The gold is deposited in a particular position, and is purified by being sprinkled with sacred water by the high priest.

The Raja, after performing his morning devotion, proceeds to the Pagoda and prostrates himself before the deity in it. Then, dressed in his royal ornaments and attended by all his officers, he comes to the gate of the *pandal*, where he makes *danam* or the giving of nearly 100 cows to respectable, learned, and poor Brahmins. Then he takes off his ornaments and replaces them by a set of new ones of less value, as they become the perquisite of the High priest after the performance of the ceremony. Then the High priest briefly explains the necessity of the ceremony; and after certain passages from the Vedas have been repeated, His Highness is slowly led to the platform where the balance to weigh him has been erected, made of wood, well painted, and covered with green tafeta. The scales are of silver, some three feet in diameter, and are suspended by means of ropes made of twisted silken cords, entwined and covered with gold thread. In one of the scales, destined to bear the weight of the Royal person, a small cushion is placed, and on it a few *Darbhas* or pieces of sacred grass. His Highness, after falling at the feet of the High priest and the Brahmins generally, is slowly led, amidst loud acclamations, to his appointed scale, which stands at the height of a yard from the ground, to facilitate his mounting it. When the lucky hour has arrived the

members of the Royal family, the priests and officials are allowed to enter within the railings; and His Highness slowly places himself in one of the scales, while the gold is brought, amidst the beating of tom-toms, and put into the other scale. The sound of the clapping of hands and a peculiar strain of music convey to the eager crowd the information that their Raja has been placed in the balance. Then follows a rush to have a glimpse of the extraordinary scene. The crowd is so immense that should proper measures be by chance neglected, many are likely to be trodden to death. The gold continues to be poured into one scale till the other, in which the prince is seated, rises aloft. His Highness must remain nearly half an hour in the scale, when certain sacrifices, etc., are made; and then the High priest proclaims that the ceremony is over. The Raja thanks the local Brahmans for the trouble they have taken, and, as a reward, distributes half of the entire gold among the priests.

Then His Highness is triumphantly led, amid the acclamations of the people, to the presence of the deity, where, after paying certain prescribed gold coins, His Highness is congratulated by the High priest, in the name of the deity, and receives some trifling presents. The remaining half of the entire gold is taken to the mint and coined into special coins* bearing the inscription in Malayalam letters, *Sri Padmanabham*.

Every Brahman, without regard to his rank, receives a certain number of these golden coins, in proportion to the number of the members of which his family consists. The Brahmans are fed well during several days, and are then dismissed with suitable presents. The share which the local Brahmans receive is a quantity of gold, which they take home. Great festivities commemorate the occasion, and no circumstance that would enhance its pomp is neglected.

* The value of the coins I am not able to find out: it could be ascertained only by a reference to the authorities in the mint.

II. *Hiranyagarbham.*

Tulabhâram prepares the Raja for undergoing the ceremony of *Hiranyagarbham*, which is similar in the fixing of a lucky day, and the issuing of the Royal summons to the *Namburies*, but this ceremony does not last longer than a couple of days. *Hiranyagarbham*, or, as it is sometimes called, *Padmagarbham* means birth from Gold, or birth from the Lotus.

A large *mandapam* or pavilion is set apart for this purpose, in the grand Pagoda at Trivandrum. There all the local Brahmans assemble, and sacrifices begin to be made, continuing for about a week. A couple of days before the actual performance of the ceremony, the golden vessel—which has to be specially made for the purpose, is carried from the palace to the Pagoda through the streets, accompanied by a large concourse of people who flock to have even a peep at the vessel a few minutes' detention in which capacitates a person to wear the royal crown.

The vessel is of the height of an average man, round, and plain, without any ornamental workmanship. The covering is supported by lotuses curiously carved. The gold is not quite pure, being much alloyed with copper and silver.

The vessel on arriving at the Pagoda is deposited in the centre of the *Mandapam*, and the *Namburies* commence to fill it with the *Panchakavyam*, or five sacred Liquids,—Milk, *Tair* (whey), Sugar, Lime-juice and Honey. The whole apartment is well decorated with temporary work in tinsel and flowers which must have been procured from all parts of the country. When all the preparations are complete, His Highness sets out in public procession, with all his family, officers and attendants, and goes directly to the Pagoda where he offers some coins. This done, he proceeds to the place prepared for the ceremony, where all his ornaments are taken away, as he must enter the vessel without them, to denote that man has no worldly ornaments at his

birth, whatever^{*} may be his ultimate supreme rank in the world. The *Namburies* repeat certain texts of the Vedas. Then His Highness himself slowly removes the covering, and makes his appearance, as if he had been just born. All the priests congratulate him on his second birth, while peals of Artillery specially brought for the occasion, convey the intelligence that the Raja has completed his second birth, and that he is now fitted to wear the crown for which he had been required to undergo so many pains. Hitherto there has been no crowd as only a select number are admitted, owing to the sacred nature of the ceremony. Any pollution or any other obstacle unfortunately occurring is sufficient to necessitate a recommencement of the whole work afresh. So it requires much vigilance to see that no such accident occurs.

The prince, on coming out of the golden vessel, at once bestows it on certain *Namburies* whose privilege it is to receive the whole. In the case of *Tulabhâram*, the foreign Brahmans have a claim to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the gross amount of gold. Here even the *Namburies* themselves receive nothing but some customary donations. The vessel in which the *Hiranyagarbham* ceremony takes place is, I think, valued at Rs. 30,000. It would cost still more if its value were not diminished by the admixture of silver and copper. The person who receives the sacred vessel (symbolic of a womb) is not allowed to leave it in the pagoda : he must remove it as soon as possible ; because its continuance there would pollute the whole Pagoda. His Highness then bathes in fresh water and enters an apartment where everything necessary has been already arranged for his purification. Among the Hindus, the birth of a child brings pollution : so the artificial birth also is held to have, in its character, something which requires an early purification. After the recitation of certain Vedic texts, a large vessel filled with the sacred water of the Ganges, specially ordered for the purpose, is brought, and the water is slowly poured on the Raja's head. This done, His Highness returns to the adjacent

Palace and again comes forth dressed in his most gorgeous style. He is now led by the High priest to the platform in front of the principal deity. The High priest briefly congratulates His Highness on the performance of the ceremony, requesting him to prostrate himself thrice before the deity, while everyone is compelled to maintain perfect silence. The High priest advances to the front, and thrice calls His Highness by the name of *Kulasekhara Perumal*. The state of bondage to the ecclesiastical circles is so great that the very prince who is the master of the whole country is compelled by usage to reply : " Thy slave." Then the crown which has been previously placed at the feet of the deity is brought and placed on the Royal brow. On receiving the crown, the prince prostrates himself again, and next receives his regal sword and seal. The conclusion of the ceremony is announced to the people outside the enclosure by music, and to the whole city by peals of artillery.

It is considered that *Padmanabhaswami* (an incarnation of Vishnu) is the true lord of Travancore. One of the former Rajas of Travancore, intimidated at the hostile intentions of Tippu Sultan,* and anticipating an annihilation of his authority, was induced to dedicate his own kingdom to the Ruler of the Universe to obtain mercy for his people. When the arms of Tippu received a check, and he found it impossible to conquer Travancore as his presence was much required at Seringapatam, the delivery was imputed to the interposition of Providence. From that date, the realm belongs to *Padmanabhaswami*, while the Rajas are considered to be appointed his viceroys, to conduct its affairs. The management of the Pagoda is conducted by a committee of 8 persons in whom the privilege is hereditary. The Raja is the President ; but though he can dismiss a member after a satisfactory proof of his guilt, he cannot appoint in his stead any other but one of the same family. Everything

* This brings the dedication of the Raj to the Deity down to as late a date as a century ago.—R.S.

connected with the Pagoda is conducted by the unanimous consent of these members. But they have no power to interfere in the affairs of the State, though it also is considered sacred property.

III. *Installation.*

When the new prince is installed, he is obliged to take a solemn oath that he will never deviate from the path pursued by his predecessors, that he will give his whole attention to promoting the welfare of his people without distinction, that he will rule in conformity with the established usages of the country, that he will show no partiality towards any individual or caste; and that he will devote all his energy to the improvement of the condition of his people, bearing well in mind that he has been selected by the Almighty to rule with parental affection. Then only is he presented with the crown and the sword, the insignia of his office.

On His Highness taking the oath amidst the loud cheers of the jubilant people, the crown and the sceptre are presented to him while the High priest pronounces the benediction: "May you reign long; may you look after the interests of the charitable establishments; may you be guilty of no partiality in the administration of justice; and may this crown, that has adorned the brows of your illustrious predecessors, find you no way less worthy to bear it." Loud acclamations at once proclaim the event to the public. The people, raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, crowd to have a glimpse of their newly-crowned monarch, who after having prostrated himself once more, comes out of the sanctuary adorned with the crown and the sceptre.

This crown is of an antique shape, and is rather clumsy. The precious stones are exclusively sapphires, with diamonds and rubies. It is too weighty to be borne comfortably. On the upper part are two sandals of the deity set with precious stones. It is now used only on extraordinary religious ceremonies. A simpler one is made for ordinary

wear, consisting of two feet, set with brilliants, attached to a velvet cap which the Raja uses wherever he goes.

The ceremony does not end here. His Highness has to proceed to Tirupâpuram, a village 12 miles distant where he must receive the confirmation of the crown. After making the usual adorations, His Highness leaves the Pagoda and enters the adjacent Palace, allotted exclusively for the female members and children of the Royal family. Here all his troops and retinue are ordered to attend him along the route to Tirupâpuram.

In the heat of a tropical sun and attended by all the members of the family, together with his officers and other attendants, His Highness sets out for Tirupâpuram. Nothing can exceed the pomp with which the march is conducted. All the streets are ornamented with Plantain trees and wreaths, while people of all classes flock to see their sovereign, with his crown on his brow.

After a fatiguing march, His Highness reaches the place. It is a small village scarcely sufficient to accommodate such a large royal cortége. Here some ceremonies take place. The crown is then placed on His Highness's head with the usual three calls of *Kulasekhara Perumal*. From this place, His Highness directs his way to Attingal, where his family gods are placed. Here he goes through the same ceremonies, and then returns home, amid every possible expression of joy. The city is continuously illuminated for a week; the public offices are closed; and entertainments are given to all classes of the people.

His Highness has subsequently to visit certain other Pagodas in his realm, but these visits he can make at his own convenience.

CENTRAL ASIAN MATERIAL*
IN EXPLANATION OF THE
GRANVILLE-GORTCHAKOFF CONVENTION
OF 1872.

(THE BASIS OF THE SETTLEMENT IN 1894.)

CHAPTER I.—BOKHARA AND BADAKHSHAN [WHEN INDEPENDENT].

THE following is a brief history of the family of *Mozaffar Khan* [the father of the present Amír of Bokhárá]. The present reigning family of Bokhara is not descended either from Changez Khan or the Amír Taimúr. It is a Turkish family of the Mankit (Mangut) Tribe of the Turks descended from Cháksú, the son of Tomana Khan. Tomana Khan had three sons, viz., Kabul Khan, Kácholi Bahádur and Cháksu. The descendants of the last-named son of Tomana Khan alone attained to the rank of sovereignty. The Mankit Tribe is divided into three sections, viz., Ak Tok and Tamúr Khoya. The present reigning family belongs to the "Tok" Section, which means "wealthy" or "powerful." The following is the genealogy of the family:—

Chá-ush-Bái.
|
Kildi Yarbi.
|
Khodai Kuli.
|
Khoda Yár Bí Atálfk.
|
Dániál Bi Atálik.
|
Shah Morád Beg alias Mázum Gházi.
|
Amír Sa-íd Amir Haidar.
|
Amir Nasrulla Khan.
|
Amir Mozaffar Khan.

Chá-ush-Bai was a Nomad Chief of some respectability, who lived in his camp in the neighbourhood of Karshi. He once entertained with marked hospitality Abd-ullah Khan, Usbak, the King of Bokhárá, who happened to encamp with a large retinue in the vicinity of the camp of Chá-ush Bai, and thenceforward enjoyed an honourable position in the Court of Bokhárá. One of his descendants, Khoda Yar Bi was subsequently raised to the dignity of Atalik during the reign of Subhan Kuli Khan. Khoda Yár Bi had two sons, viz., Muhammed Hakim Bi Atalik and Dániál Bi Atalik. Hakim Bi Atalik had three sons—Rahim Khan, Youkáshti Beg and Barát Beg. Dániál Bi had one son, named Shah Morád Bey, surnamed Másum Gházi. Mahammad Hakím Bi Atalik exercised supreme power during the reign of Ab-ul Faiz, the son of Subhan Kuli Khan, who was king in name

* This hitherto unpublished material was important in 1872, and is of permanent topographical, historical, and perhaps, some day, even of political value as regards Badakhshán and other neighbouring countries.—EDITOR.

only. Hakim Bi made over charge of the territory of Karshi to his two sons, Youkashli Beg and Barát Beg. Rahim Khan was the bravest of all the sons of Hakim Bi. During the reign of Ab-ul Faiz, Bokhárá was invaded by Nádir. Hakim Bi advised the Bokhárá Chief to tender submission, and furnished a contingent of twelve thousand men, under the command of his son, Rahim Khan, to accompany the great Persian conqueror in his invasion of India. Nádir granted subsequently a patent conferring the charge of the Government* of Bokhárá on Rahim Khan. In the year 1166† Ahmad Shah Durráni took possession of Balkh, Badakhshán and Khorasán, and the following year Rahim Khan with the concurrence of the principal nobles of Bokhárá, assassinated Ab-ul Faiz and raised his son, Abd-ul Momin Khan, nominally to the throne. Abd-ul Momin died in 1163 and Rahim Khan raised to the throne Abd-ulla Khan, a descendant of Changez Khan. The real power remained, however, in the hands of Rahim Khan. The nominal sovereign was maintained for eight years, after which Rahim Khan threw off the mask, put Abd-ulla Khan to death, and himself usurped the sovereignty. He enlarged the kingdom by his conquests, but neither Balkh nor Badakhshán were included in his dominions. The former country was during his reign held by the Katágha Rulers of Kunduz, and the latter was governed by the descendants of Mír Yár Beg in subordination to the Afghán Government of Cabul. After the death of Rahim Khan, the chief authority was usurped by his uncle, Dániál Bi, who maintained the semblance of sovereign in the person, first of Fasil Khan the grandson (daughter's son) of Rahim Khan, and subsequently of Ab-ul Ghazi Khan, who was descended from the family of Changez Khan. After some years, he found himself sufficiently strong to assume the emblem‡ of sovereignty, and himself took possession of the throne. He died in 1199,* and was succeeded by his son Shah Morád Bi. The Chief applied for and obtained from Selim III., the Sultan of Turkey, a patent constituting him the sovereign of Bokhárá, and directing the people of the country to read the Khutba in his name. He also received from the Sultan the title of "Amír-ul Mominin," or the Commander of the Faithful. Shah Morad Beg died in the year 1215† and was succeeded by his son Amir Sa-id-Amir Haidar. During the reign of Shah Morad Beg in Bokhárá, Balkh and Badakhshan were included in the dominions of Timur Shah Abdali, King of Cabul. Amir Haidar conquered Balkh in A.D. 1795. He died in 1242* and was succeeded by his son Amir Sayad Hosain who died the following year, and was succeeded by his brother, Amir Omar Khan. Omar Khan also died after a reign of a few months, and was succeeded by his brother, Amir Nasr-ullah Khan. The last-named Chief overran Balkh in 1253,† but made no attempt to occupy it permanently. Nasr-ullah Khan died in 1277, and was succeeded by his son Mozaffar Khan [the father of the present Amir of Bokhárá]. This Chief never made any attempt to occupy Balkh, though he more than once instigated rebellion on the part of Mirs of Maimana, Akhcha, Shibarghán and Badakhshan against the Barakzai Rulers of Afghánistán. Balkh has been included in the dominions of the Barakzai Rulers of Afghánistán since the year 1859. Badakhshan has never been independent

* A.D. 1743.

† A.D. 1782.

‡ A.D. 1798.

of Balkh. At the present time the territory extending from Bosagha, to Karki and Chárjui, and situated on this side of the Oxus which adjoins the lands of Balkh, is held, with the control of all the ferries (19 in number) on the Oxus by the Amír of Bokhára. No encroachments have been made on this territory on the part of the Bárakzai Government. The head of that government, the present Amír of Afghánistan within whose dominions are included Hirát and Badakhshán, is completely a vassal of the British Government, and as such, abstains from improper encroachments and transgressions on foreign territory. If any improper proceedings have occurred they have occurred on the part of the Amír of Bokhára who is a vassal of the Russian Government. It was he who supported Abdul Rahmán Khan in his incursions into Balkh, it was he who instigated Eshán Orak to create disturbances in Akhcha and at Mangalik; it was by his support that Is-haq Khan, the son of Muhammad Azim Khan, made his last attempt to occupy Balkh; and, lastly, it was he who encouraged Mir Jahandár Shah to cause trouble in Badakhshán, which he entered suddenly, and where he burned the Fort of Yang Kila with the aid of the people of Kuláb, a dependency of Bokhára. In the face of all this, the Amir Sher Ali Khan refused to support Abdul Malik Tora, the rebellious son of the Amír of Bokhára, against his father, and sent him away from his country, and withheld his countenance from Mir Sarah Bey of Kuláb who solicited the protection of the Afghán Government. Eventually the consequences of improper interference will be suffered by him by whom it is exercised. As it is, the true character of the Lion of Britain, the Wolf of Afghanistan, the Jackal of Bokhára, and the Bear of Russia, is well known all over the world. This paper has been prepared on the authority of Muhammed Nabi, Minister of the Badakhshán State, and Mirza Ján, a member of the reigning family of that country [now a part of Afghanistan].

BADAKHSIIAN.

BADAKHSHÁN has been mentioned generally as a dependency of Balkh. It is now proposed to describe it in greater detail. It is bounded on the east by Chitrál,* (Yasin and Mastuch Kashkar) Upper and Lower, Sarikul and Páner; on the west by the Kotal Lataband and the Kunduz territory; south, by the Hindu Kush, which intervenes between Panjsher and Cabul and the country of the Siáh Posh Káfirs; and on the north, by the River Oxus, across which is situated the territory of Kuláb. To the north-east of Badakhshán lie Darwáz and Karátágin dependencies of Bokhára and Farghána.

The frontier districts of Badakhshán are, in the east, Kotal Doráh, Kotal Nuksán, Wakhán and Roshán; in the north-east, Shighnán; and in the north, Rusták, on the extreme border of which are situated the villages of Hayát Beg, Kila Darkad and Simti, on the River Oxus.

The sub-divisions of Badakhshán are—

(1st) RÁGH.—BOUNDARIES: *East*, Yaftal. *West*, The Oxus. *North*, Darwáz. *South*, Pasákoh.

(2nd) FARKHÁR.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Warsach. *W.*, Tálakán. *N.*, Kisham. *S.*, Farhang, in Kunduz.

* Chitrál.

- (3rd) PASAKOH.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Shahr-i Buzurg. *W.*, Dáwang. *N.*, Rágh. *S.*, Sheáb.
- (4th) DAWANG.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Pasákoh. *W.*, Yangkila. *N.*, Simti. *S.*, Rusták.
- (5th) YANGKILA.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Shiáb.* *W.*, Kuláb.* *N.*, Darkad, *S.*, Simti.
- (6th) RUSTÁK.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Mashad. *W.*, Oxus. *N.*, Karligh Rusták. *S.*, Khalpán.
- (7th) KISHAM.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Ashangán. *W.*, Mashad. *S.*, Farkhár. *N.*, Teshkán.
- (8th) TESHKÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Kisham. *W.*, Moraffari. *N.*, Darah Aim, or Daryim. *S.*, Navi.
- (9th) DARAH AIM.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Kotul Kargasi. *W.*, Langar. *N.*, Argu. *S.*, Teshkán.
- (10th) ARGU.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Piazikoh. *W.*, Sarah Bahar. *N.*, Faizabád. *S.*, Darah Aim.
- (11th) FAIZABAD, the capital of BADAKHSHÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Zardeo. *W.*, Sarah Bahar. *N.*, Yaftal. *S.*, Otránchi and Psartásh.
- (12th) SARAH BAHÁR.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Kala Manára. *W.*, Yakka Bughal. *N.*, Yaftal. *S.*, Khasáda.
- (13th) TÁRIN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Warduj. *W.*, Kásh. *N.*, Náva Tarin. *S.*, Kila Gumbad.
- (14th) ASHKÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Taikhán. *W.*, Sina. *N.*, Gharma. *S.*, Dasht-i-rágh.
- (15th) KARÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Munján. *W.*, Ashangán. *N.*, Deh-i-Hazrat Sayyud. *S.*, Yamgán.
- (16th) MUNJÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Sanglich, Káshkár border. *W.*, Unjmanj. *N.*, Karán. *S.*, Siah Posh Káfirs.
- (17th) ASHANGÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Paryán. *W.*, Injakán. *S.*, Panjsheer. *N.*, Gávián.
- (18th) PARYÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Anjmanj. *W.*, Degar. *N.*, Farghal. *S.*, Hindu Kush, Panjsheer hill.
- (19th) WARSACH.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Dasht-i-Robát. *W.*, Tang Darím. *N.*, Mian Sher. *S.*, Tagáv-i-Tarrasht.
- (20th) SHAHR-I-BUZURG.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Supaid Sangáh. *W.*, Karlagh Pashki. *N.*, Rágh. *S.*, Kol.
- (21st) KULOAGÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Namakáb. *W.*, Karksái. *N.*, Mashad. *S.*, Lallaband.
- (22nd) KHAIRABÁD.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Uzdab. *W.*, Sufaid Bandán. *N.*, Sheva. *S.*, Chián.
- (23rd) ARK.—BOUNDARIES: As the preceding except Yarak, on the South.
- (24th) ZARDEO.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Karkho. *W.*, Wakhshir. *N.*, Sarghalán. *S.*, Yalangáb.
- (25th) SARGHALÁN.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Zargháo. *W.*, Koh-i Sufaid Sang. *N.*, Zardeo. *S.*, Gharán (Ruby mines).
- (26th) YASACH.—BOUNDARIES: *E.*, Yághardeh. *W.*, Koh-i-Khowaya Maisara. *N.*, Sarghalán. *S.*, Gharán.

* Here the Oxus flows due South across the Oxus.

(27th) GHÁRÁN.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Koh-i-Barshál. *W.*, Kāzi-Deh. *N.*, Andáj. *S.*, Zich.

(28th) SHIGHNÁN.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Shakh Darah, on the Pámer-route. *W.*, Hámún (Amu) River, alias Panja. *N.*, Barghál and Vanj on the *Karátagin route*.

(29th) ROSHÁN.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Shighnán. *W.*, Darwáz. *N.*, Dara Bartang and Dasht-i-a-i. *S.*, Dasht-i-Khálak.

(30th) PÁ-in-SHAHR.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Yam Dorah. *W.*, Tangbála. *N.*, Arghanj Khowáh. *S.*, Dasht-i-Fárah.

(31st) WARDUJ.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Koh-i Daráj. *W.*, Koshkak. *N.*, Baráora. *S.*, Yardár.

(32nd) ZAIBÁK.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Khalkhán, Kotál Daráh. *W.*, Gáokhána. *N.*, Ishkáshim. *S.*, Deh-i-Gol.

(33rd) ISHKÁSHIM.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Kamángarán on the Kashkar route. *W.*, Zarkhán. *N.*, Ghárán. *S.*, Zaibák.

(34th) SAD ISHTARAK.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Wakhán. *W.*, Koh-i-Lál. *N.*, The Panja River, called the Amu lower down. *S.*, The Shákh Dara territory.

(35th) WAKHÁN.—BOUNDARIES : *E.*, Baroghil and the Chitrár Bála (or Upper) territory. *W.*, Sad Ishtarák. *N.*, The Panjah Fort. *S.*, Kila Beg Zár. To the south-east lies the Kunjad or Kunjut or Hunza territory.

MINERALS.

1. At Darah-i-Karán there are the Lájward (or *Lapis lazuli*) mines. 2. At Darah-i-Gaoandarah, lead mines. 3. At Yam Dara, copper mines. 4. At Yam Dara, iron mines. 5. At Darah-i-Ghárán, ruby, yakut (emerald) mines. 6. At Darah-i-Sanglich, sulphur mines. 7. At Chap Dara, opiment mines.

These mines are well known, but the country is rich in mineral resources which have not been explored.

RIVERS.

1. The river *Panja*, which rises in Wakhán. 2. The *Kukcha* river, which rises near the Lájward mines at Koh-Karán, and flows on through Jirán to Pá-in-Shahr. 3. The *Yardár* river, which rises in the Dara Sanglich, near the sulphur mines. It flows through Zaibák and Warduj to Pá-in-Shahr. 4. The *Zardeo* river, which rises at Gharan, near the ruby mines and flows through Sarghalan and Zardeo to Pá-in-Shahr.

These three rivers unite into one stream at Pá-in-Shahr, which flows past Faizábád, the capital of Badakhshán, through Kila Jafar, Karligh and Khojaghár, and falls at Sara Bahár into the Oxus. At Faizábád this stream is known by the name of the Faizábád river. At Karligh it is called Kukcha. At Sar-i-ásia the Kukcha river receives the water of the stream which descends from the Kotál-i-Kargasi: it also receives the water of the stream which descends through the Darah-i-Tesahkán from the same Kotál-i-Kargasi.

The *Mashad* stream rises in the Hindu-Kush, and, flowing northward, joins the Kukcha at Gúmbad. Gold sand is washed out of the Kukcha river.

ROUTES THROUGH, OR FROM, BADA KHSHÁN.

From *Faizábád*, the capital of Badakhshán, a route leads through Warduj, Zaibák, Lad Ishtárák and Wakhán, viâ Pâmer and Sarikul, to Yárkand. From the *Pâmer* a route diverges through the Dasht-i-Ala-i to Káshghar. From *Wakhán* a route leads to Yásin and Mustoch, in Upper Chitrál, as also to Kunjut (Hunza) and Gilgit.

From *Faizábád*, through Warduj, Zaibák and Sanglich, a route leads to Lower Chitrál, Bájour and Dír, and another to Pesháwar.

From *Faizábád*, a route runs through Ghorí and Khinján across the Hindu Kush to Cabul.

A route also runs from *Faizábád* to *Bokhára* viâ Argu, Rusták, Yangkila, and thence across the Oxus through Kuláb.

From *Faizábád* there is a route leading viâ Kalougán and Tálíkán in Kunduz, and thence across the Kotals, Jeri-Gung and Shambaghali and Chol and Yangarigh, to Khulm and Balkh.

Through *Roshán* and *Rágh*, and *Darwáz*, and *Karátagin*, a route runs to *Farghána* in the Kokand territory.

SHRINES.

1st.—The shrine of Mir Yár Beg Vali, great ancestor of the Mirs of Badakhshán.

2nd.—The shrine containing the gown of the prophet. Ahmad Shah Durrání removed the gown to Kandahar where it is deposited near the Topkhána (or Artillery) Gate of the city.

3rd.—The shrine of Nasir Khusrou Hoi (in the neighbourhood of Zirm) , who is the famous saint of these hills.

TRIBES.

Tajiks.—Talk Persian and inhabit Rusták, Asiáb Kashán, Dewari, Dawang, Pasakoh, Shahr-i-Buzurg, Yaftal, and Rágh.

Uzbaks.—Speak the Turkish language ; inhabit Yangkila, Darhad, Simti, Karligh, Otránchi and Bartásh.

Moghals.—Speak Turkish ; inhabit Argu and Karligh Báshi.

Chang.—Descendants of Changez Khan ; inhabit Zirm.

Ali Moghals.—A Turkish tribe, called also Taimúris ; inhabit the Khásh territory, which is also the abode of an Uzbek tribe called Chang Kalsa-ta-i.

Karligh Mirzais and Kúchis.—Inhabit Darah-i-Aim.

The *Toghal Uzbaks*.—Inhabit the neighbourhood of Mashad.

The nomad *Bilochi* tribes and *Arabs*, who speak the Turkish language, and the Hazárah, who dwell in the neighbourhood of Faizábád and the villages of Kamálúsán.

The whole of the population is Sunni, and cannot amount to less than 80 thousand families, which are able to muster 40 thousand fighting men.

REVENUE.—The Chief takes a tenth share of the grain produce, and one out of every forty heads of cattle, as his share. The revenue is not realized in cash.

Administration of justice.—Justice is administered according to the Mahomedan law. The Kazi decides causes in consultation with the Chief. Influential persons, if they commit murder, are exempt from the punishment of death.

Military system.—There are no regular troops ; but one fighting man is supplied by every 20 families. Food, clothing and arms, which consist of a gun, sword and spear, or lance as well as horses, are supplied by the people themselves ; but when engaged in the field, the men are fed at the expense of the Chief himself.

Once in each year the Chief distributes dresses to the Aksakáls (white-beards) and other principal and influential men in the country.

The slave trade.—The people of Shignán are remarkable for their beauty. These as well as the Hazárahs of the border territory of Kunjad profess the Shiah creed. The Mir, or Chief, of Badakhshán receives slaves from among these tribes, as presents from Upper Chitrál and elsewhere. They are also bartered for horses and guns, etc. These slaves are sold by the Mir into Balkh, Bokhara and Cabul. The Amir of Cabul levies a duty of 33 tangas in Balkh on every slave, who is imported into, and of one tanga on every slave who is exported from, that territory : a duty of three tangas is also levied on each sale as brokerage. This trade in human flesh would appear to have been introduced after the Mahomedan conquest. There is no trace of its existence before the introduction of Islám into these countries. The celebrated favourite of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni, named Ayáz, was a native of Chinese Tartary, and purchased by Mahmud in Badakhshán.

The mercantile products of Badakhshan are :—HORSES, *Zira-i-sidh*, or black Fox skins, *Dalakhapah*, or the fur of an inferior species of sable, Otter skins, the *Salúsun* furs black and white, the *Aibak*, Silk Ilacha,

• And the following birds, viz.—

The *Bulbul*, Nightingale, *Sába*, Goldfinch, which are exported to Turkistan and India ; *Lájward* (*lapis lazuli*) is also exported to Yarkand.

TRADE WITH INDIA.—The following goods are imported from Pesháwar, viâ Chitrál and Balkh from British India for sale in Badakhshán :

Kimkháb, or brocades	Broad-cloth
Kashmir shawls	Chintz
Pesháwar and Ludiana Lungis	Malmal (Muslin)
Spices	Indigo
Compound medicines	Tea
Longcloth	Arms

There is a brisk *trade* in the following RUSSIAN goods, the import of which has increased since the advance of Russia in Central Asia :—

Chintz	Copper and brass utensils
China-ware	Russian longcloth
Samawars (or tea urns)	Boots and shoes
Bokhara silks	

Duties.—A duty of from four to five rupees is levied on every load of merchandise.

ALLIANCES between the Chief of Badakhshán and neighbouring Chiefs :

The sister of Amán-ul Mulk, the (former) Ruler of Chitrál, is married to Jahándár Shah (the last independent claimant to the Badakhshán throne).

A daughter of Amán-ul Mulk is married to Abd-ulla Khán, a brother of Jahandar Shah.

• A sister of Ismá-il Khan, the Mir of Darwáz, is also married to Jahandár

Shah. Jahándar Shah has been lately deposed from the Chiefship of Badakhshán. [This shows the date of this document to be about 1872.]

The following are some of the authorities regarding Badakhshán and neighbouring countries :

History, by Mirza Haidar of Káshghar, *Tarikh-i-Jahán Kushá*, *Rozat-us-Safa*, *Tárikh-Mokim Káni*, Abd-ulla Náma dedicated to Abdullah Khan Uzbek, *Tarikh-Shah Jaháni*, Rahim Náma dedicated to Rahim Khan Amir of Bokhára, History of the conquest of Changez Khan. *Zafarnáma* or history of the conquest of Taimúr. The Chronicles of Baber and Humáyun. *Tarikh-i-Jafiri*. History of Mirza Ulagh Beg.

The following are the genealogies of the Mírs of Badakhshán and Kunduz :—

GENEALOGY OF THE MÍRS OF BADA KHSHÁN.

MIRZA ZAHÍD KHÁN, SÁHIBZÁDA OF SAMARKAND.

Mír Shahbár Beg, of Samarkand.

Mír Yár Beg.

Solaimán Beg.	Yúsof Ali Khan.	Khoja Niáz.	Khoja Is-háq.	Shah Ismail Beg.	Zia-ud- Dín.	Mirza Kand.	Mír Aibak. Beg.	Ghází
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Ba'hádur
Shah.

Mirza Bayát.

Mirza Fatah.	Ab-ul Mas-ud.	Mirza ud-dín.	Mirza Burhán Shah.	Sultán Shah.	Turraház Khan.	Mirza Mohamdi.	Mír Yár Shah.
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Muhammad Shah.

Solaimán Shah.

Sultán Shah.

Ahmad Shah.

Mizráb Shah, Mír of
Badakhshán.

Shahzáda
Mahmúd.

Abdul
Ghází
Khan.
Beg.

Mír
Yár
Beg.

Sikandar
Shah.

Shah
Solaimán
Beg.

Ramát Shah.

Mirza
Mohamdi.
Khan.

Mír Alam.

Shah
Ibrahim.

Shah
Mamúd.

Mirza
Ján.

Mirza Kalán.

Nasr-ulla
Khan.

Yúsof Ali
Khan.

Sultán Aubul
Khair.

Mír Shah.

Kurbán Khan.

Nizám-ud-dín.

Daughter married
Sardár Muhammad
Azim Khan, of
Kabul.

Mír Bába Ján.

Khoja Muhammad.

Akbar
Khan.

Hazrat
Khan.

Muhammed
Omar Khan.

Mír
Kalán.

Ismail
Khan.

Mehr
Khan.

Abdul Rahím Khan.

Mír Shujá-at.

Jahandár Sháh
(deposed).

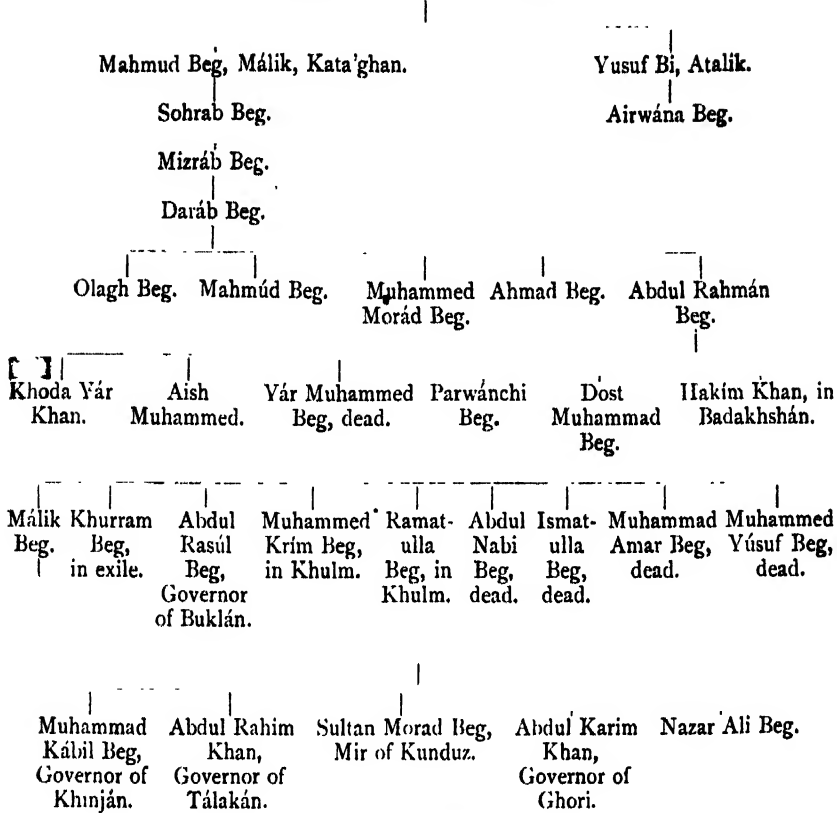
Solaman Shah.

Shazada Hasan.

Abdulla Khan.

GENEALOGY OF THE MÍRS OF KUNDUZ.

MORAD BEG OF FARGHĀNA.



(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS AND NEWS.

THE MANGO-TREE SMEARING IN BEHÁR.

THE Commissioner in Behár who ascribes 9-10ths of the tree-smearing in that province to the scratching of buffaloes and pigs, may have remembered that the British public was hoaxed in 1859 by the alleged discovery of an Anglo-Roman inscription, of which we give the first line :

FO RAS SEST* OR UB

leaving it to the sapient administrator to complete the sentence in support of his own assertion. His explanation, however, seems rather to account for the mud-pats, though not for their regular form, which made them called "mud-cakes," and still less for the systematic distribution thereon of, generally, two hairs, one of bovine, the other of porcine, origin. "The learned pig" of English fame is as nothing to "the wise buffalo" of Behár, which, after wallowing in the mud, totters to the, often distant, mango-grove and there, standing on his wide and flabby legs, implants a hair next to where the pig may have already deposited a bristle. Both must have risen to the same physical, if not to political, heights in first smearing the trees several feet from the ground, as a conundrum to Government. They had never done so before, but with the progress of education in India, though not, necessarily, among its rulers, who had never noticed the omen before, it is not to be wondered at that in the official year of April 1894-95, so prominent in Hindu prophecy, even *fin de siècle* buffaloes and pigs should "rise to the occasion." A microscopic investigation has now shorn them of their glory, as they had been of their hair, and reveals that the origin of the hair cannot be identified, a reproach rather to modern science than to the administrative sense that first allayed the panic by the story of scratching buffaloes and pigs and then, finding that even *their* hair was ominous, discovered that it was one of those things that "no fellow could understand" as they may presently discover that there was no hair, no buffaloes, no smearing and no mango-trees—the latter, unfortunately, only too true after their recent blight. The season also being dry, there was no mud, in which the buffaloes could have wallowed, and, of course, no Commissioner who could ever have reported on it. *Q.E.D.*

Then the *Spectator*, which once paradoxically asserted that our safety in India was due to our ignorance of it, tried to prove the contrary by its own example and unwisely connected the smearing with a rising against British rule on, or about, the 10th May. Col. Malleon explained the rising as due to our introduction of fads, in which he will yet be right, and to the general indignation of the natives about the Anti-Opium movement, which does not really affect them, as Opium is grown for Chinese, not Indian, consumption. The writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* attributed our alarm to our uneasy conscience, which is, perhaps, true enough, even so far as his own is concerned ; everybody attributed a coming rebellion to his pet-

aversion, viz. the cotton duties, the simultaneous Civil Service Examinations, the endowments of Hindu temples, the spoliation of the same, the presence of Missionaries, the absence of Missionaries, the Cow-killing (as I think); no one, however, ventured to explain *what* the mud-pats really were, for no one, myself included, has examined them *al fresco*, or taken their deponents, bovine, porcine, human, or asinine, *in flagrante delicto*. Sir A. Lyall and Sir Lepel Griffin wisely thought that the sign was *not* political, but that it was, or rather might be, religious, which it most certainly is not, though everything in India may, with official mismanagement, or the versatility of mischievousness of a certain class of anglicized natives, assume a political-religious complexion. Lords Roberts and Lansdowne, when "interviewed," acted like the Cambridge Candidate at a Degree Disputation in Latin, by simply saying that they agreed with Sir A. Lyall (which easy, if invaluable reply, was forthwith telegraphed all over the world), just as the Cantabrigian won his degree by modestly agreeing with the long harangue of his disputant in the memorable sentence of "*Cedo, Magister.*" If old and distinguished Anglo-Indians know so little of the country which they have so long governed, it is certain that the present officials know infinitely less, for, with the progress of Anglicism, the gulf between the rulers and the ruled is widening year by year and India is left a prey to her degenerate sons, that "microscopic minority," which, by a smattering of English, has interposed between us and the real people and has alienated from us alike "the masses and the classes."

I ventured to consider that where mud-pats had to be daily renewed, over areas of many miles, the owners and tenants of the land must know something about it or, perhaps, had made common cause, not, necessarily, for a wrong purpose, but rather in order to draw the attention of the Authorities to a grievance. This will, perhaps, be found in the Behár Cadastral Survey, against which both Landlords and ryots are arrayed, though the fact will scarcely be admitted by Government. Assuming, then, that there may be something reasonable in the hypothesis that both proprietors and cultivators dislike over-taxation, my explanation of the mud-smearing in Behár to a representative of Reuter is the obvious one, provided always that the alleged "*data*" were correct. At any rate, in spite of the new lights that are daily flashed on the question and that rather blind than clear our view, I do not object, for future corroboration or disproof, to give permanence to my conjectures in the pages of this Review. I repeat that to attach any religious significance to the phenomenon is incorrect and mischievous. I cannot believe that we want to pick a quarrel with Nepal. It seems to be certain that no tank was excavated at its sacred shrine of Janakpur, and, therefore, the mud of that tank was not distributed miraculously or otherwise as an advertisement in lax Behár, where the Mango has no particular sanctity as, indeed, it nowhere serves the purpose of an arboreal Circular. Nor is the raid on Fakirs and Sadhus, who may wander about in Behár and among whom pious and learned men are to be found, anything more than a confession of ignorance by the Police who, like the man angry with himself, vent their wrath on what is nearest to them. Who the culprits, if any, are of such smearing as may be seditious in in-

tion, I have already sufficiently indicated in my interview with Reuter, which should be read "between the lines," and I have also therein shown what signs alone might indicate any hostility to Europeans or denote an organized contrivance.

The following is the interview alluded to as reported in the daily papers of May 10th, 1894, the day of the *Spectator's* "rising" :

"A representative of Reuter's Agency called on Dr. Leitner at the Oriental University Institute, at Woking, yesterday, with the view of ascertaining his opinion regarding the significance, if any, of the general smearing of mango trees in Behár with mud daubs in which cows' hair and pigs' hair were found. Dr. Leitner said :—'Assuming these data, which have been reported by the papers, to be correct, the meaning is obviously AGRARIAN, and neither political, as assumed by the *Spectator* and Colonel Malleson, nor religious as suggested by others. In connexion with Behár, where Buddha meditated under the Bô tree, one would first think of the Peepul or *ficus religiosa*, although its Buddhism has been followed by a lax Hinduism, which is now being largely displaced by a very earnest Mohammedanism. The Mango groves, so plentiful in the adjoining province of Oudh, seem to me to represent rather the productiveness of the soil, which is being encroached upon, possibly by the Behár Cadastral Survey. Landlords and tenants are said to have a common interest in preventing it, for the infinite sub-tenures of landed property, though not so much as in Bengal, where sometimes the original proprietor himself is the tenant of the 18th sub-tenant of his own land, renders a hard and fast record of rights, such as may be welcome in other parts of India, impossible, or at least hopelessly confusing. Therefore, the general secret, which is no secret at all, has been well kept hitherto in Behár, in spite of the numerous informers that ever lead or mislead our Government to political omens or mares' nests in gratification of, sometimes, private malice or greed. I have already suggested that the India Office should send for the so-called "mudcakes," but assuming them to be ordinary mud-pats, taken from the nearest soil, they would peel off the trees very shortly after being put on, and would therefore have to be daily renewed in order to, at last, arrest the attention of the police. These police are no longer mainly recruited from the class of village watchmen, but are strangers to the part of the country in which they detect or suppress crime in accordance, very often, with the requirements of superiors, rather than with exact fact. They generally, therefore, know little of local feeling. Assuming the mud to represent the soil of Behár, the mango its productiveness, the cows' hair its relation to the Hindus, who revere the cow, and the pigs' hair, or rather bristles, the unclean animal, abhorred by Mohammedans, the reading of the enigma becomes clear enough, and is simply, 'This soil of ours, whether belonging to Hindus or Mohammedans, is being affected in its productiveness'—probably by expected over-taxation. If, however, as a paper says to-day, the substance smeared on the trees is white plaster, then the reference to the Europeans becomes almost unmistakable ;* and, further, any adhesive

* It may only mean that the European planters are also suffering from the general grievance, but everything hinges on the question as to whether the mud [if the whole

substance by which even mud cakes, or rather mud pats, are attached to trees would denote a foreign element, say of wandering agents carrying such a substance and attaching the pats of even mud to the trees.* At the same time, these agents could not be orthodox Hindus or orthodox Mohammedans, for the supposed combination of cows' with pigs' hair in such a connexion would be abhorrent to either denomination. It would rather occur to an Europeanized native thinking of impressing the minds of members of both creeds. In my humble opinion, the smearing is rather a kind of *Dharna* or sitting at the door of Government till attention is drawn to a grievance."

G. W. LEITNER.

The following petition to Parliament of Behár Ryots against the Behár Cadastral Survey shows a sufficient grievance without its being emphasized by the smearing of Mango groves :

699. The humble Petition of the undersigned Ryots, of the Province of Behár, in India, Sheweth,

That your Petitioners feel the Cadastral Survey and Record-of-Rights undertaken by the Government of Bengal, in the North-Gangetic Districts of Behár, as a great grievance amongst others for the following reasons :—(a) That 1/16th of the cost of such survey and record of rights are to be assessed on them, and though the cost is estimated at 8 to 10 annas per acre, they from their information regarding similar other proceedings believe that the actual cost will be much more ; for instance your Petitioners find that in 1889-90, 1,208,680 acres were surveyed at a total cost of Rs. 832,836 12 0 (vide p. 23 Administration Report, Bengal, 1889-90), *i.e.* at an expense of 11 annas per acre, and it would appear from certain statements in that Report that it does not include the expenditure for the record of rights. That even this lowest estimate will be more than the generality of
 • ryots can pay, as your Petitioners will show in one of the following paragraphs ; (b) that this cost per acre, whatever it may amount to, does not in any way represent the actual cost to the parties, in loss of time, in trouble, in harassment, in litigation, and in money expenditure for the purpose of such litigation or otherwise ; (c) that these proceedings lead to ruinous and costly litigation. In the experimental survey and record of rights of only 413 square miles out of 3,009 square miles of the district of Mozaffarpur in the year 1886, there were 306 boundary disputes, and out of 26,123 tenants whose holdings were recorded in the case of 7,500 holdings, or about one-third, applications had been made on behalf of landlords or tenants to determine the fair rates. It is not clear from the report how many cases were between landlords and tenants as to the nature of the tenancy and the rates of rent, and how many cases there were between ryots themselves as to the title and possession of lands. That the cost of litigation in India is very heavy, and the actual cost between party and party awarded in court proceedings represent only a small and fractional part of such expenditure ; (d) that the class of officials who would be employed for the actual work in the first instance here in India, called *amins*, are generally corrupt and venal, and as from the nature of the present work their employment would be only temporary, they would from their venal nature try to make the most of their position during the short period of their service ; (e) that the class of men for whose benefit the work was primarily designed would suffer most, as they would be the easy dupes of cunning men, who would with the starting of the survey operations intrude in a village to disturb the peace

pat be not, indeed, plaster] is the nearest soil or is attached to the trees by a foreign substance and, if so, *what* substance ?

* Since writing above, six weeks ago, I see in a paper of to-day's date (20th June, 1894) that experts have found it to be *Dudhia Mithi* or *Gopichandan* "with which *Sadhus* besmear their bodies." This is a very partial explanation, and may only refer to one of the forms of imitation, for itinerary or other special purposes, not necessarily aggressive, to which the mango-smearing may give the suggestion in various parts of India.

thereof, as law agents, touts, and so on ; (f) that after all this enormous expense, trouble, and vexation to the parties concerned, the difficulties inherent in any scheme for the maintenance of the records are so great that these would be strong reasons for not embarking in an undertaking of this kind. II. That though all these representations had been for the last two years made from time to time against the measure, the work is being proceeded with in the North-Gangetic Districts of Behár, and no scheme for the maintenance of records having been hitherto made, the consideration with regard to which, in your Petitioners' humble opinion, should have preceded the undertaking of the survey and record of rights, lately a scheme has been put forward by the Bengal Government, and sanction thereof obtained from the Government of India before your Petitioners could submit any representations in respect thereof. III. That the consideration of the scheme reveals the fact, which your Petitioners had hitherto urged, that the difficulties of the maintenance of the record are so great that they furnish the strongest arguments for not extending the survey operations further. IV. The making of the intermediate changes and the custody of the records themselves shall have to be placed in the hands of a low-paid official, on rupees twenty-five, to utmost 50 rupees a month, and as at that pay the services of an honest man cannot be secured, and the temptations shall be great, with designing men seeking for their own interests a wide door to all kinds of frauds shall be opened, to the ruin of the agricultural classes. V. That though the jurisdiction of the civil courts is not to be superseded, presumptions are to be made in favour of entries made by men who will not be versed either in subjunctive or adjective laws, though several knotty questions of fact and law arising out of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the general statute laws of the country, the Hindu and Mahomadan law of succession shall have to be decided before any entry can be made. VI. That the employment of this official, with his power of interference, shall be a source of constant harassment and vexation to classes interested in land. That it shall cause friction, and otherwise disturb the peace of the agricultural community. VII. That the aforesaid scheme proposes to levy a cess of one pice per every rupee of rental, half payable by ryots and half by zemindars, and the Government of India in sanctioning the scheme would have the maximum unfixed, and further, would have the revision of the records every three years. That this proposal of an additional cess has filled your Petitioners with alarm. The cess is proposed to take the place of certain obligations imposed on the zemindars by Regulation VIII. of 1793, and Regulation XII. of 1801, but the patwary gets his pay for primarily doing the work of a village accountant, and only a very fractional part of this pay can be debited to that small portion of his work which requires him to put in certain returns to the revenue authorities on their requisition. That this would be much less than a pice on a rupee of rental on calculation. That under certain rulings of the High Court, your Petitioners have not anything to pay to the patwary through the landlord, but only such presents as are customary, only by those who take certain works from him. That this work (that of the village accountant) shall have to be paid for as hitherto, and the cess in addition. VIII. That the average holding of a ryot under one or separate landlords has been found by the experimental survey to be only about three acres, and on the produce of this holding, which will come to be divided with every new generation in smaller and smaller units, five to six individuals have to eke out a very penurious existence. Your Petitioners therefore pray that, considering the above premises, your honourable House will be pleased to disallow—(a) The further extension of the survey and record of rights. (b) Enactment into law of the Bill proposed by the Government of Bengal with reference to the maintenance of the records of rights, and the imposition of certain new cesses. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

THE DANGERS OF OUR POSITION IN INDIA.

We quote the following weighty remarks from a letter by Lord Hobhouse :

“ With respect to the Cotton Duties, the matter is one on which I formed an opinion some 15 years ago, and have never altered it. I am very unlearned in finance ; but even finance is only a part of the general policy of Government. And I considered in 1875-7 that the admission of English

cotton-goods duty-free was from the Indian point of view highly inexpedient ; and that it never would have been thought of if powerful English interests had not demanded it. I am therefore quite in sympathy with your general views on this subject.

As to the smeared Mangoes, it seems to me that there is a great deal of panic among excitable persons, such as those who write on Indian subjects in the "Spectator." I have often seen the same temper of mind before in the same quarter. I believe that even in the case of the Chapatties and the Mutiny no evidence was forthcoming that they stood in the relation of cause and effect, or were anything but a coincidence. Certainly we have had dangerous outbreaks in India without any antecedent phenomena of the kind now observed on, and have had such phenomena without any observable consequent. No doubt, it behoves a Foreign Power, ruling vast populations of whose thoughts it knows so little, to be always on the guard and watchful of everything ; but I do not believe there is any special cause for alarm at the present moment. The great dangers of our position in India, in my judgment, are these : undue jealousy of Russia and France ; undue fear of their power within India ; undue deference to military tendencies, which in every age and country are to place more confidence in military machinery than in a contented people. So influenced, I believe that we are spending money uselessly, and a great deal more than our subjects can afford ; and that we incur the most formidable of all dangers, disaffection, for the sake of avoiding what, if not wholly chimerical, are dangers far less in degree."

THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIERS.

Allow me to point out a serious mistake by the writer of the article on "Indian Affairs" in the "Times" of the 9th April 1894, which shows that he does not really understand your authoritative delineation of the present Russo-Afghan frontiers in the April *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and that he at all events has no ground for the satisfaction which he expresses at the arrangement that has been made. Whilst copying, though not acknowledging, your account, he comes to grief as soon as he emits his independent judgment by substituting his "It is believed" for your "Certainly" in connection with the sentence that "Wakhan will remain in the hands of the Amir, thus protecting the Baroghil Pass." Now if this were a matter of *belief*, instead of one of *certainty*, the whole of the Pamir question would have been settled to the detriment of India by leaving the route via Yasin and Chitral open to an invader. Worse than this, we should have resigned to Russia a position that had already been guaranteed by the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention of 1872, which the "Times" writer so loftily declares to be defective and erroneous without even having read in it that Wakhan, which is to the *South* of the Oxus line, of course, belonged to the Amir without any question. That a writer can consider "the arrangement is satisfactory to England and Afghanistan and creditable to Russia" and yet "*believe*" that Wakhan *may* have been given to Russia, shows the "vast superficiality" of his knowledge. There is also no *North* bank of the Oxus in Shighán proper

from which Afghanistan could recede as is stated by the writer on "Indian Affairs," for the river runs due *East and West* right through Shignán as is twice specially pointed out in the *Asiatic Quarterly*.

It is easy to sneer at the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention in which an alleged omission by a copyist of a few words* has created the mare's nest of our surrender of Afghan territory to Russia, but it is still easier to plagiarize, without acknowledgment and to one's own confusion, the careful delineation of the Russo-Afghan frontiers which Dr. Leitner communicates.

PESHAWAR.

THE DERIVATION OF "DULEEP SINGH."

I have read with interest the discussion regarding the etymology of the name Duleep Singh in the last number of the Review. Mr. John Beames says that I write "Dulcep" and that he has always written "Dallip."

The note furnished by the Secretary of the Khalsa is interesting, but his suggestions as to the etymological derivation are more than fanciful. My own belief as to the correct spelling of the word is contained in the first work I wrote on Punjab history, published in 1865. In that book on the Punjab Chiefs I wrote the name "Dalip," in accordance with the careful opinion of Sikh experts of the day and this agrees with the statement of the Secretary of the Sikh Khalsa suggesting that the name is derived from the Hindoo Raja Dalip, great grandfather of Rama Chandra. This is probably the historical origin of the name, but its derivation is lost, consequently the word may be written in any fashion so long as it is not phonetically incorrect.

In my biography of Ranjit Singh, written for the University of Oxford, the name is spelt "Dhulíp." This was due to the correction of the learned editor who may have thought the name would be thus more familiar to the eye of English readers to whom the book was primarily addressed. There is however no warrant for the inserted letter h.

In the article on Maharaja Dalip Singh, in the January number of the *Quarterly* I spelt the name "Duleep" for the simple reason that the article was of a personal character and the Maharaja invariably spelt his name in that fashion. There seems consequently no certain mode of spelling the name and if Mr. Beames chooses to write it with two l's there is no reason to object.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

MR. JOHN BEAMES ON TRANSLITERATION AND THE DERIVATION OF "DULEEP SINGH."

I cannot consent to adopt Prof. Max Müller's system of transliterating the palatal letters of Sanskrit and other Oriental languages by italic *k* and

* *Extract from the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention*: "The territories and boundaries which Her Majesty's Government consider as fully belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, viz. :—(1.) Badakshan, with its dependent district of Wakhan from the Sarikal (Wood's Lake) on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Penjah),† forming the northern boundary of this Afghan province throughout its entire extent.

† It is alleged that, owing to the copyist's error, the sentences "*on the West; the stream of the Oxus thus*" after the word "Penjah" and before the word "forming" were omitted in the final agreement, but this has, practically, proved to be a distinction without a difference.—ED.

g. Because the German *j* and *ch* have not the same sound as the Oriental palatals, why should Englishmen, whose *j* and *ch* have exactly the same sound as these letters, be debarred from using them? especially as "the Sacred Books of the East" being translated into English are evidently intended for English readers. In the case of the Jains, Prof. Müller's system of transliteration has to my knowledge led many Englishmen to mispronounce the word as if it were the English noun "gain."

I do not think the name "Dalip" can have any connection with Delhi. The oldest form of that name is "Dhilli," and the native derivation connects it with the well known legend of the Iron Pillar which was, it is said, driven into the ground so deep that it pierced the head of Sheshnâg, the serpent which supports the world. Anangapala, the Tomar Raja, who did this under the directions of the Sage Vyâsa, disbelieving the assertion, pulled up the pillar when the end was found stained with the serpent's blood. The King then tried to drive the pillar in again but it remained loose (*ḍhili* in Hindi) and the sage told him that had the pillar remained fixed, his dynasty would have endured for ever, but

Killi ḍhilli bhai

Tomar bhau matahîn.

"The pillar became loose, the Tomar was wanting in wisdom."

See Cunningham's Report on the Archaeological Survey, Pt. I. Other spellings are *Dihali*, *Dhili*, *Dahili*, but never *Dali*. J. BEAMES.

THE DERIVATION OF DULEEP SINGH.

Though some (scholars) by Yangika svarûpa (coalition) somehow or other prove that the word "Dilîpa" or "Dalîpa" is derived from "daip," "ding," "div," "divu," "dô," or "dip" or such other roots; and hence "dalam" (army, multitude of people, one's own kingdom) "pâti" (he protects) *i.e.* "dalepa;" and by crude-form mutations, and affixes they establish that the word means "the king of a country known by the name of Dili = Dali," etc., etc., and a hundred other names not necessary to mention, still, it does not mean "king of the city of Delhi." For the Solar kings lived in Ayodhyâ as rulers of the country called Kosala; while in the Tretâ (yuga) Delhi was not even in existence, and it was in the end of the Dvâpura (yuga) that it became the capital of Yudhishtira and others of the Lunar race. And in my opinion the word "Dilîpa" or "Dalîpa" is most applicable to the father of Raghu. Still by coalitions Dilîpa like a Sinh (lion), or Dilîpa the lion, Dilîpa Sinha, so as to express that the person called "Dilipasinha" possesses the qualities necessary for the duties of a Kshatriya. This means "ready for the protection of the weak."

HEMRAJA GOSVAMI SHASTRI,

Professor of Sanscrit, Oriental College, Lahore.

Professor C. H. Tawney has favoured us with the following remarks on the above letter :

It seems to me that the Pandit does dispose of the theory that Dilipa means "the protector of Dilli or Dili" as he writes it. But, I suppose he means to say that Dilîpa is an old Indian name for "warrior" (derivation

unknown) and handed down from the father of Raghu. I think he is right. The Pandit adds to his roots the *Anubandhas*. Native scholars do this. The gist of the latter part seems to be this.

But in my opinion the word *dilipa* or *dalipa* is correctly applied (by convention = *rūḍhi*) to the father of Raghu, but further than this it may have an etymological meaning, as Dilipa like a lion, or this man is Dilipa and a lion = Singh (Simha) because he is endowed with the virtues of a Kshatriya, that is to say he is devoted to the protection of the poor and wretched (*dinānām*). You see he brings in the "Singh."

THE CAIRN OF BRITISH DEAD AT GANDAMAK.

General E. J. Rickards has favoured us with the following most interesting, if saddening, account of the discovery of some 120 skeletons, both of British men and women as also of native soldiers, found by him in a Cairn in a state of almost perfect preservation nine months after their slaughter by the Afghans in 1840 at Gandamak where they made the last stand. It will be obvious from the perusal of the subjoined letter, why its contents have not been published before. They may now serve not only to recall a historical fact, but also to ensure for the British Cairn that respect which is paid in Afghanistan to the numerous mounds that cover the remains of the dead in that country.

MEMO. MADE IN APRIL 1894.

In 1841 my Regiment, the 6 Bengal Native Infantry, in which I was then an Ensign, together with Backhouse's Mountain Battery, Tait's Horse, and Ferris's Jezailchies, being part of General Pollock's Army, held the Khyber Pass, until September of the same year, when Pollock's Army was ordered to advance on Cabul from Jellalabad, where it was then encamped.

My Regiment was ordered to march from the Khyber and join Pollock's Army, but when we reached Jellalabad we found Pollock had marched, leaving orders for our Colonel—"Eckford"—to take the command at Jellalabad, and to send on a wing of his Regiment to strengthen the Force left to hold the position at Gundumuck.

My Company formed part of the wing, and when we reached Gundumuck, after some slight fighting on the way, we found that a number of the officers of the Force there had been talking of going out to the Gundumuck Hill (about 5 miles from our Camp, and the place where the last stand had been made by the destroyed Cabul Army in the previous winter) with the intention of looking for and burying any bodies we could find there.

Plunket of my Regiment, myself, and I think Graham, volunteered to go with the others, and the next morning at daylight a number of the officers of the Force there, and a few Artillerymen who had heard of our intentions, rode out to the Hill, which is just at the opening out of the last difficult Pass from Cabul into the Gundumuck Valley.

On searching over the Hill we found a number of skeletons that had been there for some nine months under snow and ice. The skeletons

were covered with their dried skins—exactly like parchment—the hair, whiskers, etc., perfect, the flesh having all melted away. The Hill was covered with large loose stones; these we collected and formed into a circle, inside of which we heaped up as many of the skeletons as we could collect—no less than 72 of them. They were so perfect that some of them were recognised. I recollect Hamilton of the Cavalry being one; and there were skeletons of women there also—these were known by their long hair.

By this time it was getting late, so we piled up large stones on the top of the Circle, making a sort of Cairn.

We expected to have got into trouble for leaving Camp without the Commanding Officer's knowledge, but we heard nothing, and the next morning at daylight Colonel Blair, or Baird, who commanded, took a party of Horse Artillery and some sappers and miners out to the Hill. They searched round it, and found some 30 or 40 more skeletons, which they placed in the Cairn.

Colonel Blair's, or Baird's, party greatly strengthened the Cairn, and I should think it would last for a very long time.

Altogether some 120 or 130 bodies were found and buried. We volunteers heard nothing in reproof of what we had done.

E. J. RICKARDS, Major-General.

The skeletons were those of both Europeans and Natives. We had not expected to find so many, as it was not known so many had reached the Gundumuck Hill.

"THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS."

We have received the following most suggestive letter from Baron Herbert de Reuter, whose authority on the question we readily admit:

"There is no ethnological question of greater interest than that of the affinity between Phrygian, Pelasgian and Etruscan. The relations and origin of the earlier races that peopled Asia Minor and constituted the "officina gentium" of Hellenic and Latin civilization furnish one of the most absorbing problems for philosophic minds. Sir Patrick Colquhoun has evidently gone far afield to substantiate his case, and his references to the Achæan and Tyrrhenian descent on Egypt, and his views in regard to the Trojan War betray an extremely receptive mind. With regard to the latter it is strange how he coincides with the interesting work published by F. Mone two generations ago, who came to the same conclusion in regard to the motives for the famous expedition of Agamemnon."

HERBERT DE REUTER.

INITIATIONS AMONG THE DRUSES AND FREEMASONS.

As Mr. W. Simpson well knows there is much to be found out on these subjects, which are seldom treated by competent persons, and suffer much from the vagaries of imagination. The post hoc and the propter hoc are frequently interchanged, things are dealt with as ancient, which are identical, but are not ancient. Things supposed to be modern may nevertheless be the transmission of an ancient practice.

An interesting object lesson might be the Eleusinian mysteries and the secret societies of West and Central Africa among the negroes. The practices of the latter have not been transmitted from Eleusis, but it is quite possible that both are of common descent from mysteries more ancient than the Eleusinian. This is illustrated by relationships between old Greek mysteries and the Voodooism of Africa and the West Indies, as described by Sir Spenser St. John and Mr. Leland. There is every appearance that symbolism can be transmitted among the most illiterate, but a particular masonic legend or practice has not necessarily been so transmitted.

To have a good history of mysteries,*we must have a good history of magic, and that we have neglected, and therefore do not now possess. To the orientalist and the anthropologist a mass of illustrations is afforded by the Kabbala for instance. Even folklore affords a large mass of illustrative matter.

It is unlucky to see the moon through a glass. That appears not to be ancient, because in ancient days the moon could not be looked at through a glass for want of glass. It is however unlucky to see the reflection, *ka*, or spirit of the moon in water, and when looking-glasses and glass became common the superstition readily attached itself to them.

A favourite theory is that freemasonry was introduced into Europe during the crusades, but there is no sufficient warrant for it. At that time there was a kind of fermentations of alchemy throughout Europe, as well as the east. It was a secret study, and secret societies of adepts were formed for its prosecution, as to which extraordinary legends were promulgated. A curious illustration may be found in the Decamerone of Boccaccio.

It is all this floating matter which has to be garnered up and sifted. Since Freemasons have appeared in the east the volume of legends has been augmented. There are many marvellous stories known to Indian residents about Masons being recognised or saved through their masonic signs being recognised by Mussulmans or others. Nevertheless no real connection has been established on investigation. Dervish orders, to which Mr. Simpson alludes, have forms of initiation, but these only resemble masonic forms from the development of theories of initiation. Such are found among many savages.

With regard to Mr. Simpson's other points about tribes of the Lebanon, I may observe that when holding masonic jurisdiction in Asia Minor, the Yuruk tribes, who are called Kizil Bash and nominally Mussulmans and by some supposed to be Ansaris, claimed communion with the Freemasons.

I make these desultory remarks more in support of Mr. Simpson's inquiries, than by way of adequately elucidating the subject.

HYDE CLARKE.

Mr. Gould, probably the greatest living authority on Freemasonry, writes as follows on the same subject :

"Some years ago I looked up whatever I could find in the Brit. Mus.

Library, relating to the Druses and the Ansyreeh, but discovered nothing that was of service to me. Nor do I think that the peculiar customs appertaining to either sect, have ever been written about—that is up to within the last year or two—by any really competent person.

Enthusiastic Freemasons are among the most credulous of mankind, and I always greatly distrust any account of the manifestation or recognition of Masonic Signs, by Arabs of the desert, native Australians, Bushmen, Afghans, etc., etc. In all cases, I believe, the explanation is to be found in what was called by Mr. Hyde Clarke, 30 years ago, the “doctrine of Chance Coincidences.”

There are not half a dozen men living,—that is to say Freemasons, who have any idea whatever of the primitive Masonry—which alone could have found its way to the Druses or other foreigners, in pre-eighteenth-century times. I don't mean to lay down that Freemasonry certainly had its origin in Britain, but wherever we meet with it, out of these islands, it can be traced to a British source.”

R. F. GOULD.

COW-KILLING IN INDIA AND THE EDUCATED NATIVES.

The following letter from the venerable Head of, perhaps, the most important Mussulman shrine in Behár may serve to throw a side-light on the feelings of his co-religionists in that province as regards the question of cow-killing. It may be incidentally noticed that “Bakar-Kasáis” in Behár is the name for “goat-butchers” and that there, at any rate, the word “Bakr” for “cow” is an exotic. The writer of the letter, who is as pious as he is loyal and brave—he cut up a party of mutineers in 1857—takes the view, which is opposed to our own, that “Muhammadans now sacrifice cows as they have done for scores of years and Hindus only objected to it so far as the followers of one religion object to the practices of another, but not to the extent of stopping them; in other words, they never interfered with the sacrifices of Muhammadans. Living together for years in the same place, there remained little difference between Hindus and Muhammadans and though the latter were meat-eaters the former found no fault with it. In this very place there have been generations of Hindu employés, yet, although every day a large quantity of cow-beef used to be bought and cooked for the house and for distribution among the pupils, learned men (Ulemá) and the poor who come here, I never heard that agitation and excitement which I now hear. In my very place, a caste of Hindu women, called “Kamukerinián” have been performing the duties which Muhammadan Khansamahs (butlers) so faithfully and fully discharge at the tables of Europeans in spite of wine and unlawful roasts being on them. Of course, for the last few years, we often heard it insisted on throughout Hindustan that the cow was a Deity and along with this asseveration in every place disturbances occurred. Last year wherever Mussulman butchers existed, there were disturbances, especially on the I'd-ul-Qurbán (the I'd of sacrifices, popularly miscalled “Bakreed”). My friend, you know that loyalty to the British Government, ever since its advent in this country, is hereditary in my family. To this inheritance all its members have been born. It is in the fulness of this old feeling of

wishing well to the Government, that I inform you that Mussulmans and Hindus at present both follow the ancestral roads, but the new education has had great influence on both, so that the Mussulmans think that their race is falling into decay and is being injured. Along with being well-wishers of the English Government and obedient to its laws, they say, we must advance in education. The Hindu has raised himself in every respect, and is fit for every favor and considered to be capable for every selection and he thinks that the time will soon arrive when every place will be open to him and will be pure and holy and the government of worldly affairs will remain in the hands of the Gods.

You ask me about a remedy of this disturbed state of affairs. This is not difficult, for the disturbances everywhere are now over and the authorities are doing their utmost to catch and punish the evil-doers. Where this is done seditiousness has been stamped out ; therefore, wherever there is an expectation of disturbance, there also must things be done with thoroughness. Of course, owing to the educated Hindus, who blacken pages of newspapers with complaints against the rulers and with the support of the disturbers, there is a constant progress in disturbance.

As for the I'd sacrifice, I have to say that H.H. Abraham sacrificed a (thick-tailed) ram instead of his son, but in commemoration of this custom his children made every kind of animal a sacrifice and this sacrifice is handed down from ancient times. Muhammad, the Apostle, on whom be peace, sacrificed a sheep, also a camel, and also a cow and gave everywhere a general law sacrifice. You will see in the Hadith (traditions), the sacrifice of a camel is best, but camels are rare in India or cannot be got. The second rank is occupied by the cow ; then comes the ox and the lowest is the goat and other animals. Thus also at the present time in Hindustan every kind of animal is sacrificed in accordance with the degree of religiousness or means of the sacrificer. I hope you will endeavour to remove any false impression on the subject among Hindus, so that, as we and they have ever been living together, they may remain at rest ; for this is true friendship and affection.

SHAH MUḤÎ-UD-DÎN AHMAD, the Sujjâda-nashin (seater on the prayer-carpet) of the shrine of H.H. Shah Kabîr, the Darwish, may his head be sanctified.

SAMIULLAH'S INSTIGATION TO COW-SACRIFICE.

I have ever held that cow-killing should be abolished in India not only in the interests of British rule, but also in that of the peaceful co-operation of Muhammadans with Hindus and, as the former are in a minority, to their special popularity. The abolition of cow-killing would also put an end to the ever-recurring real, or false, alarms of rebellion against British rule. Dr. Leitner has given a full and impartial account of Mussulman authorities on the question of the falsely-alleged obligatoriness of our sacrificing a cow on the so-called Baqra-Fed and he has also set forth at length hygienic and political reasons why the killing of cows should be prohibited in India. Its Muhammadan rulers ever discountenanced or stopped it throughout their Empire and it is not for Englishmen to fall below their

standard of sympathy and toleration. I find, however, that Sami-ullah would like to inspire the British Government with his fanaticism and misleading quotations. He threatens that Muhammadans will not bear "*any hindrance in the free and unfettered performance*" of cow-sacrifice in an Indian paper, where he signs himself C. M. G. and quotes a number of testimonials and of personal patrons, as if he were an "Umeydwar" or Candidate for an appointment or does he go in for ultra-orthodoxy in order to succeed a too liberal Muhammadan Leader? Whatever be the case, he does not know enough Arabic to try conclusions with Dr. Leitner, who will, no doubt, argue with him, if the Judges to decide between them are learned U'lemá of our various denominations, and not superficial Journalists. In the meanwhile, Samiullah need not try to make the Dr. out to be an enemy of Muhammadans, when his labors and sacrifices on their behalf are so well-known. Indeed, it is foolish on our part to abuse, if not to alienate, any of the proved friends of Islám. Samiullah accuses him of having shaken the British Empire by his proposal to establish it in the affection of the people; it has only shaken Samiullah, who relies on a sacrifice of a cow by Jews which was ordered by Moses in order to discover a murder! How can this be perverted into an obligation on Muhammadans to sacrifice a cow, especially in order to commemorate a day when a RAM, specially kept in Paradise for the purpose, was sent by God to Abraham in substitution of the intended sacrifice of his son? Clearly a sheep is the proper animal to sacrifice on the I'd-al-Azhá and not a cow. Or are cows to be sacrificed in India in order to discover the murders which their slaughter may cause? Samiullah knows as little of Jewish Law as he knows of the Law and practice of Muhammadan countries generally. He would even like to interfere with Hindus in worshipping idols and he misquotes Dr. Leitner abstaining from beef in order not to offend Hindus, by omitting that he also avoided pork in order not to offend Muhammadans. So much for Samiullah's fairness. In conclusion, I must deprecate the inopportuneness and mischievousness of Samiullah advocating the *obligatoriness* of the Cow-sacrifice just before the celebration of another I'd. It may pass off peacefully enough, after the severe lessons given to the rioters last year, but Samiullah is setting a spark to a powder-magazine or, at least, is adding to the anxieties of the authorities and storing up much future hatred that may burst out at any moment by his foolish incitement to fanatical co-religionists (among whom I do not include the Shiahs and Shafeis or even sensible Hanafis) to kill cows on the I'd.

NAWWAB ABDURRASHID.

I hope you will ignore Samiullah's attack on you regarding cow-killing. He is no Arabic scholar, as is evident from such blunders as بَقْرَة for بَقَرَة and زَفَر for زَفَر, and Hadibeah for Hudaibiya, and Nisai for Nasai (probably An Nasai, author of the Sunan), and "with ي quiescent (تَضْفِيف)" for "with a single ي." His style is offensive and ill-bred; his idea of controversy being to make rude personal remarks.

His first point is that sacrifice is binding, not merely a pious observance of the Prophet's custom, or in Arabic واجب or فرض, not merely سنة.

He quotes a tradition from the *Hidaya* in proof of this ; but omits to notice that the *Hidaya* (vol. iv. p. 1031) states that Abū Yūsuf, in one of the two opinions attributed to him, and, as some say, Muhammad, among the Hanafi Doctors hold it to be سنة, not واجب ; and that this is the opinion of Ash Shāfi'i ; and that these authorities cite another tradition in support of their opinions. It is true that the author of the *Hidaya* after examining both opinions pronounces in favour of the former, his judgment turning upon the sense of the word ارادة in the later tradition, which, if it means *intends*, implies *option*, and supports the theory of سنة ; but, if it means *is about*, affords no argument in favour of that theory. But a candid controversialist would have admitted that very respectable authority could be cited for the theory of سنة.

In India, the Hanafis would no doubt hold *sacrifice* to be obligatory ; but there is no authority for holding *sacrifice of a cow* to be obligatory. On the contrary, the *Hidaya* says that a شاة *sheep* or *goat* is sacrificed for every individual, and a *cow* or *camel* for seven individuals. A later passage shows that a *cow* may be sacrificed for only one person.

Samiullah cites on authority Kazi Khan to show that a cow is preferable to 6 goats, when they are of equal value. This probably means that a cow being authorised as a sacrifice for 7 persons is equal to 7 goats, and therefore preferable to 6 goats. But not having this authority at hand, I cannot speak for certain, and I do not approve of guessing.

ARABIC PROFESSOR.

Sir W. Wedderburn writes : " It seems a most excellent idea to get frozen beef for India—if it can be carried out it would remove the most objectionable part of the present cow-killing."

A PETITION ON THE RELIGIOUS RIOTS IN INDIA.

The following extracts from a petition to Parliament by certain Nagpur residents on the subject of the " Religious Riots in India," presented through Sir W. Wedderburn, contains the following important passages :

" That as regards the Gorakshani or Cow-Protection Sabhās, although they are chiefly composed of Hindus, yet in a great many places persons of other religious persuasions, such as Parsees, Christians, and Muhammadans have sympathised with the objects of those Sabhās, and have become members thereof. The object of these Sabhās is not the formation of a religious organisation, but by creating a healthy public opinion to arrest the progress of unnecessary and indiscriminate slaughter of cows and bullocks for food, skin, et cetera. It is, no doubt, the case that to the Hindus a cow has always been an object of religious veneration. That this should be so is a matter of no wonder. India is essentially a country of agriculturists. Owing to various causes, accentuated of late by the destruction of all our important manufacturing industries, an immense majority of our people are wholly dependent on land for their daily bread ; and without the cow agriculture becomes an impossibility in India. The preservation and increase of the bovine species are, therefore, matters to which too much importance cannot be attached, seeing that with them is bound up the life and prosperity of the nation.

" That the riots cannot be ascribed to the Gorakshani Sabhās would also clearly appear from the fact that in the Central Provinces, where the Gorakshani Sabhās are in their full vigour and strength, no riots have occurred.

" That the Gorakshani Sabhās are not the cause of the riots between Hindus and Muhammadans would also appear from the riots in places so far distant from one

another, and so differently circumstanced as towns in Sindh, Prabhaspattan, and Rangoon, in none of which localities Gorakshani Sabbhās exist in any shape or form.

“That though it cannot be denied that the majority of the recent riots have taken place on account of the Muhammadans giving more prominence than usual to the sacrificial slaughter of cows, and the Hindus, whose religious prejudices were inflamed thereby, objecting thereto, nevertheless your Petitioners are humbly of opinion that the state of feeling which led to the riots owed their origin in great many places to the ill-judged action of some officers of Government, who, despite the fact that they were young in the service and lacking in the experience of district administration, were, owing no doubt to the exigencies of public service, placed in charge of districts, and who could not, by reason of want of knowledge, hold the balance even between the two races.”

The following passage is specially important :

“That your Petitioners believe that in the time of the earliest Muhammadan Emperors and Nawabs the Government, in deference to the feelings and even prejudices of their Hindu subjects, did not allow the indiscriminate slaughter of cows and bullocks. A FIRMAN OF THE EMPEROR SHAH ALAM, DATED IN 1230 HIJRI, CORRESPONDING WITH 1812 A.D., in view of the immense advantages to cultivation derived from the preservation of cows and bullocks, TOTALLY PROHIBITED THE SLAUGHTER OF THOSE ANIMALS THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE EMPIRE, and declared that persons disobeying the order would incur the displeasure of the Government and be punished. The result of this wise policy was that during those times the friendly relations of the Hindus and Muhammadans continued uninterrupted.

“That the action which the Government at least in the North-Western Provinces has taken on the occurrence of these riots, in which the conduct of both the Hindus and Muhammadans has been blameable to a more or less degree, is, your Petitioners humbly submit, not of such a nature as to reassure the Hindus or lead to a renewal of the former friendly relations between them and the Muhammadans. A declaration in a Government resolution denouncing the Hindus as the sole authors of the riots, wholesale prosecutions of Hindus only as being the sole authors and instigators of the riots, the posting of additional police at the expense of Hindus only, and other similar measures are not, your Petitioners respectfully submit, likely to impress the people favourably as regards the Government being in earnest in the carrying out of a policy of strict neutrality and impartiality in their treatment of both Hindus and Muhammadans in religious matters.

“That your Petitioners therefore respectfully but earnestly submit that a Royal Commission be appointed with a view to inquire into the real causes of the recent riots, and recommend suitable measures to be adopted by the Government officers with a view to prevent a recurrence of riots similar to those that have recently taken place and to restore the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the Hindus and Muhammadans in this country.”

Before the last annual meeting of the East India Association, Dr. Leitner, strongly supported by the President, Sir Richard Temple, brought forward his proposal for the abolition of cow-killing in India, in accordance with the edicts of several Muhammadan Emperors, and its substitution by the importation of frozen meats from Australia and elsewhere. He also drew the attention of this important meeting to the danger that was threatening the Oriental College at Lahore in consequence of the departmental allegation that its income from fees was small and that it, therefore, “did not pay.” He pointed out that this was the very reason why he and other European promoters, like Lord Lawrence, Sir D. McLeod, Sir Lepel Griffin (who was present) and, above all, the Chiefs and gentry of the Panjab, had subscribed, so that the unremunerative, but, for all that, invaluable Oriental Classical learning—Arabic and Sanscrit—might be revived and, as far as possible, be also utilized in the development of the Verna-

cular Languages. He had already proved the falsity of the allegation that any—much less the major—portion of the funds subscribed for the Panjab University had been intended for English education and he now maintained that any diminution of the allotment to the Oriental College would be a breach of faith that would most certainly alienate from any Government that permitted it the sympathies of an important Frontier province. The official report of the Association of the remarks made on that occasion reads as follows :

Extract from the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting of the East India Association, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., in the Chair, held on the 31st May, 1894 :

“Dr. Leitner considered that the reduction in the number of papers did not imply any want of interest in the Association or any diminution of its influence. He rather agreed with Mr. Martin Wood that sufficient activity had not been shewn in giving practical effect to some of the matters laid before members in the papers read. It was now, he believed, the intention of the Council to shew some activity in this direction. A new departure was to be taken with regard to the question of the Cotton duties; it was intended not merely to discuss that matter academically but to endeavour to arrive at some practical solution. There was, again, the important question of cow-killing, in which all the Hindu Chiefs and the intelligent natives of India would be glad to see the Association take some steps. It would probably not be unwelcome to the India Office to have it suggested that instead of giving to our Army in India the unwholesome native cowflesh, supplies of frozen meat should be imported from Australasia. This would at once get rid of a source of intense irritation and discontent on the part of the Hindus, and open up a valuable trade between our Australian Colonies and India. The Council might also take up the question of the proposed hampering of the Oriental College at Lahore, in which all the Panjab Chiefs were interested. If there was anything that stirred the conservative native heart, it was the preservation for the Muhammedans of Arabic and for Hindus of Sanscrit. These and other matters would no doubt commend themselves to the attention of the Council.”

Sir Richard Temple remarked as follows on the above subjects amidst the general approval of the assembled members :

“Dr. Leitner's suggestion as to the introduction of frozen meat from Australasia was most interesting. That was a really practical matter, upon which the Association would undoubtedly do well to get the best information and present its views to the authorities. If the idea were really practicable, there would be no difficulty in introducing Australian beef into India, because the butcher interest was of a very limited character while the Hindu influence was enormous.

“The question of maintaining the Oriental College at Lahore in its integrity was also a topic with which the Association might very well deal, and any act it took to prevent even the partial disestablishment of the College must elicit sympathy and support from all sections of the native communities. The Hindus would never lose their love for Sanscrit nor the Muhammadans for Arabic, and he was strongly of opinion that the British Government in its zeal for Western Education ought never to forget the Classical culture of Asia.”

A.—JEWISH AUTHORITIES ON THE RAM OF ABRAHAM.

The learned Rabbi, the Rev. H. Gollancz, has favoured us with the following Jewish authorities in support of the Muhammadan tradition regarding the ram of Abraham having been kept in Paradise to be ready for sacrifice instead of Abraham's son :* [The event commemorated by the “I'd-ul-Azha” festival, miscalled “Bakr-eed” in India.] ,

* The earliest Muhammadan commentators say it was a large and fat ram that Abel had sacrificed and that had returned for the purpose from Paradise.—ED.

In the *PIRKE ABOTH* ("Ethics of the Fathers"), an ancient Talmudic treatise, we read in Cp. V., section 9 :—"Ten things were created on the eve of the Sabbath in the twilight : the mouth of the earth (Numb. 16/32) ; the mouth of the well (Numb. 21/16) ; the mouth of the ass (*ibid.*, 22/28) ; the rainbow, the manna, the rod (Exod. 4/17) ; the (worm) Shamir ; the written character, the writing and the tables of stone ; and some add, the spirits of destruction, the sepulchre of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father," etc.

In the *MIDRASH RABBAH* to the Bk. of Numbers, Cp. xvii., referring to the sacrifice of Isaac, we read :—"Abraham said : Sovereign of the Universe, I cannot possibly leave this place without offering a sacrifice ! Whereupon the Almighty replied : Lo, thy offering has been held in reserve even from the 6 days of Creation : 'And lo ! Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw and behold there was a ram' (*vide* Genesis xxii.), etc., upon which passage our Sages observe that the ram of Abraham was created in the twilight : this Abraham took and offered as a sacrifice in place of his son."

In the *MIDRASH JALKUT* we read on the words "And he looked and behold a ram," etc., as follows :—"Rabbi Elieser says it came from the mountains where it had been pasturing : R. Joshua is of opinion that an angel brought it from Paradise where it had been pasturing under the Tree of Life, drinking from the waters which passed beneath it . . . and it was placed in the Garden of Eden (*i.e.* Paradise) in the twilight of the 6 days of Creation."

B.—NATURE OF JEWISH SACRIFICIAL ANIMALS.

1. Regarding *animals* sacrificed :—*Vide* Leviticus i., iii., iv., v., etc., Numbers xxviii., xxix., etc., "Of the herd male or female." While in the case of the *burnt-offering* we have "a male," in the case of *peace-offering*, *e.g.* we read "male or female." It would be dangerous to deduce anything with reference to the question of animals sacrificed by preference, that is of male over female among the herd.

2. Of course, animals chosen among the Hebrews for sacrifice were :—The ox, cow, calf, and young bullock ; sheep, goat, ram, kid, etc. ; turtle-dove and young pigeons.

3. As I have already observed, the idea of the Koran regarding the ram of Isaac in Paradise occurs in several forms in early Jewish Literature. No mention is made of other animals in Paradise.

4. The following is the form of benediction before slaughtering cattle (similar to the manner adopted by Muhammadans called "Halál") :—"Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with His commandments and commanded us concerning the slaughtering."

We understand that a Sub-Committee of the Council of the East India Association, consisting of Mr. Martin Wood and Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.E.I., have prepared for the consideration of, or modification by, the Council of the Association, the following Draft of a Memorial on the abolition of the remaining restrictions on the importation and free sale of

Indian gold and silver plate and art-ware, a matter in which the Association has already rendered great services alike to the British purchaser and the Indian manufacturer :

"The Council and Members of this Association, during many years past, have made great efforts towards removing the impolitic restrictions that so long checked the importation and free sale, in this country, of the various products of gold and silver plate, and art-ware made by the Indian hereditary craftsmen. They gladly acknowledge that much has been done, and much attempted to be done, to remedy these restrictions. By the Revenue Act of 1884, Clause 4, Plate which, "in the opinion of H. M. Commissioners of Customs, is of oriental design," is exempted from the obligation of Assay in the United Kingdom.

By a previous enactment, Indian plate, if desired by the importer to be hall-marked, and if sent to the Goldsmiths' Hall to be marked, and there found to be of a lower standard than '925, is no longer liable to be smashed up, but is returned to the owner or agent to be re-exported. In 1891, the plate duties were entirely abolished. These concessions, however, valuable as they are, or were intended to be, have failed altogether to encourage Indian manufacturers to avail themselves of the British market, the fact being that the restrictions at present prevailing are still found to be obstructive, and consequently to be discouraging to the importation of Indian plate into this country.

For example—in the case of such plate as is desired to be imported under the Act of 1884, it is, of course, stopped at the Customs, and the "opinion of Her Majesty's Commissioners" has to be taken whether it is, or is not, of "oriental design." This involves expense and delay, both economic factors in cost of distribution, a cost to which other trades are not liable.

Again—if the plate be not, "in the opinion of H. M. Commissioners, of oriental design," it must either run the gauntlet of Goldsmiths' Hall, with the inevitable result that, being only '916, it will be refused, after it has been scraped and assayed, and thereby injured, and have, at cost to importer, to be re-exported, or it must be re-exported at once. In either case, the importer has to pay considerable costs, *e.g.*, of agency, carriage, or hall charges, and to suffer by delay in the return of his property.

Again—if the Indian manufacturer wish to place his goods upon the British market, and if he alloy his silver to '925, with that object, and if his agent send the plate to Goldsmiths' Hall, it has there to undergo the barbarous practice of the scrape and parting assay, a process which utterly spoils the finish of finely-chased articles, involving considerable repairs, and possibly regilding in some British silversmith's workshop, before they can be exposed for sale.

The Council beg to state that in their opinion, and in that of trade experts whom they have consulted, the remedy for these impolitic restrictions on trade is very simple.

In the first place the practice of hall-marking in the United Kingdom should no longer be a compulsory institution. (2) There should be no longer any restrictions upon the free importation of foreign-made plate.



(3) The quality of such plate, if desired to be hall-marked, should be ascertained by means of the modern and scientific process of the touch-stone, or touch-needle, as practised in various assay offices upon the continent, a process which, quite as accurate as the scrape and parting assay, involves no injury whatever to the finest of fine finished work.

With regard to the effect of the principle of voluntary hall-marking upon the British trade, the Council feel that they are not in a position to tender advice, but they beg to enclose a pamphlet, the object of which is to show that nothing but good could arise from such a reform.

In conclusion, the Council cannot but endorse the opening proposition of its Author, viz. "That in view of the fall in the price of silver, and its probable further fall, it is in the highest degree impolitic any longer to maintain laws which may limit its absorption for manufacturing purposes. They confidently appeal to you, sir, to confirm this free-trade principle based as it is upon the sound teachings of political economy."

THE REVELATIONS OF THE RAJA OF BHINGA.

The Raja of Bhinga, Oday Pertap Singh, C.S.I., has rendered an invaluable service to the Government by unmasking in his article in the April number of the "Nineteenth Century," the disloyal doings of some of the anglicized Hindus and Muhammadans. The former, whose disregard for caste and liking for beef might be mere soft impeachments in towns like Lucknow, become pious ascetics in rural Districts agitating against the killing of the sacred cow, and the neglect of holy temples. The latter take the name of the Sultan as a cloak to one of the most mischievous propaganda for their own social and political ends that ever confronted a blind Government. Both classes of these "new" Hindus and Muhammadans combine to render India, as the Raja of Bhinga terms it, "a penal settlement" for all that is respectable on that Continent. From London too a pestilent society of naughty boys pretends to "send forth men to give a voice to discontent," and I have myself met two Babus who were proceeding to America "in order to study dynamite tactics." Even Russia and France have to bear the occasional infliction of these liberators and reformers, but it is in England only that weight is attached to their crude and grotesque proposals. This "power-seeking party," says the Raja, "in our country must boldly be told 'thus far shalt thou go and no further' if the *Pax Britannica* is to be preserved." English education may be a powerful solvent of Indian Society, but I believe that the climate that has formed its castes and customs will continue after the last denationalized Indian has died from his adoption of habits foreign to his soil. No one who has not watched the unrelenting malice of Indian outcastes can have an idea of their insatiate ambition and of the intricacies of their intrigues in constructing Gordian knots which their own advent to power is alone to untie. "Those very agitators who had secretly been fanning the flame of sedition appear on the scene as peacemakers and leaders of the people." Failing to enlist the sympathy of the martial races and of the native army, they have obtained the support of the faddist in the British Parliament and are now forming a nation out of the discontented and disreputable all over

India. Formerly Government nominated "men of position, experience, tried loyalty" and known public benefactors to the Legislative Councils, now a school boy has only to make a seditious speech before his club in order to attract the attention of the authorities. He will gradually come forward, be elected to a Local Board and "has not long to wait for a seat in the Legislative Councils, local and supreme."

In conclusion, I cordially agree with the suggestion made by the eminent writer of forming an Association in India for the defence of her respectable classes, now threatened by the low-class "power-seeking party."

This Association should form a Branch in England from among all those, whether English or Indian, who have the conservative interests of India and the permanence of her best institutions and of the Government at heart. Otherwise "the time is not distant when there will be Nihilists in India as elsewhere" and when the world will have to deplore the ruin of ancient Indian culture before she has had time to adapt what may be good in modern civilization. Property, position, peace and the claims of piety are at stake both in England and India, and it becomes all those who are identified with their maintenance, whether English, Muhammadan or Hindus, to combine in their common defence.

AN ORTHODOX MUHAMMADAN.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Chief of Qadim in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjab, has issued a quaint Appeal to Christian ecclesiastics either to train Missionaries for Muhammadans in Arabic, the only key to Islám, or to dismiss them at once and save millions of Rupees. He also offers a Prize of Rs. 5,000 to certain native Christian critics of the style of the Kurán to produce a book in Arabic within two months that shall be equal even to his own hastily written pamphlet in that language. Government or the contesting parties are to appoint experts to decide this literary question which, in the Mirza's opinion, will settle once for always the competence of Missionaries to criticise, much less to abuse, a miracle of composition like the Korán, which alone suffices to prove the divine message of the Prophet Muhammad. There can be no doubt that Missionaries, who are not profound Scholars of Arabic, cannot be judges of Islám, whilst it is a grave question for the Indian Government to consider whether in the interests of *Pax Britannica* it can allow the abuse of Muhammadanism or of Hinduism in which certain "reverend" journalists in India are only too apt to indulge.

An admirable replica of the bust of the late Surgeon-General H. W. Bellew, C.S.I.—a splendid likeness—has been executed by the eminent sculptor John Adams-Acton, in whose studio at 8 Langford Place, Abbey Road, the sculptures of other Indian celebrities will also be found along with his grand presentments of Gladstone, Disraeli, etc. The replica in question has been presented by some personal friends and admirers of Dr. Bellew to the East India United Service Club, the well-known 16 St. James's Square, where it will stand opposite to the marble bust of General Nicholson, also of Panjab fame, the original going to the

kindred United Service Institution at Simla, where it is, we understand, to be unveiled by the Viceroy. No more fitting resting-places for the busts of the great Indian Scholar, explorer and political can be imagined than these two Institutions.

THE SO-CALLED TENTH ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

We have been expecting that the so-called Tenth Oriental Congress which is to assemble at Geneva next September would disclaim its first Circular in which it formally derived its mandate from the pseudo-Ninth Congress held in London in 1892 and that it would acknowledge the Statutes of the Institution founded in Paris in 1873, by doing which it can alone claim a number in the existing Series. It has done neither, but it has issued a second Circular which, without disclaiming the first, does not again mention the Congress of 1892, as indeed there was no occasion for doing. Professor Schlegel had suggested that the question of the origin of the Geneva Congress should be left in the vague that was so desirable in order to conciliate both the Statutory and the Anti-Statutory Congress parties, the former who wish to give the benefits of Oriental Learning in practical forms of Science, Art, Education, Industry and even Commerce to the World and the latter who prefer to keep it as a monopoly of a few Professors. It is, however, by no means clear that the Geneva Committee has agreed to his proposal, the acceptance of which seems to us, of course, to imply the withdrawal of the anti-statutory regulations which the pseudo-Ninth Congress of London fixed for its successor at Geneva. The *de jure* Tenth Congress was the duly nominated one of Lisbon which published over 20 papers and which, although prevented from actually sitting owing to Cholera, none the less holds its place in the Series, just as Kings have their place in a Dynasty without actually reigning. The Lisbon Committee also appointed Paris as the next place of the meeting and in this was supported by the permanent Committees of the Congresses of Paris and London of 1873 and 1891 respectively. This meeting will be held in connection with the celebration of the Centenary of the foundation of the famous Paris Oriental School, the *École des langues Orientales vivantes*, in 1895. Now it seems to show great want of tact, if not a disregard for the interests of Oriental Learning, to hold a Congress at Geneva in 1894 and thus necessarily spoil the attendance at, and the number of contributions to, a Congress to be held so soon after and that too in the City of the birth of the Institution and on an occasion for which indeed Orientalists would naturally wish to reserve their full strength.

Geneva, therefore, which has barely 300 members, or less than half the number of the Statutory London Congress of 1891, will not only have a poor Congress itself, but will also have tried to spoil the chances of the Paris meeting. This we would wish to prevent, for Paris is the home of Orientalism in Europe, not Geneva, and it is Paris which will also attract native Orientals and not Geneva, which has barely 12 members, all told, from Asia and Africa together. Besides, no adherent of the Statutes can look on Geneva as more than the second Congress of the Anti-Statutory

Series, which began in London with the 1892 Congress. That Congress played fast and loose with the title "Ninth" and, so far as its spokesmen were concerned, behaved in a manner which the supreme judge of honourable conduct in England, Her Majesty the Queen, has sufficiently characterized by not accepting its Transactions that had been formally submitted to her. That Her Majesty exercises that august function in a manner which has maintained and raised the standard of Honour in English Society is a matter of History and one of the glories of the Victorian Era. We now quote from Professor Schlegel's *Toung Pao* for May the following letter of the General Secretary of the Statutory Ninth Congress of 1891, which had been addressed to its members, without any further comment on our part :

Oriental Institute, Woking.
March 12, 1894.

DEAR SIR AND HONOURED COLLEAGUE,

I have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, has declined to accept the Transactions, that had been formally submitted to Her of the so-called Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in September 1892 under the presidency of Prof. Max Müller, because the said Congress had resumed the title "Ninth" after its promoters had conveyed the assurance to Her Majesty through the then Secretary of State for India (Lord Cross) of having abandoned it, in accordance with the request of the office-holders of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists that had been held in London during the previous year (1891).

I remain, dear Sir and honoured Colleague, yours faithfully,

G. W. LEITNER,
General Secretary of the Statutory Ninth International
Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891), and
Delegate-General of the Permanent Committees of the 1st, 9th, and
10th Statutory International Congresses of Orientalists.

In the previous January the following letter had already been circulated by the same office-holder :

"TO THE MEMBERS OF THE STATUTORY NINTH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS,

HELD IN LONDON FROM THE 1ST TO THE 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1891.

DEAR SIR AND HONOURED COLLEAGUE,—

The following paragraph has just appeared in the "Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1894 :

'We have just seen, and hope to review in our next issue, the fairly edited two volumes of the Transactions of the Oriental Congress that met in London in 1892 and arrogated to itself the name and title of the Congress held in the previous year, which it dropped under a threat of legal proceedings and reassumed when the time for them had passed. The meeting of 1892 was a failure and the publication of both the valuable and the waste papers that were read, or not read, before it, will still further show this, though such publication will not be permitted under the usurped name of the '9th International Congress of Orientalists' which took place under the Statutes with such éclat the previous year, to which Her Majesty sent a message, at which 37 Governments and nations were represented and where 192 papers were read which form a Library of Reference not only on all subjects of Oriental research, but also on their practical application in education, politics and commerce. The Tenth Congress of the legitimate series has long ago issued its publications from Lisbon and the Eleventh will take place at Paris in 1895 on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the famous Paris Oriental School, *l'École des langues orientales vivantes*. There may, however, be a

successor of the pseudo-Ninth of 1892, by a pseudo-Tenth of Geneva to be held this year, if the authorities and learned bodies of that city are misled into holding a second Tenth, which would be an affront to the King and people of Portugal and a stultification of their own action in sending a representative of the University of Geneva to the legitimate "Ninth" of 1891.

It is hoped that you will again rally in support of the original Statutes on which "the International Congress of Orientalists" is based, and that you will discountenance the so-called Tenth Congress at Geneva, should it ever take place as it has been nominated under regulations that were avowedly intended to perpetuate the existing schism and to destroy the continuity of the Institution as founded in Paris in 1873, where the Statutory Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists is proposed to take place in September, 1895, on the occasion of the Celebration of the Centenary of its famous Oriental School. Your adhesion is accordingly solicited to the Congress which, after a Decade of successful Congresses, will hold its Eleventh Meeting in the City of its birth, which was also duly designated, in accordance with the Statutes, by the Committee of the Statutory Xth International Congress of Orientalists of Lisbon in 1892, the important publications of which have already been circulated."

THE I'D-UL-AZHÁ FESTIVAL AT THE WOKING MOSQUE.

The following letter in Persian has been addressed by the scholarly Secretary of the Persian Legation, Mirza Lutf Ali Khan, to the Principal of the Oriental University Institute :

Allow me to express the sentiments of gratitude for your great kindness as also the feelings of satisfaction and of spiritual gratification and growth at having seen, what I never before witnessed in London, namely the harmonious gathering (of Muhammadans of various sects and nationalities) under your superintendence and administration. The heavenly rays and stimuli which Providence bestowed through that House of God (the Mosque) will never be forgotten and will remain in our minds as a glimpse of Paradise, as through the light from Sinai, and an attraction of our souls towards things divine. It was due to the merit of your good and noble intention that on the festival which is that of the Sacrifice we who stood, as do pilgrims at Mina (in the valley of Mecca) were so influenced by the lights of harmony and purity (*Safa*, an allusion to the Meccan hills of Merwa and Safa), that we all, whether Sunnis or Shiahs, Indians, Ottomans and Persians, stood in one row in the Mosque in the fulfilment of the prayers of the I'd and were harmonious in the attainment of religious and worldly good deeds. May God give you the reward of this righteousness, which has become to us a source of co-operation, unity and generous feelings. I hope that all Muhammadans, in appreciating the value of this great blessing, will never lose sight of what they owe to your illustrious protection. Accept the renewed expressions of our sincerest gratitude and forgive my troubling you with this letter. The 11th of the Pilgrim's month (Zi-l-Hijja) of 1311 (15th June 1894). Your devoted friend

Mirza Lutf Ali Khan.

The *Globe* has the following account of the festival in question :

A FESTIVAL AT THE WOKING MOSQUE.

A highly representative gathering of religious Mahomedans of standing, belonging to various nationalities, took place at the beautiful and pictur-

esquely situated Woking Mosque on the 4th inst., when the I'd-ul-Azhá was celebrated in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice. The Turkish Embassy was represented by Abdul-Hakk Hamid Bey, the Senior Secretary, and Ibrahim Faïd Bey, another secretary. Khalil Effendi, a well-read Maulvi, who acted as Imâm, conducted the prayers. The Persian Ambassador, who was to have presided at the dinner that follows them, was taken ill, but he sent his son, Mirza Mahdi Khan, and his secretaries, Mirzas Lutf Ali Khan and Hussein Kuli Khan, who are excellent scholars, to represent him officially. Among Indians there were Surgeon-Major Dr. Sayad Hassan Belgrami, brother of the Nizam of Hyderabad's secretary, and a medical man and scholar of rare distinction, Sayad Hussein, the son of a Hyderabad Nawab, the son of an Oudh Taluqdar, and others. The prayers were followed by a "Halál" dinner, which also comprised Indian, Persian, and Turkish dishes, thus reminding the guests of their native countries. The visitors then scattered about the pleasure grounds of the Oriental University Institute, which are now in full bloom. Some examined the Oriental manuscripts in its museum, while others left to see the Mahomedan cemetery, reserved by the Institute for Mahomedans at Brookwood, six minutes' rail from Woking. It is on a small mound, which points to Mecca, and otherwise complies with the minutest requirements of Mahomedan funerals. An inscription in Arabic and English indicates the locality, and detailed instructions for the construction of Mahomedan graves, as also a map are let into the boundary stone.

LETTER FROM H.H. THE MIHTAR OF CHITRÁL
(CHITRÁL) TO DR. LEITNER.

The importance of Yasin and Chitrál in holding the main road by the Baroghil Pass from the Pamirs to Peshawar, justifies our publishing the following letter from H.H. Nizám-ul-Mulk, the ruler of those countries, as throwing considerable light on his character and on his friendly feelings towards Great Britain. The encroachments of Umra Khan, the Khan of Jandol, on his relative and quondam ally of Chitrál, may call for the intervention of our Government. Nizám-ul-mulk has well deserved our support, for he stood true to us, even at a time when we seemed likely to set aside his claims, although the acknowledged heir-apparent of Chitrál, in favour of his younger brother, the usurper and fratricide Afzul-ul-Mulk, as handsome a man as he was wicked. Nizam-ul-Mulk was, our readers will remember, the first Chief of the regions between our and the Russian spheres of influence, who contributed to the pages of an English Review (our own) and to the proceedings of the Oriental Congress of 1891. His "Legends, Songs and Fables of Chitrál" created considerable attention at the time and we mention in passing that the material with which he has supplied us regarding his country is far from being exhausted and may be used on future occasions. The letter is addressed to his old friend Dr. Leitner, who, as it were, represents him in this country and who has successfully waged his battle with the British public. After many compliments and the quotation of known and unknown Persian verses, His Highness proceeds to say :

"I have ascertained with what kindness and energy, both at public meetings and in the Press, you have spoken well of me and of my claim to the Throne of *Chitrár* and of my attachment to the illustrious British Government and that you continue to do so. I am very grateful for an act of invaluable friendship, so true in deed, as it is rare in this age, when the words merely of sincerity are used. The most wonderful thing is that in my absence you have defended me so very much better than I could have done myself. Indeed, I consider that as long as you are in England, I am there myself *plus* your ability and unconquerable determination. (Here follow a number of compliments.) The following brief account will tell you how I succeeded my great father. I was residing at Warshigam with a number of servants. My lamented brother, Afzul-ul-Mulk, misled by want of foresight of consequences and mounting on false ambition, happening to be at Chitrár, at once laid hands on the Treasury and Arsenal, though he had few friends, no support in the army and could scarcely depend even on a select number of personal retainers. Above all, he forgot that to embark on a course of war and bloodshed and to act without consultation with the Indian Government was the acme of folly. I went to Gilgit (where the British Resident was) and had scarcely stayed there one month than Sher Afzul, the brother of my deceased father, who had been an exile for 20 years at the Court of Kabul thought it a good opportunity to return to this country and starting from Badakhshan with a limited number of followers made a night raid and taking my already-named brother unaware and killing also other brothers, Murid and Dastagír, took possession of the kingdom. My shortsighted brother had, owing to his ill-luck, thus ruined himself and destroyed our family. When I heard this, availing myself of the favour of the High British Government, I started from Gilgit for Chitrár and by the mercy of Almighty God, whose name be exalted, and by the propitiousness of the British Government, I succeeded after fighting; the opponents taking to flight in the direction of Kabul. Most of my uncle's men were captured and others were killed. Indeed, my uncle and his son were about to be also captured, but out of respect for the white beard of the brother of my father I opened the road for his escape, seated myself on the throne of my father and with the mercy and grace of God have hitherto only met with complete tranquillity and universal satisfaction. At my desire, Captain Younghusband stayed with 50 Sepoys at Chitrár. What am I to say or what am I to write of the protection and kindness of the High Government? Do forgive my delay in replying to your favour (sending him a letter from the Oriental Congress and a poem in honour of the 'Kaisar-i-Hind'). I was overwhelmed by the excessive number of occupations consequent on organizing my new Government. The greatest of human qualities is the steadiness of friendship which you have shown and in which you will continue to show my attachment to the British Government and advise me by your sweet and wise letters, for your presence in England is my own. Do let me know when you or your son are coming to this country and also give my respects to Madame Sahib. Further affairs are merely that the Russians, as usual, are stationary at Murghabi and that the Chinese are at Sarikol

and Aktash (this is a very important point in the settlement of the Pamir frontier between Russia and China—*Ed.*) and are prospecting other parts of the desert Pamir. The Khan of Jandôl and the Khan of Nawagai have for a very long time been quarrelling among themselves, but it has not really come to a head or settlement and the above-named Khan is friendly to me (this conflicts with more recent news—*Ed.*). As to Muhammad Sharif Khan, the former ruler of Dîr, he has left lately in the direction of Kabul. Written the 23rd Muharram 1311. I, your friend, can now write my signature in English" (here follow his initials in English characters and his new Persian seal which contains his name and a legend regarding his accession which we have not yet had time to decipher).

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

It is inconceivable how an honest Government could call a Committee of the best men to be found in England, hear all the evidence for and against the proposals of the Indian Government, after months of deliberation recommend the Currency Act and that then the principal members of that Committee should forthwith set about to wreck it. It was believed that when the jute season got well on the way, exchange, as a minimum, would be at 1·4. When this was upset by the late amount of jute and by the enormous imports of piece and other goods and, finally, by unusual shipments of silver, it was supposed, that the British Government would protect their own scheme, and tax silver so as to make it prohibitive. When they then decided on a minimum of 1·3½, everybody expected that, as Burma rice began to be moved, Indigo to be sold, seeds, wheat and cotton to come to market, exchange would absorb Council bills, but apparently it was overlooked that the India Council itself had no confidence in their own Scheme, or rather did not intend to help it in any way, and the result is that just as the Secretary of State was about to sell his Drafts he broke the ground away, contrary to the views of the Viceroy, and destroyed all confidence in the Rupee. Not even the Viceroy believed it possible that the Government would so completely act against the Scheme.

Every move of the Home Government seems to be taken with the intention of putting further difficulties in the way of the success of the scheme. For weeks they have announced that 50 lacs of Councils would be offered to the public, and the effect has been that not only the 50 lacs but, more often than not, 10 lacs more have been sold. This week, with the export season 1893/94 nearing its close, they advertise that 60 lacs will be sold, and this, coupled with the successful scare started by America that the Mints would be reopened, knocked exchange down in 4 or 5 days from $1/1\frac{9}{16}$ to $1/1\frac{1}{8}$ or equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. One can hardly accuse the Secretary of State and his advisers of not foreseeing the effect of such ruthless action; then in that case we are met with the alternative that it is purposely done to create a gamble in Rupee paper in London. Surely it is, or should be, the object of the Secretary of State not to destroy Indian credit altogether in the eyes of European investors; otherwise why the recent announcement that sanction has been accorded to pay interest on capital during Railway construction? On the one hand, we have the Government trying to throw

out a sop to Railway enterprise, and on the other destroying the credit of the country wherein they wish the Railways built.

AN INDIAN BANKER.

CENTRAL ASIAN NEWS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The Pamirs.—The "Russian fortress" on the Pamirs, mentioned by the Swedish traveller Iven Hedin, is an outpost on the Murghab river, in a locality named "Shah Jehán." It bears officially the name of "Pamirski Post"—the Pamirs' outpost—and is garrisoned by half a troop of Orenbourg Kossacks, a detachment of Border Infantry and a section of the Turkestan Mountain Horse Battery. A stone barrack and some rough buildings for the accommodation of horses have been erected. The detachment of Kirghiz Militia live in felt tents (kibitkas). Meteorological observations are being taken by one of the officers of the garrison. [This is the gigantic fortress, reaching to the sky, which Mr. Hedin's poetic eye saw in the centre of the Pamirs.—*Ed.*]

Colonel F. "Yonoff" ("and *not* *Yanoff*, as frequently mis-spelt by English papers"), of Pamir fame, has been lately promoted to the rank of Major-General, with the pay of a Combatant Brigade-General. His services are placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestan troops.

Khiva.—The Heir-apparent to the Khan of Khiva is shortly going to Petersburg, where he will be educated in one of the Cadet Corps.

Bokhara.—The Ameer of Bokhara lately invited General Kuropatkin to come over to Bokhara to the festivities of the Kurbán Ramazán (the I'd-ul-Azhá, the so-called "Bakreed" of India), wishing to reciprocate the hospitality received in Askhabad on his way to St. Petersburg in 1893. General Kuropatkin was splendidly entertained by the Ameer at a new summer palace, constructed in European style. The Ameer presented to General Kuropatkin the star of the "Crown of Bokhara" 3d grade, a decoration, which has been created of late, on the occasion of the Ameer's visit to Petersburg. His Majesty the Tsar has deigned to accept the 1st grade of the "Crown of Bokhara," His Highness the Cesarevich and the Grand-Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich have the 2nd grade. General Kuropatkin is the fifth Russian decorated with the 3d grade of the "Crown of Bokhara," the four first being: Aide-de-Camp General Vannovski, the Minister for War; Aide-de-Camp General Count Vorontsoff-Dashkoff, the Minister of the Imperial Court and Domains; Actual Privy-Councillor M. De Giers, the Foreign Minister and Lieutenant-General Baron Vrevski, the Governor-General of Turkestan and Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestan troops.

The Heir-Apparent to the Ameer of Bokhara, who is being educated in Petersburg in the Nicolas Corps of Cadets, has come for the summer holidays to Kermineh, the summer residence of the Ameer.

Persia.—At the end of April a riot broke out in Meshed. It is alleged to have been provoked by a rise in the price of bread, caused by an attempt of the Mua'id-ed-Dowlah, the present Governor of Khorassan, to

establish a monopoly in the corn-trade on his own behalf. At any rate, the rioters penetrated into the "Ark" (residence of the governor), and wanted to get at the governor, who sought refuge in the Zenana, being married to a Princess of the Shah's family. Some shops were looted, among them the only chemist's shop in Meshed, owned by an Armenian, a Russian subject, who, it is alleged, carried on a clandestine sale of spirits, which greatly incensed the Mujtaheeds [Shiah priests]. However, though all the glass and crockery were smashed and the Armenian's property looted, the rioters respected the property of a Russian, M. Rybinski, special correspondent of the "Kavkaz," who was travelling in Persia and during the riot happened to be in Meshed, where he was staying with the owner of the chemist's shop. M. Rybinski's property and some property of the Armenian's, which the rioters supposed to belong to M. Rybinski, were brought by them to the Russian Consulate-General. A deputation of the rioters, headed by some very influential Mujtaheeds and merchants, applied to the Russian Vice-Consul to telegraph to Teheran the true causes of the disturbances, because the telegraph clerks, as usual in such cases, had received orders not to transmit any despatches to Teheran. The Governor was compelled to open the corn magazine and to admit corn from the neighbouring villages to the Meshed market; these measures brought down the price of bread and the riot subsided.

The joint Russo-Persian Boundary Commission has begun work again. The starting point is Sarakhs.

RUSSIAN TRANSCASPIA (INCLUDING KUSHK, PANJDEH, ETC).

Obzor Zakaspiiskoi Oblasti za 1891 god. Askhabad 1893.—Obzor Zakaspiiskoi Oblasti za 1892 god. Askhabad 1893.

So run the titles of two official summaries of statistical and other information on the Transcaspiian Region for 1891 and 1892. "Obzor" in Russian means "Review," so these books are, for all practical intents and purposes, annual reviews of official and other work done by the Russian Government in Transcaspia, and as one may learn from the perusal of the 600 odd pages of printed matter, General Kuropatkin, under whose personal supervision this information was compiled, loses no time. It is probably well known, that since June 1890 General Kuropatkin has been Governor of the Transcaspiian region and Commander-in-Chief of the Transcaspiian troops. However, the military reader will find nothing relating to his speciality in these two volumes, which give information on the following topics: I. Frontiers and administrative division.—II. Population.—III. Irrigation.—IV. Forestry.—V. Agriculture, Husbandry, Gardening, Cattle-raising, Local Industry, Fisheries.—VI. Mineral wealth.—VII. Roads and the postal and telegraphic service.—VIII. Commerce.—IX. Revenue and taxation.—X. Sanitary conditions and service.—XI. Colonization.—XII. Scientific investigations.

It appears that there have been published, by order of General Kuropatkin, in 1892 (Askhabad), two summaries of official information on the Transcaspiian Region for 1882-89 and 1890. Most of the matter contained in these previous editions is generally summarized in the respective chapters

of the "Obzor" for 1891, and thus a sufficiently complete idea can be formed on most subjects of interest.

The average British reader will be surprised to learn that the Russo-Persian frontier between Lutfabad and Sarakhs, which has so often been denounced as "practically open to further Russian encroachments on Persian territory,"* has all this time (for 10 years) been a hard and fast line, defined in great detail by Art. 4 of the Treaty between Russia and Persia signed on the 12/24 August 1884 in Lutfabad (*vide* page 5 of the "Obzor" for 1891).

The population, as fixed by registration begun in 1890 and finished in 1892, amounts to a total of 323,129 persons, composed of 255,732 Turkomans, 45,025 Kirghiz (on the north-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, in the district of Manghyshlak), 9,082 Russians (troops excluded), 5,158 Persians, 2,871 Armenians, 2,815 Tartarians, and 2,506 persons of other nationalities. The total number of Russian labourers and fishermen is given at 734 persons; the most important agricultural settlement is a village, named *Alexeievskoie*, founded in the autumn of 1892 in the valley of the KUSHK, in close proximity to the Russo-Afghan frontier, and only 70 miles distant from Herat. The foundation of this colony, which consists of 320 persons (Little-Russians from the Government of Kharkov), has received the Tzar's personal sanction.

With the pacification of Turkomania in 1881, after the fall of Geok-Tapa, the Turkomans have taken to agriculture, and the area of their fields is increasing rapidly. In 1891 the Merv and Tedjen Oases, peopled exclusively by Tekke Turkomans, have been able to afford the export of some 600,000 poods (10,000 tons) of wheat to the famine-stricken localities of inner Russia. Steps are being taken to improve the local kinds of wheat, which are but of indifferent quality, by introducing Samarkand wheat, which is highly prized. The Tekke communities of Merv are so well satisfied with the results, that they have resolved to keep in reserve, for seed, one-third of the yearly crops of the Samarkand wheat, in order to replace thereby the local grain. Stone rollers for the threshing of corn and improved ploughs are being introduced, and the Turkomans take kindly to them. Cotton growing is encouraged; seeds of American cotton, "Middling Upland" and "Sea Island," are distributed by the Government to Turkomans, and a private cotton-press, worked by steam, has been started at Merv. A school of gardening has been opened near Ashkabad, and in 1892 it was attended by 4 Russian and 4 Turkoman boys.

The cattle and sheep breeders of Transcaspia are periodically suffering great losses from severe winters and the absence of stocked forage. Thus the Saryk Turkomans of Panjdeh have lost about 150,000 heads of cattle in 1890-91, and a similar misfortune has befallen the Manghyshlak Kirghiz in 1891-92. However, the local breeds of camels, sheep, goats, and kine are so hardy, and the pastures so good, that already in the autumn of 1892 the Saryk Turkomans had nearly recovered their losses. Horse-breeding is described as declining. The best Tekke stallions find their way to Persia and Afghanistan, where they fetch high prices.

* *Vide* Proc. of the Royal Geograph. Soc. 1892, vol. xiv., N 2, p. 70.

The mineral wealth of the Transcaspian Region consists of naphtha, ozokerite and asphalt (on the island of Cheleken and near Balla-Tshem), salt (of which there appear to be enormous supplies nearly anywhere in the Province), gypsum (near Krasnovodsk), sulphur (in the Kara Kum desert, to the north of Askhabad), coal and iron ore (in the Karatau mountains to the north of Krasnovodsk). Of these only salt and gypsum are being worked, chiefly for export to Persia and for use in the fisheries.

The commerce of Transcaspia is chiefly transit commerce, and it has begun to develop since 1890, when Persian tea-merchants have realized that they could introduce Indian green tea into Bokhara and Khiva considerably cheaper from Amritsar *viâ* Bombay, Bandar-Abbas, Yezd and Askhabad, or Durhak, than their Peshawari competitors, who affect the more direct, but expensive and not over secure, route from Amritsar *viâ* Peshawar, Kabul, the Bamian, Tash-Kurgan (Khulm), to Bokhara. The great inducement lies in the very low custom-tax (only $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ad valorem*) which is being levied on the Transcaspian portion of the Russo-Persian frontier. Along with Indian green tea some English cotton fabrics (particularly Manchester muslins, used for turbans throughout Central Asia), find their way from Bombay *viâ* Persia into Bokhara, Khiva and Turkestan. The returns for 1892 estimate the import of tea from Persia to Transcaspia at £150,000. Russian exports *viâ* Transcaspia to Persia, Bokhara, Khiva and Turkestan for 1892 have been: sugar (£300,000), cotton fabrics (£100,000), hardware (£80,000), and kerosene oil (£50,000). Comprehensive summaries of the goods traffic on the Transcaspian railway are appended to both volumes.

The chief branch of local industry is carpet-making. Turkoman carpets and rugs fetch a good price in the market, and are exported to Meshed, Constantinople and Marseilles. The introduction of aniline dyes and their pernicious effect on the quality of carpets are noticed.

Of considerable interest are the chapters on sanitary conditions and sanitary service. The disease prevalent throughout Transcaspia is malarial fever, which sometimes grows epidemic in the Murghab Oases—Merv, Yuletau and Panjdeh. Small-pox is of frequent occurrence too. A local skin disease, known as the "Panjdeh ulcer," belonging to the group of tropical ulcers, such as the "Bagdad button," the "Biskra," etc., is described at some length, as well as leprosy, which is found on the lower course of the Atrek river. Details on the cholera epidemic of 1892 are given; it appears that only $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the whole population met with death from cholera. The sanitary service is being developed gradually. Native vaccinators and the distribution of quinine through the medium of the Communal authorities, which have been practised with success in Turkestan, are introduced in Transcaspia since 1890, and the Turkomans seem to appreciate it. Another surprise for the general British reader will be to learn that in 1891 the Persian Yomud Turkomans living on the Gurgan river, have applied for vaccinators to be sent to them, when small-pox broke out in the Astrabad province; two native vaccinators were sent them and have done good work.

Taken as a whole, the two volumes, at which but a cursory review has

now been given, contain a good deal of varied information on the heretofore little-known Transcaspian Region. We propose to give a review *in extenso* at some future date, as it will considerably increase our very limited knowledge of Russian Central Asia.

THE PUSHTU LANGUAGE.

The Tájiks at Bukhara have a way of ridiculing the Pushtoo and Peshawari idioms in the following onomatopaeic manner: they put some dry peas in a cup, cover it with another, and shake them, emitting at the same time short and deep-toned growls and snarls. On the other hand, I have heard a Momund-zi from the middle Kunar valley singing, to the music of the "rubâbs," a song that, for beauty of sound, melody and rhythm, was quite Sapphic, and for all in the world had a most unmistakable Greek stamp. This was in 1888, when I was not acquainted with Raverty's and Bellew's theories of the Greek analogies with Pushtoo.

A RUSSIAN OFFICER STUDYING PUSHTU AT BUKHARA.

Much as we admire Lady Burton's devotion to the memory of her husband, we cannot help regretting her unwise zeal in attributing to him, what may be revelations to herself, but what could only be elementary knowledge to Sir Richard Burton. It would be no compliment to an English Scholar, as such, to insist that he had anticipated a play of Shakespeare, for it is supposed that he has read it and it is equally disparaging to an Orientalist, like Sir Richard Burton, to maintain that he had never heard of the Quatrains of Umar Khayyâm till he saw Fitzgerald's adaptation of them. At the very threshold of Oriental studies is a knowledge of these Quatrains and Lady Burton might as well claim a credit for him for having invented the Arabic alphabet before he saw it in a popular grammar of that language. That Burton's "Qasida" is equal or superior to the poetic masterpiece of the Sufi tentmaker in the opinion of a loving wife, is a touching instance of the blindness of affection; that it never could have passed as the production of an Oriental Haji Abdû, itself a travesty of an Arab name, was known to "the great Haji" himself and is obvious from the Europeanisms with which it abounds. For instance, only in a phrase- and lawyer-ridden country like England could a sentence be understood alluding to a distinction between "reason and instinct" as "forged titles." There are no title-deeds in the English sense of the term in Eastern countries; titles there only mean honorific appellations with which "forgery" has no obviously intelligible connection, whilst the Arabs admit the difference between men and animals to consist, not in "reason" *versus* "instinct" but in language, that of the former being "articulate" and of the latter "non-articulate." The "Qasidah" Sir Richard thought little of, in which all unprejudiced critics will agree with him. Lady Burton considers that the review of that work in our last issue was written or inspired by one with whom she is personally acquainted and whose ill-feeling she knows. As a matter of fact, the writer has never seen either Sir Richard or Lady Burton. The Editor's function has been limited to modifying, in more than one instance, such criticism on the great man and Scholar whom we

have lost, as, although fair and, indeed, laudatory on the whole, did not seem to him to do sufficient justice to Sir Richard's extraordinary attainments, although these might not include forestalling Darwin's theory or ignoring and yet quoting the Quatrains of Umar Khayyám. Lady Burton praises Homer where he nods ; we prefer to do so when he is awake and his own consent was given to what is published of him.

Professor Max Müller has suggested the formation of a Society for the protection of children in India, where children are invariably treated with exceptional kindness, often carried beyond the verge of spoiling. The proposal is likely to meet with undeserved success, because we are very apt to be led away in this country by philanthropic fads. We delight in trying to do good at a distance, heedless of the greater evils which we should first combat at home, where true charity begins. A terrible light is thrown on this matter by the Rev. B. Waugh's pamphlet "Child-life Insurance," published by Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co. for "the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children" which originally appeared in 1890 in the *Contemporary Review*. Our space forbids us to quote the horrible facts ; but we recommend the pamphlet for the perusal of the learned Professor and of others anxious to benefit India, without any real or personal knowledge of her wants, and forgetful of the horrors near at hand.

A Meeting of the Committee of the Tropical Section of the forthcoming 8th International Congress of Hygiene and Demography which is to meet from the 2nd September next at Buda-Pesth, was held at the Society of Arts on the 21st ultimo, under the presidency of Dr. Theodore Duka. A number of Medical and other celebrities attended. Over 30 papers on a number of important subjects appear to have been already promised to this Section which is of special interest to Anglo-Indian readers, many of whom, we hope, will be able to attend the Congress. A proposal to admit resolutions at the end of discussions was very properly negatived as likely to affect the scientific and academic character of the proceedings. "Village Sanitation" in India was one of the subjects suggested to be taken up, but we trust that due care will be exercised not to disturb the rural mind, already agitated by the Cow Question and Survey re-settlements.

Pundit H. H. Dhruva, LL.B. (City and Sessions Judge of Baroda), has sent us a very interesting and learned article on his researches on "The Early Races of India" which we regret that want of space prevents our publishing in this issue. With reference to Mr. Charles Johnston's recent articles in our pages on the "Yellow Vaisyas" and the "Red Rajputs" of India, Mr. Dhruva's opinion is, that these ethnographical studies "have opened far extending vistas in the research of the early history of these and allied races and they have thrown a flood of light on the subject." "I have," says Mr. Dhruva, "looked carefully into his views and very closely examined the ethnographical and linguistic reasoning and I believe they are cogent. Pursuing the same inquiry I am also led to the same conclusions on other—i.e. religio-historical grounds."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BEYROUTH CATHOLIC PRESS; SYRIA.

1. *Le Drogman Arabe, par Joseph Harfouch.* (1894; 4 frcs.) There is no short cut or royal road to learning. This applies especially to the transliteration of Oriental languages into Roman characters. The beginner by avoiding the Oriental alphabet, the difficulties of which are greatly exaggerated, avoids the gate, entrance by which makes him subsequently "free of the guild." Not to speak of the variety of the systems for rendering Oriental sounds in European letters, which are often unintelligible without reference to the original, and which are differently pronounced even by European scholars of various nationalities, the Oriental meanings are often lost or disguised in their European garb. This is specially the case with Arabic, where a knowledge of the alphabet enables one to trace the triliteral root throughout its almost endless modifications, whilst this would be impossible by means of the Roman character which admits vowels into the body of a word. For instance, who could trace "ghafara" in the word "istighfâr," or "mansûr" in "intisâr," yet this is self-evident in the Oriental character. By learning the Arabic root in the original, one acquires its derivations and applied forms; by reading it in the Roman travesty one has to study each derivation as a separate word unconnected with a root-meaning. We therefore regret that an able Arabic scholar like Prof. Harfouch and an excellent printing establishment like the Catholic Press of Beyroutch should have published "*Le Drogman Arabe*." We are sorry for the Dragoman or interpreter who has to stand the wrath of the English, French, Italian or German tourist who mispronounces, as he is sure to do, its admirable Dialogues or applies its amusing proverbs. Otherwise, the little book has many practical features which would be doubly valuable in their true native dress. Indeed, one pattern, even if it be an English or French one, will not do for all men or things and it is rather a means to forget, than to learn, Oriental languages, to throw their distinctive characteristics into the monotonous and alien form of transliteration.

MESSRS. W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

2. *The Arabian Horse, his Country and People*, by MAJOR GENERAL W. TWEEDIE, C.S.I. (1894; £2. 2. 0.) This splendid book, in 4to. size, is beautifully got up, has 7 tinted full-page portraits of famous Arabian horses, many other engravings both full-page and in the text, and a map of the country whence these grand creatures hail. Our author is most thorough in the letter-press, where he gives, in perhaps too prolix detail, the geography of the land and the ethnology of the people that breed the noble animal, which, as his main subject, occupies half of his 320 pages: 192 more pages are devoted to a "Glossarial Index" of foreign words. He treats his matter with a rare and thorough knowledge, the result of a long residence in the East, giving us valuable information, extinguishing fables and assertions, describing places and life and social customs, and the

breeds, characters and qualities of the Arab horse. There are descriptions and stories of many well known horses in India, which are old friends of many of our readers; but General Tweedie confines his details to public horses—performers at public races, and he has scant notice of the far more numerous and important if less known representatives of this breed, which are found as chargers under almost all the officers of our Indian army. There is a special chapter on the defects of the Arabian; but the book confirms, on the whole, the high estimate generally formed of him,—that, taking him all in all, no better all-round horse exists, though others may excel for special purposes. This book will be welcome to all lovers of horses, who will turn over its pages with great pleasure, even while wondering at some of the author's conclusions and assertions and admiring his numerous irrelevant digressions—e.g. his dogmatisms regarding the Scriptures. It would have been better had he kept more closely to his subject—wide enough in all conscience—than have introduced extraneous matters on which, if interesting in themselves, people prefer to consult *ex-professo* works, and do not want the opinions of amateurs. We notice, too, a tinge of ultra-pedantry in the author's style of chopping up well known words into *Ku-ran*, *Su-ra*, *Mus-jid*, etc. But when he does keep to his subject,—that is to say, in by far the greater part of his work,—we find much good information conveyed in a pleasant, discursive style. We have to thank him for a valuable contribution to the plentiful literature on horses which needed such a book to complete it, and the publishers for a magnificent work, that the author tells us could never have been completed but for the personal "encouragement of Mr. William Blackwood, himself a genuine lover of horses."

3. *The Life of General Sir J. Hope Grant*, by COL. H. KNOLLYS. (1894; 2 vols: £1. 1. 0.) Among the many able men whom the Indian mutiny brought to prominent notice, Sir James Hope Grant holds a conspicuous place, for military talent, sterling worth and goodness of character. Col. Knollys had already introduced him to the public, by publishing, from the General's diaries, his "Incidents" of the Sepoy and China Wars; and now, from the same sources, he gives us a most interesting biography. It is full of detail; for Grant was very fond of writing on all matters, except his personal exploits. His was a long and eventful career; and its record, besides being instructive and entertaining to read, furnishes a good example to young military officers, to follow in footsteps which, through real but almost unconscious rectitude, led him to high fame and a good position. Sir James, however, was not a fortunate man; and the scanty honours doled out to him for exploits less than which have secured to others loftier titles and greater wealth while they caused him personal loss of money through the follies of red-tapeism, recall the equally shabby treatment of Sir Hugh Rose. Grant fared even worse. Rose became Commander in Chief in India and Baron Strathnairn: Grant, though his military successes were quite equalled by his administrative reforms and care of the troops as Commander in Chief of Madras, got nothing but a G.C.B., and was passed over, for the highest Indian military office, in favour of—Lord Sandhurst, of pickle renown! Yet, though he felt the iniquity of his treatment, he continued to the last a hardworking, able, genial and upright soldier, whose

record is unblemished with a single fault. We could wish that more details were given us regarding his private and domestic life, of which we have barely a glimpse towards the end of the second volume. On other points we receive new and valuable information. At i. p. 256 we have Grant's deliberate statement, on Hodson's own authority, noted down a few hours after receipt, that Hodson shot the Delhi Princes when he "had got them to within a couple of miles of Delhi when there was no one to interfere. Then he halted the carriage, made them get out, upbraided them with their shameful conduct and told them to prepare for death. . . . and taking a revolver from his belt, with his own hand he shot the three unhappy wretches dead on the spot"—proof positive, if any were still needed, that he committed a cold-blooded deliberate murder, without any excuse whatever. A prettier incident is that of the two rebel sentries found at the Delhi Palace calmly "marching up and down their beat," with their muskets, when all else had fled at the approach of our forces. "Nothing could have been braver and cooler than the conduct of those two sepoys, who must have known that their fate was sealed. Both were immediately put to death." At ii., p. 153 we have a key given to Clyde's want of cordiality—to use a mild term—towards Outram at Lucknow. Our space forbids more detailed notice of this important book. We have found numerous typographical mistakes, especially in the names of places, and some other blunders also: among them (ii. p. 59), Sir James Dormer is said to have died from a fall off his pony, instead of from the effects of a tiger's bite.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

4. *The Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. (Bombay, 1894) is the 2nd vol. of the work noticed in our last number, called *Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay*. It deals with trade and Fortifications. The history and statistics of trade are given from the year 1702 to 1780, and those of the Fortifications from 1662 to 1808. An appendix deals briefly with the *Sidis* of Bombay and the second with the harbour, its docks, ships and lighthouses. The present volume is full of interesting matter. The frontispiece is a map of Bombay fort from 1771 to 1864. The third volume will complete this work and with it the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

MESSRS. BOWDEN, HUDSON AND CO.; LONDON.

5. *The International Law Directory for 1894*; 4/-. Mr. Kinn's is an excellent handbook for those who have to deal with lawsuits, for it gives the names and addresses of some legal practitioners at home and abroad, in all the chief places in the world where Englishmen are likely to require their services. The lists are not, of course, exhaustive, but they are practically good and will answer all requirements. There is a fair telegraphic code, specially prepared for this directory, and used by all those whose names are given in it: an excellent arrangement regarding a matter of importance for foreign lands. An appendix gives much information for those who have the misfortune of entangling themselves in the meshes of the law. It is a handy and useful book, which deserves to be widely known.

MR. C. E. BRISTOW ; ADELAIDE, S. AUSTRALIA.

6. *Journal of the Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition, 1891-2 ; with maps ;* (1893). Sir Thomas Elder's public-spirited and generous action in despatching this expedition under Mr. David Lindsay, was unfortunately frustrated of its expected results, by dissensions among the members composing the expedition. Here we have a record of its doings and its discoveries. The diary is not particularly interesting, but the last 15 pages of the 207 contain important vocabularies of native words, and the maps are excellent.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; WESTMINSTER.

7. *Memorials of old Haileybury College.* (1894 ; 21/-). Few establishments in the world trained better men or exercised a greater influence over the world, than the old East India Company's College ; and though many of the greatest names in Indian history, like those of Clive and Hastings, have no connexion with it, yet the India of the present day was consolidated by Haileyburians as truly as it was conquered by our troops. The memorials, therefore, of such a place deserve a high position in the archives of the Empire which it did so much to establish ; and if the present volume, is neither so exhaustive of its subject nor so correct in all its details as we would have wished, it is still a very welcome contribution in that direction. It is the work of several hands, and therefore, a little disjointed. No training was given at the first for the Indian Service, when Factors and apprentices were sent out at £20 and £10 *per annum*, and later writers and apprentices were paid only £10 and £5 :—half the salaries were payable in India—a point for study in the Exchange question. The Marquess of Wellesley founded a college for special studies at Calcutta in 1800 ; and subsequently Haileybury was established in England in 1806. This book in its first half details the origin and plan of the work, gives a history of the Indian services, and then that of the College itself to its close in 1858. The list of officials and professors, the system of teaching and of examining, are followed by Sir M. Monier Williams' chatty remembrances of the College, both as student and as Professor. Sir C. S. Bayley gives an interesting, though incomplete account of the College literature. The second half is taken up with a detailed list of all its students, and a record of what Haileyburians did during the mutiny ; neither list, however, is complete. Its numerous good illustrations, and its excellent get up, together with the interest attached to the College and the wealth of anecdotes it contains will make it an interesting book to read, not only to Haileyburians—now alas ! few, but also to the general reader.

MR. E. CURTICE ; LONDON.

8. *Curtice's Index to the Times, etc.*, gives a reference index to 152 newspapers, of London and the provinces ; and is a very useful work for the purpose for which it is compiled. How many an hour is wasted in hunting up files of papers for some item, which can here be quickly and easily found, and then be looked up in its own proper place, according to the reference given, in the paper in which it appeared.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON.

9. *Bright Celestials*, by JOHN COMING CHINAMAN (1894) is the title of a novel portraying Chinese life, at home and at the Straits' Settlements. Of the actors, many die at home, several go abroad owing to evil done, and the hero and heroine, after varied adventures get married, as a matter of course. There are good descriptions of Chinese customs and Chinese ways of thinking and acting, which should furnish material for a study only too often neglected. The book is lively and entertaining, especially in the first 2-thirds of it: the last part is rather weighted with missionary matters. These are not always in the best of taste, for the cloven foot of sectarian animosity appears when least expected. There is also much of anti-opiumist literature and argumentation. These things, whatever may be one's private views regarding them, are sadly out of place in a tale, which is otherwise pleasant, useful, and novel to read. The style and scope may be gauged by the following short extracts: "Nothing but the genuine, current coin of Love could purchase Love. A bi-metallic theory in Love's kingdom is untenable. . . . Predetermination . . . is rather an essential attribute of an Eternal Father, who claims the Chinese people as His own, to vouchsafe to them in this age and in coming ages His Liberty and His Love. . . . Every student of the great Chinese problem . . . may reasonably expect that the Chinese Christianity of the future will not belong to the jelly-fish type. . . . If quality count for anything at all, the last because the slowest of the great races of humanity will yet become the first," etc.

10. *South Africa*, by G. M. THEAL. (1894; 5/-.) The author who is well known for other historical works on this subject, here presents us with a compendium, in the form and size of "*The Story of the Nations Series*," several of the former issues of which we have had to notice with the praise they deserved. This volume is quite worthy of its predecessors. It is well illustrated. An admirable point in our author is his fearless and impartial statement of facts, irrespective of nationality: a good instance will be found at pp. 324, 325, about our seizure and retention of Kimberley which justice certainly cannot approve of. The author scarcely does justice to early Portuguese enterprise; but it barely touched the localities with which he is here concerned. The history is brought down to 1893, and consequently is scarcely up to date; the Matabeles receive scant notice; and Khama is not mentioned. But the book is a valuable guide to the history of S. Africa, that is not only of the Cape and of Natal, but also of their dependencies, and of the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and the Portuguese territory on the east coast of Africa.

MESSRS. A. D. INNES AND CO.; LONDON.

11. *Society in China*, by R. K. DOUGLAS (1894; 16s.). Cuttings from Police Reports—a summary of the enquiry on the late lamented Metropolitan Board of Works and like Bodies—with a short analysis of our Diplomatic and Administrative action in the far East, would present as fair a picture of English life as this book does of Chinese life. It is rather superficial, describing the supposed short-comings of the Chinese. Defects

are easily seen or imagined in others; but instead of seeking these it would be far better to investigate the cause that has preserved China intact while every other nation has fallen to pieces. The task is specially suitable in our days when Europe is an armed Camp, and social hatreds threaten the existence of every kingdom.

Mr. Douglas himself puts the question on his very first page, but without answering it he mainly devotes himself to caricature cuttings from the *Pekin Gazette*, and one-sided accounts of our dealings with China. Space will not permit a full analysis of Chap. XIV. "The War in 1860"; but a few remarks are needed on the case of the *Arrow*, and the consequent bombardment of Canton. Sir John Bowring defended this, because (1) it was in defence of the British flag; (2) it was necessary for the protection of the Chinese crew of the *Arrow*; and (3) because none of these men were delivered to the "cruel tyrant" Yeh. The *Arrow* however, had no right to use the British Flag. Sir J. Bowring wrote to Sir H. Parkes 11 Oct. 1856 (as per Blue Book):—

"It appears on examination that the *Arrow* had no right to hoist the British Flag." Yet the same officer wrote on 14th October, 1856, to Governor Yeh:—"There is no doubt that the lorcha *Arrow* lawfully bore the British Flag." Mr. Stapleton, formerly secretary to Mr. Canning, emerged from his long retirement to brand the transaction with infamy: "They (the British authorities) drew the sword, and the justification which they put forth was an acknowledged lie;" and Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords, 24 Feb. 1857, said: "I assert—and I assert it in the very language of the Chinese Government—that in no respect whatever was the *Arrow* an English ship. This is the very essence and foundation of the whole question. Now, my Lords, allow me to lay down a principle which no one will successfully contest. It is this: that you may give any rights or any privileges to a foreigner or a foreign vessel as against yourselves, but not as against foreigners."

The bombardment was unnecessary for the protection of the men, since they were given up before the bombardment. Had the object been to protect British subjects, Sir H. Parkes, when the Chinese first gave up ten men, would have kept them and demanded the other two; but he sent them back and demanded the twelve. The twelve were then sent. If force were allowable this was the time to exert it by retaining the men. They were sent back. The statement would be incredible were it not made by the person incriminated, as given in our Blue Books. The men were all given up to the Chinese: we were bent on picking a quarrel.

What wonder that the Chinese view with the greatest suspicion all our actions, or that certain articles, inserted in the Treaty, on religion, are looked on with distrust, viz.: "That the Christian Religion, as *professed* by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons *teaching* it, or *professing* it, therefore, shall *alike* be entitled to the protection of the Chinese Authorities." This was forcing, after action of a diametrically opposite character, under the muzzle of guns, an agreement to an aggressive system of proselytism by foreigners against the wishes of the people, under pretext

of religious toleration. The Treaty certainly took care to say "professed" not "practised" by Christians.

The statement, moreover, is misleading that there are three leading religions in China—viz. Confucianism, Laotzeism, and Buddhism—omitting altogether the only one really in existence "Ancestral Worship,"—though it is upon this and this alone that the whole fabric of the State rests. Confucius did not pretend to touch it or alter it in any way, he merely extolled it as the only safe condition. As to the other two they are, as Mr. Douglas so far rightly states, foreign importations; they are excrescences of an abstract kind, and though they no doubt have had a baneful influence, still they do not form the Family Life.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

12. *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, by ROMESH CHANDER DUTT, C.I.E. (1893; 2 vols., 21/-). Our author, the depth of whose Sanskrit scholarship renders him peculiarly fitted for the task, has divided ancient Indian history into five convenient periods, marked by their different kinds of literatures: the Vedic, the Epic, the Rationalistic, the Buddhistic and the Puranic. Each has a style, an imagery, an idiosyncrasy peculiar to itself; and from a study of what each contains and how it expresses itself, Pundit Romesh Chander Dutt deduces his conclusions regarding the then state, in India, of ancient religions, governments, laws and chiefs; of ancient social life, conditions, manners, customs and observances; of ancient arts, sciences, developments and culture. The high antiquity and lofty grade of the civilization of India are universally accepted; but comparatively few are aware of the extent, variety and power of ancient Indian culture. Hence this work was all the more needed, for the information of those who lack the requisite knowledge and leisure to study out the matter for themselves. Our author's work which would, we think, bear much condensation, gives a full and detailed statement of Indian civilization; and though scholars will not agree with all his conclusions, it will be found pregnant with much useful and recondite information. For instance, under the present aspect in India of the cow-killing question, it is interesting to note that cows were slain and sacrificed for other purposes in ancient India, by the Aryans, (i. p. 41 and elsewhere). Mr. Dutt's wide reading and profound scholarship are well evidenced in this book, which deserves the attention of all students of India and her ways.

13. *Lays of Ancient India*. Selections from Indian Poetry rendered into English verse by ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E. (1894; 7/6). Our author's *Civilization in Ancient India* showed that he could write English verse with almost as much facility as English prose. He has now produced a volume of rhymed metrical translations from the Sanskrit with the object of giving "the English reader a general bird's-eye view of Indian poetry, Indian thought, and Indian religion." The translations are not, as a rule, very literal, and we question whether Mr. Dutt's object might not have been more completely attained, if he had occasionally, at any rate, followed the example of Grasmann, and freed himself from the fetters of

rhyme. But no one who reads these translations, can, we think, help feeling surprise at Mr. Dutt's wonderful command of the English language.

The book begins with fourteen hymns of the Rig Veda. The following opening lines from a transcription of a well-known hymn to Ushas, or the Dawn, will give a fair idea of Mr. Dutt's style :

Beauteous daughter of the sky !
 Hold thy ruddy light on high !
 Grant us wealth and grant us day,
 Bring us food in the morning's ray !
 White-robed goddess of the morning sky !
 Bring us light,—let night's deep shadows fly !
 Rich in cattle, rich in steed,
 With thy gifts to mortals speed !
 Joyous nations welcome thee,
 For thy gifts are ever free.
 Speak, goddess, words of comfort and of joy,
 And grant us wealth and bliss without alloy :
 Our fathers hailed thy joyous light,—
 We hail thee, goddess, ever bright !
 Like ships by merchants sent to sea,
 Thy radiant chariot bringeth thee !
 Come then, goddess ! in thy glittering car,
 Come and bring thy joyous light from far !

We wish that some more notes had been added for the benefit of the Western reader. The following translation, from the Dhammapada, a well-known collection of Buddhist precepts, would lose none of its point if the meaning of the first line were explained at the bottom of the page :

Not by skins and plaited hair,
 Not by family of birth,
 But by truth and righteousness
 Is the Brâhman known on earth.

But perhaps Mr. Dutt has taken warning from the "awful example" of voluminous Sanskrit commentators, and thought it more prudent not to overload his text with explanation. It is interesting to observe the attraction which Buddhism has for our author. Taken in connexion with the recent founding of the Buddhist Text Society, this fact would seem to show that the most cultivated minds of India are awakening to a sense of the real importance of the reformer, whom Europeans have long regarded as the most prominent figure in Indian religious history.

European readers may be surprised at the attention which Mr. Dutt devotes to the Kriâtâjuniyam of the poet Bhâravi. But our experience is that Indian scholars generally look on this poem as a model of style. Mr. Dutt adds his testimony to Bhâravi's merits by speaking of the "sonorous beauty of his language and the incomparable vigour of his expression." Probably few Western scholars would endorse this judgment. But if we wish to understand the Indian mind, we must try to look at Indian literature from the Indian point of view.

Not the least useful part of the book, in our opinion, consists in extracts from Mr. Dutt's *magnum opus*, "Civilization in Ancient India," a book which

has already attained the honour of a second edition. It may be hoped that readers of this elegant little volume may be led on to study the author's larger and more important work.

14. *India*, by SIR JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I. (1894; 6s.). We welcome the new revised edition of this book, which Sir John Strachey has improved, by a more compact form, and by adaption to the changes that have occurred since its first publication in 1888. Mr. Batten adds a chapter on Opium, and Col. Newmarch one on the Army in India. In the latter we note at p. 341, "The proximity of a great European power has profoundly altered our position in India;" it should be of *two* powers; for we have allowed France to become more than a mere threat, a positive danger, through Siam to us. The chapter on the Native States is incomplete: from p. 376, we learn that it was printed before Mr. Tupper's work on them was published, and that has now been supplemented by Mr. Lee-Warner's. The criticism on the action, or rather want of action of Government in the matter of the Indian currency and Exchange is weak; for even now nothing has been or is being done to establish a linked gold and silver currency between England and India. But Sir John Strachey has a wide experience and deep knowledge of India; and this he proves in his book, which despite some minor blemishes, is a good guide to the general reader, to acquire a sufficient knowledge of our great Indian Empire.

MESSRS. LONGMANS AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

15. *The Camel*, by MAJOR A. G. LEONARD (1894; 21/), records the experience of 16 years with this extraordinary animal, in various countries, from Egypt to India; and the author gives us an excellent book of reference, in which the variety of breeds, the structural peculiarities, the nature and character, the diseases and management of the camel are thoroughly discussed. Separate chapters deal with the important question of watering and feeding the animal, where many fallacies are dispelled, and a rational system is laid down for the guidance of those who have to manage large bodies of camels. Our own experience of the ill-treatment to which these brutes—certainly very unsympathetic and unlovable—are subjected, bears out what the author says; and we hope his book will help to better their lot in the future. They are of the utmost importance to our armies in India, and their future promises good work for Australia and Africa. Yet their breeding and training are completely neglected; and the country has to pay dearly for this apathy in the hurried purchase and the gradual loss of thousands when a war breaks out. All officers in India should read this book,—not only those of the Commissariat Department, who have to purchase and keep and manage them, but all other officers too; for both in war and in peace, the camel plays an important part in their life, as they can never move without a certain number of these useful if unwieldy beasts. The British soldier too should be better informed regarding them; and if this book were to find a place in all regimental libraries, we should see less of the scenes we have repeatedly witnessed when Tommy Atkins falls out with his "hoonts," as he styles

them. The general reader will find it a very interesting account,—complete on every point—of an animal regarding which little is commonly known, and that little is largely mixed with inaccurate and false assertions.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO. ; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

16. *The Protected Princes of India*, by W. LEE-WARNER, C.S.I. (1894 ; 10/6.) Though the British power in India has risen on the ruins of many a native state, yet a large number—between 6 and 700—still exist, which are styled, and to a certain extent are independent states, while subordinated to the action of the British Government, under the vague and inappropriate terms of Suzerain and Feudatories. What is the limit of their independence? What is the extent of their duties towards the suzerain? What is the nature of the alliance between the two? These are questions more easily asked than answered ; while the further and perhaps more important one, What is the most desirable form in which these relations should eventually crystallize? has not yet, apparently suggested itself to those who either write on the subject or those who are responsible for their future—the temporary rulers in India and the permanent and paramount ones in England. To the study of the subject, Mr. Lee-Warner's book—like that of Mr. Tupper, which we reviewed in October, 1893,—is a most valuable and welcome contribution. The two are written from different standpoints, yet agree in many things,—and most singularly in the strong declaration made by both, that they do not express any but personal opinions. This shows that the “powers that be” not only have not committed themselves to any definite scheme, but probably have not even thought of any such useful, if not necessary project. Mr. Lee-Warner, whose experience and studies have fitted him peculiarly for this task, gives the history of our relation with native States, in its various stages of development ; and his remarks on it are equally true and discriminating. What he notes, of mutual obligations, is perfectly correct ; yet, as he admits, much still remains to be defined. The whole book is of importance, but we may specify as peculiarly so the treaty map of India at page 51, and the last chapter, pp. 367-382, where he defines the situation as far as is possible. The fact, however, that this definition is more by negative than by positive points exemplifies what we have said regarding the vagueness of the present state of affairs. Mr. Lee-Warner declares that these States are not independent nations and that strict international law cannot, therefore, apply to their case. On the other hand, he maintains, against Mr. Tupper's view, that they are not, strictly speaking, Feudatories in the mediæval sense. Nor are they a constitutional union of states, like the great western Republic. The union between the native States and the British Government is peculiar, but it is at present undefined in its extent and nature, and unprovided with any positive scheme of constitutional union for the future. A study of this book, which we warmly recommend to our readers, will convince the most sceptical both of the difficulties of the situation and of the necessity of timely and statesman-like action for the preservation and improvement of the native States, and

for knitting them closer to ourselves in a definite alliance, for the general good of all India.

MESSRS. MELVILLE, MULLEN AND SLADE; LONDON AND
MELBOURNE.

17. There was a time when every language was derived from Latin or Greek; then followed the epoch of Hebrew as the universal mother; now Sanscrit is appealed to as the most convenient ancient form by which the Aryan or Indo-Germanic linguistic groups may be judged. The Rev. D. Macdonald of Efate, New Hebrides, has rendered an invaluable service to his immediate sphere of usefulness, even if he has not created a revolution in the science of language by writing *"The Asiatic Origin of the Oceanic Languages;"* 1894; 10/6d. To prove this theory an etymological dictionary of the Efate language, which Mr. Macdonald has carefully studied during 21 years, is published. In the acquisition of Efatese and kindred dialects this little vocabulary of Efatese-English (we wish it were also English-Efatese) is admirably adapted and is a model to similar productions for other languages in clearness of explanation and facility of reference. Whether however it is a fact that "Arabia, which borders on Oceania, has always been, and is to this day, the principal home of this, the most important family of Asiatic languages," we are unable to say, for such an assertion requires not only linguistic, but also historical and ethnographical corroborations. Nor is even a linguistic link established by mere coincidences of heterogeneous words, but by similarity of grammar and construction. Sounds like "ab" for "father" may reveal Semitic echoes in Oceania, but we prefer Mr. Macdonald's book for what it states about Efate than for what it suggests in the unexplored domains of conjectural philology, though this also is a service.

MR. JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

18. *A Policy of Free Exchange* (1894; 21/-) is a collection of essays by various contributors, edited by Mr. THOMAS MACKAY. Mr. H. D. MacLeod first writes on the nature of wealth and property; and he criticizes certain speculative theories and disproves certain arguments; but this process can be easily applied to some of his own. Thus, at p. 43, he propounds the question, "The simple space of ground on which a great city stands, has enormous value and is wealth: Did working men create the ground upon which a city stands and give it value?" Of course they did not create the ground, but they made mere land into the city, which alone gives it this artificial value. Mr. Maitland deals with the results that may happen when America adopts Free trade. Mr. Strachey next gives an interesting account of the National Workshops of Paris in 1848, and their results; the Hon. Mr. Fortescue discusses Australian State Socialism; Mr. Ackworth speaks of the relations between governments and railways; and Mr. Mackay states the interest of the working classes in Free Exchange. Mr. Mallet treats of the principle of progression in Taxation and the Hon. A. Littleton writes on the law of Trade combinations. Each Essay, complete in itself, is ably written from the author's own stand-

point, and is a full statement of his views on an important if somewhat dry subject. We quote from the preface: "The title suggests that the principle of Free Exchange is capable of inspiring a constructive policy, in which freedom is limited only by a mutual respect for the freedom of all, that is by the reciprocal responsibility inherent in every voluntary act of Exchange." The book will repay the political economist's pains to study.

MR. D. NUTT; LONDON.

19. *Idylls and Lyrics of the Nile*, by H. D. RAWNSLEY. (1894; 3/6.) We are much pleased with this little book of verses on Egyptian subjects, ancient and modern. The translation of the 1st Chapter of the Quran, at p. 7, is pretty, close and correct; at page 11, the rendering of Cairo street-cries is very amusing; and several ancient Egyptian inscriptions are faithfully given in fairly good verse. The 64 poems, varying in length, metre and subject, are well worthy of perusal, by the general reader, while to those who have travelled in the land of the Pharaohs they will recall scenes and sounds that once seen and heard, dwell for ever in the memory.

20. *Lailâ and Majnûn*, 1894, is a metrical translation from the Persian poem of that name by Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Ganjwi, by JAMES ATKINSON, E. I. Co.'s Med. Service, now edited by his son, the Revd. J. A. Atkinson. The poem, which, though surpassed in artistic beauty by Moulana Hatifi of Herat on the same subject, is a universal favourite in the East, with some as a love-poem and with others as a mystic religious book, is rendered into finished English verse; and though we miss the musical flow of the sweet Persian, we have a translation well adapted to convey to the English reader the story, meaning and style of Nizami. As the translator remarked, human nature is much the same both in the East and the West; and this very human poem appeals as much to the general reader as to the Persian scholar: both will equally enjoy this translation.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; LONDON.

21. *The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, April, 1894*, is fully as pleasant reading as its predecessors. Its principal papers are an account of a recent pilgrimage to Jerusalem,—a description of the Church at Jacob's well; and another of a Lebanon cliff castle, both by Mr. Bliss,—Canon Curtis on the Sidon Sarcophagus,—and a series of answers to questions concerning birth, marriage and death, among the people of Palestine. The last mentioned will command most attention, among the excellent articles in this volume.

22. *A Mound of Many Cities*, by F. J. BLISS, M.A. (1894; 6/.) The mound of many cities is Tell-el-Hesi, lying between Gaza and Hebron, identified by Major Conder as Lachish. It had already, in 1890, yielded important information to the energetic and skilled Prof. Flinders Petrie; and Mr. Bliss, having in 3 seasons' work, cut away completely a portion of the Tell, has revealed the fact of no less than 8 cities having been superimposed, one on another, during about 3000 years. Though the finds of archæological and historical importance are few, the excavations have

contributed much information regarding the manners and customs of past times, just as the work done has brought to notice those of the present generation of Fellahin. Mr. Bliss gives us a very interesting book, well written and well illustrated, and it is a pleasure to find that he has much of good to record in the poor people who helped his labours, with theirs.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY; LONDON.

23. *The Money of the Bible*, by G. C. WILLIAMSON (1894; 2/6), is another useful volume of the Series "By-Paths of Bible knowledge." In it Dr. Williamson has condensed valuable information gathered from extensive reading and a wide acquaintance with ancient coins. The best authorities have been laid under contribution, and the result is an exhaustive compendium of what is known regarding biblical and contemporary coins and money in general in ancient times.

MESSRS. RIVINGTON, PERCIVAL AND CO.; LONDON.

24. *Diary of a Journey across Tibet*, by CAPTAIN HAMILTON BOWER. (1894; 16/.) The author, who was accompanied by Dr. Thorold of the Indian Medical service, describes the adventures and exploits of a year and 15 days, during which, starting from Simla, he went to Leh, and thence right across Tibet, into and through China to Shanghai, and back to Simla. It is a simple diary, with its record of daily observations and incidents, hopes and fears. Along the route taken,—first East with some southing to 89° E.L., then, after a short retreat on his own tracks, north to 31° N.L. and 88° E.L., and thence again East with a little southing into China,—his observations will fill up many *lacunæ* on our present maps. Much interesting information, gathered on the route, has, of course, probably found its way to the pigeon-holes of the Indian Intelligence Department. Capt. Bower is not enamoured of either Tibetans or Chinese, and expresses his opinions pretty freely; nor is he much impressed with the Buddhism of either country. In fact regarding that religion, he declares that in its pure state, it exists neither in China nor in Tibet. The book has a number of good illustrations, especially of some birds, and an excellent route-map, besides a chart of minimum temperatures and another of heights. The narrative, if it does not convey much deep or new information, is chatty, pleasant and interesting. It is amusing to find a military man making such a slip as Capt. Bower does at p. 191, when, speaking of the Chinese fancy for wearing "old British regimental buttons . . . belonging to Hindustani and Punjab regiments whose names have long since vanished from the Army List," he specifies the 16th P.I., 5th P.I., and 12th P.I. (Punjab Infantry). The 5th Punjab Infantry has certainly *not* vanished yet from the Indian Army List. In the list of *fauna* and *flora*, we have new finds,—the *Cervus Thoroldi*, (Shoa-u-Chu), and the *Ursus pruinusus*, the stupidest of all bears. Six species of butterflies only were seen, and collected; while the *flora* of these high lands, characterized as "exceedingly poor," gave only 115 species of flowering plants. The absence of trees and even shrubs was very remarkable. At pages 282 *et seqq.*, are some very interesting remarks on the trade, and the great market which

Tibet offers for Indian teas. The lately-executed treaty, however, relegates the opening of that market to a period of five years further on, which the Indian tea-planters should utilize in learning how to prepare the peculiar "brick-tea" which the Tibetans affect. Tea-drinking is so universal and continuous in Tibet, that Capt. Bower calculates it will easily absorb some 12,000,000 lb. *per annum*. The new market now opening at Ya-tong according to the treaty, would, however, at once take "sugar, tobacco, rice, knives, crockery, tinted spectacles, red and yellow broad-cloth, brass buttons, brightly stamped cotton cloth and coral," (p. 284). The book, as will be seen, is important to various classes of readers.

MESSRS. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO. ; LONDON.

25. *The Coolgardie Gold Fields*, by A. F. CALVERT, F.R.G.S. (1894 ; 1/-.) is a brief, well-written account of the new gold fields of Western Australia, discovered in October 1892, and still continuing to yield handsome returns for the labour spent on them. The difficulty of the industry, mainly due to the dearth of water, the present state and the future prospects of the fields, with the statements of various visitors—both those favourable and adverse—are impartially and clearly given. The book is sure of a welcome by those interested, from any cause or motive, in the discovery of new gold fields. Such discoveries, however, are not always real blessings to the localities and governments. Till now W. Australia has escaped the financial disasters of some of her sisters, and has shown a steady if small surplus of revenue. We hope the new gold fields may increase the prosperity which, however, is in reality derived more from steady labour than from accidental finds.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE ; LONDON.

26. *Religion in Japan*, by G. A. COBBOLD, B.A. (1894 ; 2s. 6d.), is a small book, with good illustrations, written by a competent hand, treating successively the three religions which at present hold sway in Japan—Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity. The last mentioned has unfortunately imported thither its numerous subdivisions, with their almost undying hatred of each other, to hinder the seeker after truth. Our author sketches the history and the state of each religion, very clearly and very impartially : he is not blind to the defects of each creed any more than he is to the many excellencies contained in the earlier systems. He sweeps away the wholesale accusations of immorality, laziness and hypocrisy made against the Buddhist clergy ; and he emphasizes the fact seen in Japan as in India and elsewhere, that when European contact destroys the native faith of a man, "it is irreligion that commonly succeeds to the vacant place, not Christianity." The last chapter deals with the statistics of Christianity in Japan,—as far as they can be got at. The Catholics, as usual, head the list with 44,800, while the Greek Church counts 20,300, all shades of Protestantism aggregating 35,500. Mr. Cobbold's remarks on the difficulties of Christianity to the Buddhist mind, on the qualifications of Missionaries, on the prospects for the future of religion, are all characterized by much sound sense, moderation and justice. We recommend the book.

to our readers, as conveying an excellent picture of the present state of religion in an interesting country.

27. *Indian Pickles*, by F. C. PHAYNE. (1894 ; 2/-.) This is a pretty little book, relating the adventures of three children from India, while staying with their uncle, a country parson. It details the troubles they got into, and the manner and means by which they were amused, quieted and conquered ; and it is well illustrated by Mr. Overend's three pictures.

MR. E. STANFORD ; LONDON.

28. *The Geographical Journal, May*, (1894 ; 2/-), contains Mr. Rockhill's interesting Journey in Mongolia and Tibet,—a discussion on Prince John the Navigator,—Mr. G. Collingridge on the early Cartography of Japan, an important paper,—Notes on Baron Toll's expedition to Siberia in 1893,—a map of the late Franco-German Cameroon delimitation Treaty,—minor geographical notes, and the usual monthly record. It is an interesting number, full of information.

MESSRS. SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO. ; LONDON.

29. *Primitive Civilizations*, by E. J. SIMCOX (New York, Macmillan and Co., 1894 ; 2 vols., 32/-.) The second title of this book,—“The Outlines of the history of Ownership in Archaic communities,” is more appropriate than the first ; for that is the subject which the author treats, in Egypt, Babylon and China, in two bulky volumes of over 500 pages each, in small print. But to develop the subject fully, the author includes in these researches many matters which but indirectly touch it ; in fact the study of each of the three countries is very comprehensive if not even exhaustive of all that we at present know regarding their conditions in ancient times. The profoundest and the latest works have been laid under contribution, and on the materials thus collected, our author reasons closely and cogently, and from them makes deductions as important as they are logical. Every page bears the impress of wide reading, careful research, patient study, comprehensive grasp, patient digestion and clear statement. The book is full of valuable information, collected from a variety of sources, and given in a pleasant form. To the student and the Orientalist, every line is of interest, and if the general reader finds much food in it, too dry and solid for his taste, he will meet in it also a great deal of what is both entertaining and interesting and instructive. Nor must it be thought that the book is only a compilation. It is a novel treatment of materials already collected, for a definite legal purpose, the treatment of which is characterized with great ability, a good deal of novelty and immense variety. We regret that our space prevents detailed notice of the author's versatility : as an instance we may refer to pages 4 and 5, where the connexion of sunshine with civilization and hieroglyphics is discussed.

MESSRS. THACKER AND CO. ; LONDON, CALCUTTA AND BOMBAY.

30. *An Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadian Law*, by SIR R. K. WILSON, BART., M.A., LL.M. (1894 ; 7/6d.) Muhammadian Law, theoretically based on the Kuran and in consequence comparatively simple,

has by the addition of the various interpretations of the schools, become a very complex code, verifying, in its own way, the difference between Statute and Common Law in England. Our author gives the history of the various sources of Muhammadan law, of its variations when it came into contact with Hindu laws and, later, with the ordinances of the British power in India. Without entering into the prolix details of Muhammadan law and jurisprudence, the author carefully and clearly lays down the groundwork which the student should master, before he can deal with the superstructure in its various parts and subdivisions. The book is well and carefully written, showing a good grasp of facts and theories, and a wide and judicious reading of authorities on the subject,—as might well have been expected from the late accomplished Reader of Indian Law in Cambridge University.

THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY ; LONDON, AND NEW YORK.

31. *The Pyramider of Hermes*, 1894, 3/, is the second volume of "Collectanea Hermetica," edited by W. WYNN WESTCOTT, is a reprint, with verbal alterations, of the translation made in the seventeenth century, by the Revd. John Everard, D.D., from an Arabic text. The work is found in various languages, but is rather scarce ; and if there be a demand for such, the present edition will be found to meet it satisfactorily.

THOMASON COLLEGE PRESS ; ROORKEE, INDIA.

32. *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, N.W.P. and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June 1893*, is a condensed record of work done, divided into two departments, the Epigraphical under Dr. A. Führer, and the Architectural under Mr. W. E. Smith. In the former valuable inscriptions have been discovered at the Sanchi Tope in Bhopal, and fragments of hitherto unknown Sanskrit plays engraved on 6 black marble slabs at Ajmere. The architectural work centred around Fatehpur Sikri, which has been thoroughly surveyed and drafted : 143 drawings and 73 Photographs were made. Of these, 6 photographs and 3 drawings accompany this Progress Report ; the remainder, with Dr. Führer's discoveries, are in course of publication, and will, when issued, be of commanding interest not only to technical students, but also as a splendidly illustrated description for the general reader, of Akbar's forsaken capital and its superb architecture. Even this condensed Report is full of very interesting descriptions of ancient Indian towns and cities. The archæological publications of the Indian Government require only to be better known ; because many would enrich their libraries with them if they were available at booksellers' shops, and were more fully advertised.

MESSRS. WARD, LOCK AND CO. ; LONDON.

33. *The Monk of Mar-Saba and Elrad, the Hic*, by JOSEPH HOCKING, 1894 ; 7s. 6d.). This book contains two tales of which the scene is placed in Palestine, and the actors are an English girl and her people, and certain Semites and their people ; and the incidents are of the ultra-romantic and sentimental class. The two tales have more than a family resemblance.

In both, the heroine is helped in her time of need by a native, and falls in love with her deliverer ; but in the first, the hero dies in the arms of the English girl, and in the second they are married and live happy ever afterwards. There are novelty, imagination and interesting points in both tales ; of the few Arabic phrases unnecessarily quoted, the less said the better.

MESSRS. F. V. WHITE AND CO. ; LONDON.

34. *The Queen's Desire*, by HUME NISBET. (1894 ; 2/-.) The author dedicates his book to Sir W. W. Hunter, whose "works and those of other lovers of our great Empire in India" he claims to interpret ; and he hopes that his "technical imperfections may be overlooked in consideration of his earnestness." Imperfections, indeed ! His sun hangs "like a molten mass above the . . . walls and . . . minarets of Delhi, and then drops like a meteor out of sight:" a performance the sun never executed anywhere. His topography is equally absurd : the troops from the Delhi cantonments cross the bridge of boats to go to Kuttub ! His geography too is astray,—so is his history,—so is everything else in his book, which is a gross libel on the most *manly* of all the rebel Indian leaders, the famous Rani of Jhansi, who by the way was not a Muhammadan as Mr. Nisbet assumes. His utter ignorance of the most elementary facts of the history and circumstances of the mutiny and the India of those days is simply astounding : yet he writes an historical novel of the mutiny ! Take his Lieut.-Governor of the N. W. Provinces (which then included Delhi) passing through the city, and holding a Durbar there with all the Princes of India to attend it—while on "his way to the frontier" ! We still recommend the book warmly to our readers as one of the most amusing of novels ; for while it has no plot to speak of, its numerous errors, improbabilities and impossibilities are most marvellous.

MR. J. VAN SOMMER ; TORONTO, CANADA.

35. *Britain and her People*, by J. VAN SOMMER, JR. (1894), is a pamphlet of Imperial Federation and Imperial Institute literature, and perhaps not one of the best. The style is stilted, the views crude, the grasp less than comprehensive, the conclusion lame. Still it may do good in its own line ; for it is not always the judicious critic and scholar who reaches that very complex and incomprehensible factor, called the heart of our colonial fellow subjects. Mr. Van Sommer is better able to gauge this problem than we are, and we wish him success in the cause, which we ourselves have so much at heart, of knitting all English-speaking nations, with India, into one great compact and powerful Union.

ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, PUBLISHING DEPT., WOKING.

36. *A Short Essay on Religious Endowments in the Ottoman Dominions*, by F. ONGLEY, 1894 ; 3s. 6d. Religious endowments have always and everywhere been under special laws and exemptions ; and those of Turkey are peculiarly favoured. Mr. Ongley, who fills the post of Inspector of

the Land Registry and Survey Department of Cyprus, to his personal experiences has added a wide reading on the subject; and in the pamphlet before us, he condenses his knowledge for the benefit of the general reader. It is interesting to compare the Turkish legislation with our own laws of mortmain, and to note the liberality with which non-Muhammadan endowments have been generally treated. Mr. Ongley follows out his subject into all its various ramifications.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have received, from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, too late for notice in this number, vol. xlix. of the "Sacred Books of the East Series," containing the Buddhist Mahayāna Sūtras. Also *The Discourses of Philoxenus*, vol. i., Syriac texts, from the British Museum, by E. A. Wallis Budge, published for the Royal Society of Literature by Messrs. Asher and Co., London, of which the translation into English is to follow. Professor D. Francisco Garcia Ayuso has favoured us with his learned discourse at the R. Spanish Academy (Madrid: Royal Press), on the comparative philology of the Neo-Sanskrit and Neo-Latin languages; and the Rev. A. W. Greenup, M.A., *A Short Commentary on the Book of Lamentations*, containing some useful notes on the Hebrew text.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of:—1. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore: B. L. Guildersleeve; London and New York: Macmillan and Co.); 2. *Biblia*, the American journal of Oriental research (Meriden: Con.); 3. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*; 4. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Roma: A. Beffani); 5. *Tung Pao* (Leyden: E. J. Brill); 6. *La Minerva* (Rome: Società Laziale); 7. *The Review of Reviews* (London: W. T. Stead); 8. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris); 9. *La Revue Générale* (Brussels); 10. *Lucifer* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society); 11. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.); 12. *The National Review* (London: W. H. Allen and Co.); 13. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon); 14. *The Strand Magazine*, and 15. *The Picture Magazine* (London: G. Newnes and Co.); 16. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London: John Street); 17. *Public Opinion* (London: Maiden Lane); 18. *Public Opinion* (Washington, U.S.); 19. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris); 20. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest); 21. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart); 22. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris); 23. *Indian Engineering* (Calcutta); 24. *Journal of the East India Association*; 25. *India* (London); 26. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris); 27. *Marine et Colonies* (Paris); 28. *The Speaker* (London); 29. *The Statist* (London); 30. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (Westminster: A. Constable and Co.); 31. *L'Oriente* (Naples, the quarterly publication of the Real Istituto Orientale); 32. *Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Bombay*, 1893 (Bombay Govt. Central Press, 10 annas); 33. *Report of the XVIth Conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Laws of Nations*, Oct., 1893 (London: W. Clowes and Sons); 34. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 13th Series, Nos. 1 and 2 (Lisbon: National Press); 35. *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE most notable occurrence in INDIA, is that though one entire year has elapsed since the first attempt to deal with Indian Exchange and currency was made by the closure of the mints to free coinage of silver, not another step has been discussed, or even proposed, much less acted upon, to supplement the first. With Rs. 255,485,000 lying idle in the treasuries, it would have been quite feasible 1. to discharge a great part of the Rupee paper, which is now made to compete with Indian Exchange, or 2. to buy up that amount of gold in India (= £14,000,000 at market rate of exchange) and remit it to England, thus putting an end to Council Bills, or 3. with that amount of gold to start a gold standard. Bimetallism may be better than Monometallism; but while England remains monometallic India must become the same, if it wishes to escape financial ruin. The idle apathy of those responsible to the country, and their utter infertility of resource are simply astounding. Both would doubtless be quickened by the Chinese remedy when the Emperor is sick—stopping the pay of the Doctors. No pay for the dual Government of India—at Whitehall and at Simla—would quickly develop their faculties in the discharge of a long-neglected duty. It is easy to say that desperate evils may result from hasty or wrong action; but it is difficult to see what greater evils than the present can possibly arise; for matters have reached a pass when any change must necessarily be an improvement. Local *shroffs* have in places begun to give only 14 Annas to the Rupee. In the middle of May, there were barely a score of ships in Calcutta!! (*Madras Weekly Mail* of 23rd May 1894.) Those who remember the triple lines of ships, several miles in length, of a few years ago, will understand how shamefully we are neglecting our trust in governing India on our present line. The final Financial account for 1892-93, shows a total deficit of Rs. 8,334,120. Nor is this owing to any want of prosperity in India itself. Her railway traffic shows constantly increasing figures, and her postal and telegraph departments a steady surplus: in the last, there was an increase of Rs. 400,000 in private messages and a saving of Rs. 100,000 in public telegrams. Her industries are thriving; and new ones are being begun, the last being a glass factory started at Umballa, by a group of natives, with a capital of Rs. 60,000. Her import of fancy horses—a good gauge—from the Persian Gulf, Turkey and Australia, was 8,100, valued at Rs. 7,980,000, against 8,000 and Rs. 2,890,000 the previous year, and 8,200 and Rs. 2,780,000 the year before. Her evils result solely from the antagonistic manipulation of her exchange, the want of gold in her currency, the unfairness and extravagance of her Home Charges, and the lack of energy, interest and common sense in her rulers.

Sir H. Mortimer Durand has left the Indian Foreign Office under a perfect volley of well-deserved compliments. He is succeeded by Mr. W. D. Cunningham, C.S.I., the late Deputy Secretary, who is replaced by Col. C. A. Talbot, C.I.E., from the Persian Gulf. The lately concluded Sikhim-Tibet Treaty provides an open market at Yatong, and free transit of all goods, except ammunition, intoxicants and narcotics, for 5 years, when a

revision is to take place. Indian tea, prohibited for 5 years, will then be admitted with the same duty as Chinese tea. An officer of the Chinese Customs is to be stationed at Yatong. It is expected that Tibet will export wool chiefly, and will take Manchester goods (specially coloured to suit Tibetan requirements), Birmingham jewellery, ornaments and beads, cutlery and patent medicines.

Owners of medical degrees of the Calcutta and Punjab Universities can now register themselves in Great Britain under Sect. 13 of the Medical Act of 1886. Last year's Geological Survey work included the Salt Range, Coimbatore, the Neilgerries, and Upper and Lower Burma, and Beluchistan between Sibi and Mangi. An expert from England has been appointed Director of Mines; and Dr. King's report on gold in Chota Nagpur has been forwarded by the Bengal Government to the Government of India "for consideration." Distress from want of rain exists in the Central Provinces, and relief works have been started,—nearly 4,000 being employed in them at Saugor. A drought has also prevailed in Assam, and tea has suffered. The Arrah Water-works are completed at a cost of Rs. 850,000; Rs. 90,000 are sanctioned for hutting troops at Bunji; and Rs. 10,000 for the fortification of Chilas, where the fort has been completed by the 23rd Punjab Pioneers. In the shooting for the Commander in Chief's prizes for Musketry, the native troops have again surpassed the Europeans. The first three sets of figures were

British Cavalry—736—687—626; British Infantry—806—799—756.

Native „ —782—778—771; Native „ —826—820—806.

A fire destroyed the Armoury of the Railway Volunteers at Tundla (N.W.P.), which had been judiciously placed above a Lamp-room; and though the rifles, all but one, were saved, the other accoutrements and the ammunition were destroyed, entailing a heavy loss of government stores. India has received her 116 Maxim guns, and Sir James Dormer's scheme for reorganizing the Madras Army is being revised.

* A Railway is proposed, along the tracts brought into cultivation by the new Chenab Canal, from Wazirabad to Lyallpur or Kucha Ku, on the Multan Line—about 115 miles. Large tracts of *Saj* jungle, in Chanda, Pohandra, Raipur and Sambhalpur have been allotted for the cultivation of Tussur Silk. A statue of Kistodos Paul was unveiled by the Viceroy at Calcutta, and at Allahabad, the Lieutenant Governor opened the Manohur Das Eye-hospital, which has accommodation for 50 patients.

The Muhammadan *I'd-ul-Qurban*, thanks to precautions taken, has passed this year without any disturbance; but the Cow agitation is still in existence and strong. Equally strong continues the feeling regarding the exclusion of Manchester goods from duty. The Government declined to forward to Parliament the public Memorial on this subject, and by leaving this duty to "some private member of parliament," has put a premium on the interference in Indian affairs of faddists and notoriety hunters. The mud-smears on the mango trees continue still a mystery, showing want of touch with the people; and there is no doubt of the existence of a general discontent in India, which, however, does not yet mean disaffection, much

less animosity. The outbreak of Moplahs was more an affair of robbery than of grievance ; it was quenched in the blood of 32 out of 35 who opposed with arms the troops sent against them. The cost of the Opium Commission is said to be Rs. 200,000 in India, and £1,500 in England. The Provincial contributions to Imperial revenue for this year are fixed, for Assam at Rs. 260,000,—Bengal Rs. 200,000,—Bombay Rs. 560,000,—Burma Rs. 490,000,—Central Provinces Rs. 430,000,—Madras Rs. 300,000,—and N.W. Provinces Rs. 500,000: the guiding principle is not self-evident.

In the late flood in the Kulu valley, 140 lives were lost. The Waziris have brought in the murderer of Mr. Kelly, but those of the Sepoys are still at large, and trouble may arise. Umra Khan of Jandol, with 2,000 men, has attacked the Kamdesh Kafirs who had been raiding, and threatens Chitral, on behalf of the present Mihtar's uncle.

The finances of Portuguese India showed proportionately as handsome a deficit as British India. Sir Clement Thomas is returning as Governor of Pondicherry. In the Native States we record the opening of a new Hospital at Udaipur, built and endowed by the Maharao Rana ; and of the Tukaji Holkar College, begun in 1890, at Indore. The young Maharaja Scindhia himself drove the first train on the newly-completed Bina-Guna Railway, the first state Railway in his territory, 73 miles. The Secretary of State has sanctioned the Gidu-Bandar-Shadipalli section of the Hyderabad-Umerhot Railway. The late Talpur Sahib Sir Ali Murad Khan of Khairpur is succeeded by his son, Mir Faiz Muhammad Khan. The Nawab of Cambay has been restored to full administrative powers which had been restricted four years ago. The report of the Travancore State shows great prosperity, the last surplus being Rs. 450,000 and the total reserve Rs. 850,000. The proportion of school-pupils to the population 4.46 *per cent.*, and 18.8 *per cent.* of those between 5 and 18 years of age : 21.2 % of pupils are girls. Irrigation works have been extensively undertaken. The Manjeveram-Mutthupet Railway, in the Tanjore district, 54 miles long, was opened in April, and is worked by the S. I. Railway. The *Mysore Herald* was suspended for 1 year by order of the Maharaja, for offending public feeling by scurrilous writing. This Chief has also organized a geological survey for his State. The Nizam's government has sanctioned Rs. 700,000 for waterworks at Hyderabad. The new Legislative Assembly was formally opened by the Prime Minister, the members selected to it from among the High Court pleaders being Messrs. Muhammad Zaman Khan and Mir Qumr-ud-Din.

Sir A. Mackenzie has resumed office as Chief Commissioner of BURMA, not to the universal satisfaction, and Mr. Fryer has reverted to the Punjab, after earning golden opinions during his all too short tenure of this post. The revenue of Burma, at the end of March 1894, showed a notable decline, owing to considerable arrears on the part of cultivators whose growing indebtedness is causing Government much anxiety. The report on the Mergui pearl-fishery has proved satisfactory. At Rangoon, the Phayre Museum is being enlarged and its scope extended. By the convention with China, we give up our claims to Mong-lun and Kiang-hung, two states between the Salween and Mekong Rivers formerly under

Burma ; and we allow the Chinese free navigation on the Irrawaddy, and their goods to enter duty free for 6 years. Burma goods will pay the same duty as French goods on the Tonquin frontier— $\frac{2}{3}$ of 5 % *ad valorem*. Chinese are to enjoy equal rights with other residents in Burma. China in return yields all claim to the regions north of Bhamo. The French kindly prophecy great difficulties between France and England.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has secured the services of a female doctor, Miss Hamilton, who has proceeded to Kabul, with Mrs. and Mr. Frank Walters, Superintendent of the Amir's Army Clothing Factory, and Mrs. and Mr. Clements, Superintendent of his Stud. Sirdar Gul Muhammad Khan, son of the late Amir Shere Ali, is proposed as agent of His Highness at Simla, on a salary of Rs. 4,000 *per mensem* ; the British agents at Kabul and Kandahar are being changed ; and Sir T. S. Pyne is gone to Simla, to see the Viceroy, before returning to Kabul.

The CEYLON Currency commission recommends International Bimetalism, and meanwhile the maintenance of a currency uniform with India. The Colombo-Ambalangoda Railway has been extended to Galle, $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles, at a cost of Rs. 3,837,550. The exports of Ceylon for 1893, compared with those of 1892 were, in cwts., Planters' coffee 51,154 to 39,742 ; Native Coffee, 3,516 to 3,141 ; Liberian Coffee 747 to 979 ; in lbs., tea 81,819,095 to 71,809,465 ; Cocoa, 29,741 to 19,174 ; and Cincona 6,846,741 to 3,440,715. For the first quarter of 1894, there has been a fall in every article except tea and Liberian coffee ; while the Cincona export has fallen to $\frac{1}{4}$ of that of 1893. The estimated crop of tea for 1894 is lb. 130,368,000, or nearly 5,000,000 lb. over that of 1893. The report on the pearl oyster beds pronounces them at present depopulated to such a degree that there are no prospects of a successful fishery for several years to come. The revenue for 1893 was Rs. 18,053,663, being a decrease of Rs. 474,172 : a loan of £500,000 has been raised at 3 %. A tortoise which was sent as a present to one of the Dutch governors of Ceylon, 150 years ago, and was then considered to be about 50 years of age, and had long been one of the institutions of Ceylon, is dead : its shell $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet across, is placed in the Colombo Museum.

There is some prospect that the Imperial defence Contribution of the STRAITS' SETTLEMENTS will be reduced from the crushing amount of £100,000 to £70,000 : but even that seems excessive. The Singapore Chamber of Commerce by 16 votes to 4 supports the proposal of Hong Kong for a British Dollar. The Eastern Extension Telegraph Co. has connected Singapore with LABUAN ; messages to and from Great Britain costing 6/5d. per word. The Ex-Sultan of PERAK is visiting London, as also Prince Rabi of SIAM. The alleged murderer of M. Groscurin, the Mandarin Phrayot, having been acquitted after a fair trial, the French insisted on a retrial on appeal. Three French and two Siamese judges found him guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced him to a long imprisonment in Bangkok under the eyes of the French Minister. Sir Charles Brook of Sarawak has returned to Borneo. In TONQUIN the French have got the Chinese to help them in subjugating the Black Flags, who are said to be surrounded by the combined forces amounting to 6,000.

A terrific plague has broken out at HONG KONG, whence half the population has fled, about 80,000 having left. There have been 1,900 deaths, at the rate of about 100 a day. The labour with every other market is paralyzed. The Government now propose to buy up and destroy all the unsanitary parts of the town.

In JAPAN, the dead-lock in the Diet still continues, and the chamber, after prorogation, has had once more to be dissolved. Count Okuma denies the supposed union of the Kaishinto, Domei, and Doshi Seisho parties. The Educational Department states that at the end of 1892, out of 7,356,724 children of school-going age, 497,106 boys and 1,086,973 girls did not attend, chiefly owing to the poverty of parents. The total trade in 1893 was 176,000,000 *yen*, an increase, on 1892, of 15,000,000 *yen* : it was chiefly with the United States, England and China, with Hong Kong, France, India and Germany, all following in order. Besides the officers sent to India, two are gone to France to study the French army system. Of the 35 Japanese war-vessels, 7 are declared unserviceable, and two new ones are being built in England, of the *Royal Sovereign* type. The Postal Savings Banks returns for 1893 give 1,003,389 depositors against 906,216 in 1892, and 25,184,362 *yen* against 22,220,142. Floods have occurred in many places, rendering thousands homeless ; a fire in a coal mine, in Hwati district, entailed a loss of 18 lives ; and two of the oldest historic temples at Tokushima Ken were burnt down, with all their contents. - An historic image of Buddha has been presented by the Tokio high priest to the temple of Buddha Gya in India. Gold has been discovered in Bungo.

A conspiracy to blow up the king of KOREA and his ministers was discovered, and 28 of the conspirators were executed. The ill-feeling against foreigners has broken into a rebellion, and the king has been obliged to call in Chinese assistance. Japan also has sent troops to protect her subjects, which may strain relations with China ; and United States and British vessels are also in those waters. A Korean refugee, who had murdered several ministers some years ago, was assassinated at Shanghai, it is asserted, by the wish of the king.

In CHINA, an insurrection broke out in the province of Kirin, caused by agrarian dissatisfaction and strengthened by the numerous banditti about. General Ting was sent to redress the grievances of the former, and to extirpate the latter. The French Mission at Hsiang-fu, Province of Shensi, was burnt down and its inmates ill-treated ; but £400 were paid in compensation, the ringleaders were punished, a proclamation issued to "respect Christians," and those imprisoned were liberated. The Viceroy Li Hung Chang has made the usual triennial inspection of the fleet. H.M.S. *Centurion* has arrived as Flagship of the Chinese station. A fire at Shanghai destroyed over 1,000 houses in the native quarter. A blue-button mandarin has been decapitated at Soochow for plundering a silk boat at Tsing last summer, while Messrs. Paul, Hart and Taylor, of the Chinese Customs have received the red button and the Double Dragon for their part in the Sikkim Treaty negotiations. From Kashgar, a large body of drilled troops, and 500 Kirghiz, all armed with the newest weapons, with two batteries of mountain guns, started in March to fortify the passes

near lake Rungkul. A temporary arrangement has been made between Russia and China regarding the Pamirs, the present posts being held by both parties pending final delimitation. The telegraph is open to Kashgar from the Chinese side, and to Osh on the Russian, leaving only 200 miles of mountainous country to be bridged over.

The Czar has decorated six Orenburg Cossacks for their bravery against the Afghans in the Pamirs. Ak Baitral, a Russian post in the Pamirs, Kashgar merchants cross freely, and the paper rouble is current at the rate of 12 Kashgarian *Tengos*. The new customs line has been opened, from the Pamirs, along the Afghan frontier, through Karki, Kush Kepri on the Amu Darya, Saraks, along the Kuren Dagh mountains, and the Atrek, to Chickisliar on the Caspian: the Khan of Bokhara, however, is to be allowed goods up to £290,000 duty-free, for himself. Chikisliar, Askabad, Ushrup and Bokhara are to be first-class stations, and Saraks, Merv, Karki and Kilif, second-class. A branch of the Imperial Russian Bank has been opened at New Bokhara—10 miles from the old city—and the Khan having permitted his subjects to settle in it, several of the richer merchants are building houses in this Russian cantonment.

From PERSIA comes the report that the chief of Maku in Azerbaijan is showing insubordination and wishes to place himself and his people under Russian protection. Disaffection has also appeared in Khorasan, and the people, dissatisfied with the Governor, had appealed to the Russian Consul for aid and protection: it is the beginning of a new episode in the old story. The Heir-apparent had been suffering from illness, and the Shah's visit to Europe has been put off indefinitely. His first brother, Mulkara Abbas Mirza has been appointed Governor of Ghilan and his third brother, Rukn-ud-Dowlah, Governor of Fars. Bread riots had occurred at Meshed. The walls of Shiraz dilapidated by the recent earthquake have been repaired, and the bazaars restored. Friendly messages have been interchanged between the Amir of Afghanistan and the Shah, the former presenting the latter with a valuable copy of the Quran.

In TURKEY, heavy floods had occurred at Baghdad. The Sultan sent 40,000 piastres as an Easter gift to the Armenian Patriarch of Koum Kapu; and he has presented to the British Museum a complete set of all the books published in his reign and a number of photographs of all the educational and industrial establishments created of late years. There was an outbreak of cholera at Constantinople. Greek newspapers are now allowed to enter Turkey; two vessels have been placed on the Dead Sea, and a steamer with lighters is in prospect. A notification has been issued to suppress exactions from pilgrims in the Hejjaz.

The Khedive of EGYPT opened an exhibition of National Art and Industry at Alexandria, at which port the new harbour, with a depth of 28 ft., is lighted all night by electricity. Riaz Pasha's Ministry having resigned, a new Ministry was formed, after conference with Lord Cromer. Nubar Pasha is President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; Boutros Pasha has the Foreign Office; Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, the War Office; Mazlum Pasha is Minister of Finance; Fakhri Pasha, of Education and Public Works; and Ibrahim Fuad Pasha, of Justice. The Khedive

has approved of the scheme for an Agricultural school; and with his Council has decided on making the proposed reservoir at Assouan, the question of expense being left for later settlement. £50,000 have been sanctioned for a new Museum, on the East bank of the Nile, to receive the contents of the present Gizeh Museum, and we hope the building, which is absolutely necessary, will be at once begun. A new site has also been chosen near the Abdin Palace for the Khedivial Library and Museum of Arabic Art. Explorations in Egypt last winter have yielded good results. M. de Morgan has discovered the chambers of the Dashur pyramid, and found a quantity of gold and jewelled ornaments; Mr. Naville has uncovered the remainder of Queen Hatesu's structures, finding, among other things, a great ebony shrine; Prof. Flinders Petrie at Kuft (Coptos) discovered remains of the worship of Khem, and three colossi of gods, rude and strange in form, supposed to belong to the first prehistoric emigrants before the Ist. Dynasty; on them, in low relief, are symbols, shells and ornaments. The putting up for sale of 150,000 acres of Daira Sanieh lands led to much excitement and ill-feeling, because the Ministry preferred the higher offer of the European Behereh Irrigation Co., to that of £280,000 made by a group of natives. The decision was attacked by the "Patriots," but it was confirmed by the Khedive; and the native would-be purchasers were given other lands to buy. The Railway and Customs' receipts for the 1st Quarter of this year exceed those of last year by £E.250,000.

A TUNIS return for 1893 states that it yielded 113,890 hectolitres of red and 23,344 of white wine. In ALGIERS, a Christian church of the 5th century has been discovered at Tigziat near Delbys. It is 120 ft. long; has many carvings on the wall,—the pillars are profusely decorated with the monogram of our Lord, while several pagan *stelae* in the Apse show that it was originally a pagan temple or was built of the ruins of one.

His Sherifian Majesty, Muley el Hassan, Emperor of MOROCCO, died suddenly on the 7th June; and his son, Abd-ul-Aziz, whom he had designated as his successor, has been proclaimed Emperor by the Ministers, with the cognizance of the representatives of Foreign states. He is only 14 years of age; but the succession seems finally settled, without the trouble that was expected.

At SIERRA LEONE, the French authorities acted in a high-handed manner with the Governor, Col. Cardew; and we have pocketed the insult with our usual deference to French temper. In the CAMEROONS, Baron Nechtritz found the extreme north east of the territory occupied by Baghermi and Bornu Mahadists and had to return to Akkasir, after concluding treaties with Raza and other native States. The CONGO delimitation negotiations with France were broken off by the French, who blame the King of the Belgians for being "obstinate." They are, as a matter of course, in wild excitement regarding the Anglo-Belgian arrangement for the mutual leasing of certain territory near the Nile and Lake Tanganyika, while the Germans more reasonably have simply asked for a guarantee of their own rights, which was at once given, and the clause is withdrawn. Our Foreign Office, with its usual submission to

France, has taken this opportunity to ask for a distinct statement of all French claims and pretensions. It is to be hoped that is with the view of finally squelching all that are not founded on absolute fact. Capt. Jacques has inflicted another defeat on Rumaliza's troops, at Lukuga near Albertsville, where he had been making incursions, Ugoma and Urua. The French had had some fighting with the Tuaregs, at Timbuctoo, and defeated them with loss; but the papers received report that in the occupation of that city a great spirit of insubordination was manifest, which bodes ill for French colonization. The Portuguese captured Antin and Bandim, with a loss of 5 killed and 19 wounded. ST. HELENA which is in financial straits, was trying to borrow £2,500 to develop her fishing industry, as her seas abound with cod and tunny: her population has fallen to 4,000 from 5,000. In GERMAN S. Africa, Witbooi, who had been giving trouble, has sued for peace, but particulars are yet unknown.

Sir H. Loch, High Commissioner of CAPE COLONY, has returned after short leave to England. Sir D. Tennant, who has been Speaker for 25 years, was re-elected to that office in the new Parliament; and the legislature has accepted the annexation of Pondoland. Umhlangaso, a Pondoland Chief opposed to Sigcau's action, has been transferred to Griqualand. The S. African Post Office has, for the first time shown a profit, in 1893, the telegraph already paying 18%. Swaziland is not yet settled; for though we made the best possible terms for it with the TRANSVAAL, the Queen and many chiefs prefer being under English rule. Sir James Sivewright on his visit was cordially received by President Kruger. The Northern province, however, is disturbed; and the forces being called out, several British subjects resident in the Transvaal complained of being compelled to serve; but the President was clearly within his rights, as all residents are liable for service in defence of the state. The chief, Nagato, occupies a good position and his people are well armed and provisioned, and while willing to come to terms and pay taxes or tribute they object to being transplanted, and will rather fight. Of the BECHUANALAND Railway 77 miles were completed, and the line was soon to be opened to Mafeking. More ruins like those of Zimbabwe were discovered, 50 miles N.E. of Bulawayo, by Sir John Willoughby; and Roman coins have been found there, notably 1 of Helena Augusta, 4 of Constantius, and one with the wolf. The widows and children of Lobengula have returned to Bulawayo and are well treated. Much gold has been discovered in MATABELELAND, the affairs of which are now managed by an Administrator with a council of 4, one of whom is to be a judge. They are to be chosen by the Company but subject to approval by the Crown, and can be removed by the Secretary of State. Their ordinances, subject to confirmation by the Cape Chief Commissioner, become law, and taxes are to be imposed by the same procedure. The two troopers Daniels and Wilson, who embezzled Lobengula's gold and suppressed his message thus leading to the massacre of more than 30 Europeans in the late war, have been convicted and sentenced only to imprisonment for 14 years. Six more steamers are being constructed on Lake Nyassa. The report of a collision between the British and Portuguese on the Zambesi is said to have arisen from the firing of a

mutual salute by some gun-boats. The affairs of UGANDA are treated elsewhere. M. Lionel Dècle, a French scientist travelling for Anthropological and Ethnological research, has reached Mombasa, having started from Cape Town and passed through Matabeleland, Portuguese territory, Nyassaland, Tanganyiki, Ujiji, Urombo, Tabora, Huigh Wakka country, by Victoria Nyanza to Uganda, and thence through Masai country to Mombasa. He warmly thanks British officials, missionaries and traders for valuable help. He has over 400 photographs and has collected much information on his subjects. Kabarega of Unyoro was defeated and driven out; a chain of forts has been established to protect the country, and Wadelai has been occupied. Rabbha, once Zobeir's slave and now Sultan of Bornu is trying to annex Baghermi also.* A definite delimitation has been agreed upon, between Britain and Italy, on the East coast, for which also the French are very irate. Emin Pasha's papers have reached Berlin, among them being his diaries from 15th October 1874 to 2d December, 1889.

In MADAGASCAR, a tempest demolished half the Mole at Mossi Be, causing damages estimated at 100,000 frcs. At FIJI, a lighthouse has been opened at Nanuku Passage. Tobacco cultivation, begun last year in Viti Levu, has proved successful and is being extended.

The population of AUSTRALIA at the end of 1893 was, according to the latest estimate, 4,068,317 against 3,985,273 in 1892, being an increase of 2.08 per cent. Of this, New South Wales had increased from 1,197,650 to 1,223,370 or 1.75 %; Victoria 1,167,373 to 1,174,022 or 0.57 %; Queensland 421,297 to 432,296 or 2.61 %; S. Australia 336,702 to 346,274 or 3.02 %; West Australia 58,674 to 65,064 or 10.89 %; Tasmania 153,144 to 154,424 or 0.84 %; New Zealand 650,433 to 672,265 or 3.36 %, exclusive of 42,000 Maoris. The total increase of 83,044, of which 8,223 only were immigrants, was less than that of any year since 1878. From Victoria there were 13,411 emigrants and 1,865 from Tasmania.

All the Australian colonies are taking part in the Ottawa conference which we notice further on, and from which much good is expected on the line of some kind of Federation, in reference to which we note that Sir George Dibbs has expressed a new opinion that our Parliament is quite sufficient for all Australia, provided local taxation be left alone. Lord Hopetown continues to act as Governor of Victoria till April 1895, and Mr. Duncan Gillies is appointed Agent general in London of that Colony. Victoria, with admirable energy, has started a new industry in supplying England with eggs, and frozen poultry; but as yet the high freights render the profits next to *nil*. Heavy floods in Queensland have seriously damaged both Railway and private property.

Sir E. N. C. Braddon is premier in TASMANIA, of which the Budget statement gave the revenue for 1894 as £740,000 and expenditure as £810,000, and estimated these items for 1895 at £783,000 and £775,000 respectively, proposing a 10 % duty on goods now admitted free, and 20 % on all other goods, besides heavy retrenchments. The export of apples has been exceptionally large.

In NEW ZEALAND, the Maori chief has yielded up his sceptre, and placed himself and people under the Queen's law, asking for protection for him-

self and people, promising that they will give no further trouble. Seven earthquakes have occurred, but no special damage was reported. The money order system has been adopted with India, the limit being £10. At the Inter-Australasian Postal Conference, part of the labours of which we noted last quarter, New Zealand alone stood out for the 1d. postage to England. All the others opposed the project, as it would entail an expense of £250,000, the previous reduction to 2½d. having caused a loss of £40,000.

The affairs of Samoa have called for strong statements from the Australasian Colonies, that the Berlin arrangement be revised, as the present anarchical state is an impossible one. The United States agree and say they have no real interest in the island.

At Ottawa, CANADA, as we write an important intercolonial conference is about to meet for the discussion of important matters connected with trade, and Steam and Telegraphic communications. Great Britain is represented by the Earl of Jersey and Mr. W. H. Mercer of the Colonial Office; Canada by Sir John Thompson, the Premier, Hon. Mackenzie Boswell, Minister of Commerce, who has taken an important lead in the matter, Sir A. P. Caron, Postmaster-General, and the Hon. G. E. Foster, Minister of Finance; the Cape by Sir C. Mills, Agent-General in London, Sir H. De Villiers, Chief Justice, and Mr. Hofmeyer; New South Wales by the Hon. F. B. Suttor; Victoria by Sir H. Wrixon, the Hon. S. Fraser, and the Hon. N. Fitzgerald; South Australia by the former Premier, the Hon. T. Playford; Queensland by the Hon. A. J. Thynne and the Hon. W. Forrest; New Zealand by the Hon. A. Lee Smith; and Tasmania by the Hon. N. Fitzgerald; no delegate is named for West Australia. The Canadian Tariff has been reduced in favour of Great Britain on 670 articles. The Fisheries in 1893 produced \$20,686,660, an increase on 1892 of \$1,500,000 chiefly on Columbian Salmon; the industry engages 100 vessels, besides 1,000 boats; 67,753 men and a capital in gear and apparatus of \$8,681,557. In 1893, the total on Canadian minerals gave \$3,650,000; of these the chief were, coals, \$1,684,450; nickel, \$417,270; gold, \$185,448; copper, \$135,172; petroleum, \$166,866; natural gas, \$73,246; silver, \$64,284; iron ore, \$59,500; and salt, \$39,164, next being gypsum pyrites, phosphates and mica. Canals show a total expenditure of \$130,520,924 and a total receipt of \$9,850,578. The net earnings of the Canadian Pacific Railway are given as \$6,299,700 in 1890; \$8,009,659 in 1891; \$8,420,347 in 1892; and \$7,741,416 in 1893. The net revenue of the Canadian Trunk Railway for the half year was \$2,887,545 against \$3,075,305 in 1892. A fire at Montreal caused a loss of \$100,000, and a landslide at S. Anne's, near Quebec, had caused a flood resulting in a loss of 20 lives, besides horses and cattle. Destructive floods had occurred in British Columbia, where 70 miles of the valley had become a raging torrent, several lives were lost, and the Pacific Railway was damaged to the extent of \$750,000: much distress prevailed, hundreds of farmers being ruined. A commission which sat, at his own request, to examine certain allegations against the Hon. Theodore Davis, Premier of Columbia, has fully exonerated him from blame. The local deficit of Prince Edward's

Island amounted, last year, to \$120,000. A man-of-war was sent to warn the sealers in the Pacific regarding the regulations adopted. General Herbert has recommended a reduction in the number of volunteers, to increase their efficiency, and proposes that those of the maritime provinces should be drilled with the Imperial regular troops. The McGill University had received three gifts of \$50,000—from Sir D. A. Smith, J. H. R. Molson, and W. C. MacDonald. Total prohibition was carried by a total majority of 130,000, being in Ontario 82,000, Manitoba 12,500, Prince Edward's Island 7,000, and Nova Scotia 30,000.

In NEWFOUNDLAND, the revenue for 1893 was \$1,807,149, leaving a deficit of \$42,358; the public debt was \$8,255,000. The French at St. Pierre pretend to the right of having their tobacco free of duty; the Colonial Office insists on the colony's respecting every French right or pretension, and, of course, take no steps to remedy the evil. No less than 17 petitions were lodged against members returned to the Legislative Assembly, and 9 have been actually unseated for bribery and corruption; the Ministry resigned, and Mr. A. T. Goodridge became Premier, in place of Sir W. Whiteway. Factious opposition has prevented the renewal of supply, the Assembly has been prorogued to give time to end the trials; and customs are being collected informally, by voluntary payment by merchants on their goods—a rare but beautiful act of self-denying patriotism which has not, however, been universal. Sir W. Whiteway forgot himself so far as publicly to impugn the verdict of the tribunals; and public feeling has been running so high, that it is openly said that it would be better for Newfoundland to give up its local legislature and revert to the comparative quiet and peace of a Crown Colony.

The telegraphic service between Canada and the WEST INDIES has been connected, and is expected to result in an increase of mutual trade. At present the exports from Canada to the British West Indies amount to \$1,247,800, and imports to Canada \$1,872,705. JAMAICA has petitioned for an extension of the term of office of her Governor Sir H. A. Blake.

Obituary: The deaths have been announced during the quarter, of:—Dr. Sambhu Chander Muckerji, Editor of the Calcutta "Rais and Rayet";—Pandit Shunkur Pandurang, late Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay and Administrator of the Porebundur State;—Prince Eugene Ruspoli, the African traveller, killed by an elephant in Somaliland;—Rai Bahadur Ram Ruttun, the well known banker of Mean Meer;—John Langton, first Auditor General of Canada and Vice Chancellor of Toronto University;—Robert French Sheriff, Q.C., who after serving in the West Indies, was Attorney General of Gibraltar;—C. T. Buckland, I.C.S., some time of the Board of Revenue and the Governor General's Council, and a great natural historian;—C. H. Stewart, C.M.G., Chief Justice of Ceylon;—Lt. General P. G. Scot, (Sutlej and Mutiny campaigns);—Rao Bahadur Yeshwunt Vasadeo Athle, M.A., LL.D., Naib-Dewan of Baroda;—Khalifa Sayad Enayet Hussain, son and Personal Assistant of the esteemed Prime Minister of Patiala, a young official of great promise;—Rai Bahadur Gunabhiram Boruch, sometime Secy. to the Assam Text Book Committee and a great promoter of education in his province;—His Highness Sir Ali

Murad Khan, Talpur Bahadur of Khairpur, G.C.S.I.;—General Henry Alexander, (Crimea, Mutiny and Zulu wars);—Khan Bahadur Davur Rustomji Cursetji Mody of Surat;—Col. A. A. Johnson, (Mutiny);—General Robert McLagan, R.E., the well-known late Principal of the Thomason College, Roorkee;—F. Barnes Peacock, C.S.I., member of the Board of Revenue;—J. F. D. Inglis, C.S.I., of the Punjab administration, who did service in the Mutiny, and was the last Chief Commissioner of Oudh;—the Nawab Khas Mahal, senior widow of the late ex-King of Oudh;—Rai Bahadur Bankim Chander Chatterji, C.I.E., B.A., a noted writer and supporter of female education;—Babu Aubinash Chunder Ghose, Chief Interpreter of the Calcutta High Court;—Bishop C. A. Smythies, of Zanzibar, who laboured since 1883 in East Africa;—Col. W. F. Wright, C.B. (Canton 1857, Kaffir and Zulu Wars);—A. G. Macdonald, B.C.S. (*ret.*);—Inspector General of Hospitals H. B. Bruce (first Afghan, and Sutlej campaigns);—Deputy Inspector Genl. of Hospitals A. Graham, M.D.;—Surgeon General R. F. Hutchinson, M.D., (Mutiny and 2nd. Afghan Wars);—Lt. Col. R. A. Trotter;—Rev. A. Morris, M.A., LL.D., the great Philologist;—Para Partab Singh, Dewan of Patiala;—Hon. Peter Fawcett, of the Sydney Legislative Council and for 25 years Judge of the Supreme Court;—Hon. Joseph Houseley, Vice-Chancellor and Asst. Judge of Prince Edward's Island Supreme Court;—M. Foucaux, Professor of Sanskrit at the College de France;—His Highness the Maharaja of Dumraon, who had himself taken to Benares to die and was there cremated;—Sir F. G. Johnson, Chief Justice of Queensland;—B. H. Hodgson, B.C.S., a profound Orientalist, whose great attainments never received any recognition whatever;—Genl. M. J. Turnbull (Scindh, Punjab and Mutiny Wars);—Genl. F. D. Plowden, Madras Army (Mutiny);—Hugh Fraser, since 1888, British Minister in Japan;—Genl. Sir J. J. Bisset, K.C.M.G., C.B., (three Kaffir Wars);—Charles Henry Pearson, late Victorian Minister of Public Instruction;—Madame Renan;—His Shereefian Highness Muley El Hassan, Emperor of Morocco;—Sir M. B. Begbie, late Chief Justice of British Columbia;—Prof. W. Dwight Whitney, of Northampton, Massachusetts, U.S.A., a learned Orientalist and profound Sanskrit scholar;—Sir J. Cox Bray, late Agent-Genl. for S. Australia;—and Mr. M. E. Kempson, late Director of Public Instruction N.W.P.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,

OCTOBER, 1894.

A LETTER FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE
AMIR ABDURRAHMAN

ON HIS PAST AND PRESENT RELATIONS TO ENGLAND.

THE readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* do not require to be assured of the consistency of the Amir's friendship to this country, in spite of many provocations, ever since he ascended the throne of Afghanistan as an independent and national ruler, by the united aid of his genius and the popular voice and after the diplomacy of Sir Lepel Griffin and the generalship of Sir Donald Stewart had prepared the way for him. In the article on the subject in our last April number we showed that the recent mission of Sir H. M. Durand had not *created* that friendship, for it had never wavered since 1881. The main advantage of the mission, as the Amir points out so tersely in the letter which we publish further on, was to convince the ignorant and the ill-disposed of the reality and sincerity of that friendship and of the hopelessness of any attempt to undermine it. The persistent misrepresentations in the Press,—to which a characteristic reply, as firm as it was serene, was vouchsafed in a Persian pamphlet quoted in our issue of April 1893,—had brought about, both in England and in India, a feeling of irritation against the Amir which culminated in threats of war and of the division of his country between England and Russia. Frontier officials vexatiously interfered in Afghan territory and molehills were

made into mountains so that the meddlers might obtain promotion and decorations, whatever the disaster to alike India and Afghanistan by the wanton acceleration of a conflict with Russia. The letter of the Amir is a document of great importance to the history of an artificially-created misunderstanding and to its removal by his own honesty of purpose rather than by the mission which he so generously appreciates.

It will also be seen that the letter confirms the accuracy of our information regarding Afghanistan, past and present, and we can only hope that, in safeguarding the interests of the Amir on the Pamirs, we shall not throw on him a greater responsibility than we are prepared to defend, if need be, by force of arms, and that, in the official delimitation of the Russo-Afghan-Chinese frontier (which is unofficially sketched in detail in our last April number) we shall make no difficulty about Aksu that may affect the just susceptibilities of China, with which Anglo-Afghan interests are really identical. The following is the literal translation of the letter in question :

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN,
DATED 8TH MUHARRAM 1312 A.H. (12TH JULY 1894).

“He, God is the wise, the kind.”

To the friend, a foundation of fellowship and intimacy, and a lover of wisdom, a solver of difficulties in the meanings of speakers, select among the learned and eminent of the age, Dr. G. W. Leitner, entitled Maulvi Abdul Rashid, LL.D., D.O.L. After manifesting sentiments of affection and favour and the desire to meet (again), may it be evident and clear to (your) mind of enlightened affection that the letter, redolent of friendship, from (you) that faithful friend and unique in this world, written on the 11th May of the current year, reached (Our) high perusal at the most opportune of times together with (your) pamphlet showing the thoughts of wisdom (in the) statements of the administrators of that (your) country. The glad news of the good health of a friend (or friends) and your (or their) thoughts for (my) welfare have filled (me)

انگلستان می باشند - اما چون چشم هر کوه بیابان بر این
 و مستودان و بدخواهان زشت کیش این آفتاب عالم صفا نیست
 و دیده سخنان حق بیان شمار یقین نداشته انتظار محک امتحان بودند تا آنکه شمع
 صادق به نور راستی و صفا تابیده ظلمت باطنائی ناقصه کم عقلان بی سعادت را از
 برداشت - بیت - لله الحمد هر آن چیز که خاطر خلاست - آمد آخر ز پس پرده تقدیر
 اگر چه بمقوله خود شما محبت در راستی و یک دلی سرکار و الله همراه دولت بهیه بر طایفه
 از ابتدائی عهدنامه دوستی که همراه خباب محبت و شفقت مابین لیل گریفین صاحب فرمود
 و هیچ زمانه از زمان و در هیچ وقتی از آوان با وجود حرکات دل خراش بعضی کمالات
 دولت هندوستان مطلق تغییر و تبدل نه یافته بود لکن از غلبه دوست عاقبت اندیش خیر خواه
 و دین سرمار و دیرند صاحب و دیگر اصحاب کیشن بسیار شکوهرستیم که بعضی امانی دولت هند
 که خود حجاب خود شده دوست خود را کما حق الله گفته بودند ایشان را ازین پرده
 غفلت خبردار ساخته در دوستی با رفیق مدتین رشته محبت و یک دلی و واضح
 و روشن تر ساخته چون پرده را از میان برداشتند حجاب مانده - صاحب دلی فرمود

بیت

میان من و معشوق هیچ حایل نیست - تو خود حجاب خودی حافظ از میان خبر
 گویا بجزر و یک حجاب خود برداشتند ازین طرف بدون یک دلی و از خود دیگر خبر ندانستند
 این برود سلطنت که در آبادی و خرابی با ترقی و تنزل بهر گیرند و معلوم اند شکوهرستیم که
 ایشان را در سرمار و دیرند صاحب و لیل گریفین صاحب و خباب شما بسیار و خلاصان
 باشند و خاندان مرسله اند - اشتیاقات و دعا و محبت و دستان میفرمایم و السلام
 حمد و محمود و کلام حق (حمد و عذر از حق) هم دوست قوم (افغانستان) هم دوست

with satisfaction and joy. To God be praise that in the Empire of the gracious, high; exalted Presence, the illustrious Queen, the Kaisara of Hindustan and England, there are such persons, eminent and well-versed, who, out of (their) perfections and with (full) information and in order to manifest prudent and disinterested opinions, themselves become the means to the friends of both nations for an increase of the bonds of friendship and of one-heartedness and a guide to the uninformed on to the straight path by their incomparable writings and speeches and themselves sow in the minds both of the select and the public, seeds of the plant of good thoughts, resulting in good. No doubt, the wise have said that "if the existence of the learned who are well-informed were not (a fact) on the page of (universal) existence, the court of the palace of the world would be, like a house without a lamp, in darkness and obscurity." Although you, with forethought of consequences and in your knowledge of affairs and of weighing details had constantly explained at meetings and in your own publications, before the interview with my sagacious friend, Sir Mortimer Durand, which happened to take place with me here last year, that this (Our) Government was a sincere friend and well-wisher, one in heart and steadfast in sympathy with the Empire of the High Presence, the Exalted Queen, and you have shown this with undeniable arguments and irrefragable proofs, yet, the eyes of the short-sighted, the malevolent, the envious, the ill-wishers of ugly faith could not see the purity of intention, as clear as the world-illuminating sun, of this (my) Government and not being convinced by your truth-stating words, were waiting for the touchstone of a test, till the rays of righteous hearts, shining with the light of truth and purity, lifted the inner darkness of the imperfect minds of those unhappy beings, (who have so) little intelligence, from amongst them.

Verse : "God be praised that everything which the heart desired became at last evident from behind the curtain of fate."

Although, according to your own saying, the affection

and truth and one-heartedness of this (our) Government with the valued British Empire, from the beginning of the Treaty of friendship which we made with the kind and benevolent Sir Lepel Griffin, absolutely never, at any time, and on any occasion whatever, altered or changed (for a moment,) in spite of the soul-disturbing agitations of some of the officials of the Indian Government, I was still very grateful to my friend, the consequences-foreseeing well-wisher of both nations, Sir Mortimer Durand, and to the other members of the Commission, that they caused certain agents of the Indian Empire, who themselves had become an obstacle (screen or veil) on to themselves and were not knowing their own friend as they should have done, to beware of this curtain of ignorance and so made the tie of affection and single-heartedness which from old had existed between the two nations more manifest and evident and when they lifted up the curtain from between, there no longer remained any obstacle (or veil), as says a master of the heart (Háfiz):

*Verse: "Between me and the-loved nothing doth intervene,
Do thou thyself, oh Háfiz, raise the veil of Self from between."*

In other words, as soon as they lifted their own screen they found on this (my) side nothing except single-heartedness and unselfishness. It is proper that both Governments, which in prosperity and adversity, in progress and in decline are inseparably united, (necessary to, and necessitated by, each other) should be very grateful to such undoubted friends as Sir Mortimer Durand, Sir Lepel Griffin and yourself and should be desirous of greatly increasing your honours.

The conclusion of this message is the expression of (Our) desire of meeting (you) and with the prayer for the health of friends and peace (be on you). *Finis.* Written on the 8th of the sacred (month of) Muharram in the year of the Hijra 1312.

• THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN.

As a friend alike to the people of Afghanistan and to the British Empire I have signed this. *Finis*

KOREA AND THE FAR EAST.

I.

EXISTING MATERIAL REGARDING KOREA.

BY THE SUB-EDITOR.

BECAUSE Korea, after an isolation of centuries, has only of late years been opened, in some of its ports, to free traffic with other nations, it is hastily concluded that our available knowledge regarding it can be only as scanty as it is recent. This is, however, a mistake. It was "*The Asiatic Quarterly Review*" that, some time before Mr. G. Curzon's prognostications, first brought to the special notice of its contemporaries the threatening aspect of Korean affairs in the admirable and largely-quoted paper on "Korea" by Mr. A. Michie, dated Tientsin July 1892 and published in our issue of October 1892, which is still the safest guide in the present complications. Korea has a long history; and if the native materials are, so far as we as yet know, few and comparatively useless, the records of China and Japan are rich on this subject and have long ago been accessible to us through the diligence of scholars.* Korea, moreover, though not visited by many Europeans before the "opening out" of the country, had already been described by various writers;† and, since that opening, the books on Korea have increased so rapidly that we have regarding it a mass of literature, more than enough to give us, on careful perusal, at least as much information on Korea and its people as can be got, by reading, of any such distant country,—as (say) Argentina or Bokhara.

Korea's first European visitor was Father Gregory de

* P. du Halde: *The general History of China*. London: J. Watts, 1736; 4 vols., furnishes the Chinese records as F. J. Klaproth gives the Japanese: *Aperçu général des Trois Royaumes traduit de l'original Japonais-chinois*. (Oriental Translation Fund, J. Murray, London, 1832.)

† Shipwrecked mariners, missionary priests, and captains of vessels.

Cespedes, S.J., who was sent there in 1594,* as Chaplain to the Christian portion of the Japanese troops then invading the country :† he is said to have made several converts, besides attending to the Japanese Christians. The next, though involuntary, visitors were a small party of Dutch seamen who were captured by the Koreans, in 1627, on their landing to get water : they were detained but were kindly treated. Their leader, John Wetteree, lived to meet, 27 years afterwards, and to act as interpreter for 36 of his fellow-countrymen who, having been wrecked on the coast, had been similarly brought in prisoners, though they too met kindly treatment. They remained in the country from 1656 to 1666, when some of them, under Hendrik Hamel, escaped to Japan and thence got back home. The first European book on Korea was published by Hamel at Rotterdam, in 1668,‡ and was soon translated into various languages. He recorded his adventures, experiences and impressions, which subsequent accounts have proved to be generally correct, though at the time the writer was held to be a liar. Notices of Korea frequently occur of course in the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries, in China and Japan ;§ as also in similar letters of Bishops and others.||

* *Lettre annuelle de Mars 1593 à Mars 1594 par le Père Pedro Gomez*. Milan. 1597, in Hakluyt, where also is the interesting *Three Testimonies concerning the mighty kingdom of Corea* ; 1600. Also *Lettre Annuelle pour 1595 du P. Louis Froes*, Rome, 1598.

† From a missionary point of view this was a great mistake, for it unluckily identified Christianity with a foreign invasion. Hence, possibly, results the deep-seated antipathy of the Koreans against Christianity.

‡ Hendrik Hamel, *Narration of an unlucky voyage and imprisonment in Korea* ; it is given in the Collections of Astley, Churchill and Pinkerton. *Relation du Naufrage*, etc., Paris, T. Jolly, 1670, is the French translation.

§ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. Paris, 1870-83 ; 12° ; 26 vols.

|| We may specify Monseigneur Alexandre de Gouvea, Bishop of Peking in 1797. *Relation de l'établissement du christianisme dans le royaume de Corée*. Londres : P. Le Bousonnier, 1800. Also published before the Treaties I note especially : Colonel von Siebold's *Nippon*, Leyden, 1832, especially valuable as the author lived long at Nagasaki and met Koreans there, with whom he conversed ; Charles Guetzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*. London, T. Ward ; 3rd edition, 1831-33.

The archives in Rome would doubtless yield a rich harvest to a patient investigation.

Besides the elder scholars already cited, we have a very full account of the antiquity, circumstances, vicissitudes and sufferings of Korea by Mr. Griffis;* it is particularly rich in Japanese sources, with which the author's long residence in Japan made him particularly conversant. As regards current history we need specify only the dates of the respective Treaties. These are: with Japan 1876 (revised and extended in 1879, 1880, 1883 and 1889);—China 1882;—United States, 1882;—Great Britain 1883; Germany 1883;—Russia 1884;—Italy, 1884;—France 1886;—and Austria 1893. And, above all, as bearing on the present state of affairs, is the Treaty of Tientsin of 1885 between China and Japan.

The country thus forced into unwelcome intercourse with the world, is a peninsula, 600 miles by about 135, with a superficial area of some 8,000,000 square miles, its peculiarity being the net-work of islets surrounding its coast lines. The population is very variously stated. M. Varat, the latest foreign authority on the subject, gives it at 16,000,000; the Chinese recently estimated it at a little over 6,500,000; and the *Statesman's Year Book*† puts it, according to the "last government census"—of whatever value that may be—at 10,528,937. The climate is healthy; the scenery good and in places grand in the extreme; the land fertile and fairly well cultivated,‡ though much still lies waste, awaiting the increase of the population. It is said to abound in minerals, both precious and those of common use; iron ores of excellent quality are mined and there are also a few copper mines, but, up to the present, with the exception of the significant exportation of gold mainly by Japan, which in 1886 amounted, according to the

* W. E. Griffis, *Korea, the Hermit Kingdom*, New York and London, 1882.

† Macmillan and Co., London, 1894.

‡ *Korea and the sacred white mountain*, by Capt. A. E. J. Cavendish. London, G. Philip and Son, 1894.

Customs' returns to 503,296 dollars, the "opening" of Korea has only brought to the outer world some of her surplus agricultural produce. A full list of these includes rice, maize, barley, wheat; beans and peas; hemp and flax; cotton and tobacco; chillies, cabbages, turnips, gourds and melons. The rice and beans caused political burnings with Japan as late as last year. Korea has good fisheries on her coast, but they are not much developed. Her one great industry is paper of various kinds and for various purposes: this is much prized.

Like all Eastern kingdoms, Korea is an absolute monarchy, in which, theoretically the king is supreme lord of life, land and property,—everything and everyone being subject directly, indiscriminately and indefinitely, to his will or caprice. But practically, the government is oligarchical, in which, however, the still, small, yet powerful voice of the people makes itself occasionally heard.* The king is aided by a Supreme Council of Three, called the Ministers of the Right, Left, and Centre: the last is the Premier of the country. This Council receives daily reports from the seven Departments which supervise the business of the state. They respectively take cognizance of 1. Office and Public Employ,—2. Finance,—3. Ceremonies,—4. War,—5. Justice,—6. Public Works,—and 7. Foreign Affairs, a recent necessity. All these chief officials residing in Seoul, form, with the Ministers, the Central Government, which controls the internal and external affairs of the kingdom. The capital, Griffis tells us, is to Korea what Paris is to France, not only the leader and head, but also the more important, though the smaller, part: this is true in Korea probably to a greater extent than in France.

For administrative purposes, the country is divided into 8 provinces:—1. Ham Gyong and 2. Phyong-an in the N.,—3. Kang-wan on the E.,—4. Kyong-Sang and 5. Chol-la on the S.,—6. Chhung-Chhong, 7. Kyong-Kwi (in

* *Corea of to-day*, G. W. Gilmore, M.A., Edinburgh, London, and New York; T. Nelson and Sons, 1894; also the same author's earlier *Corea from its Capital*, from which the former work is edited.

which is Seoul), and 8. Hwang-Hai on the W. Each province has its own Governor, with a full staff of officers, attendants and parasites. The 8 provinces are sub-divided into 332 Districts, each of which again has its own staff of officers, attendants and parasites, under the Prefect, who is responsible to the Governor and through him to the Supreme Government at Seoul, for its administration. Each town and village has its own local head or Governor. The peculiar unit of administration is the group of 5 houses, to which each individual can be traced by means of his *Ho-pai* or identification-ticket, which every Korean must hold and exhibit when duly called upon: nothing will induce him to part with it even for a high price. The Customs are in the hands of the Chinese, under the efficient and excellent supervision of Sir Robert Hart.*

Thus it is evident that however it may be injuriously affected by the common Oriental fault of "squeezing," and however it may be academically defective in details, Korea has a very thorough and appropriate system of administration, based on ancient law, custom and tradition, and consequently loved, revered and obeyed by the people, with an alacrity which they would certainly not show for novel and unsuitable, if theoretically more perfect, forms. If the Korean government neither is perfect nor does all that we are accustomed to require of our own rulers, it yet suffices

* Recent publications of varying interest, are :

1. M. H. Zuber : *Une expédition en Corée*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1873.
2. W. F. Mayers : *The Chinese Reader's Manual*, Shanghai, 1874.
3. Ernest Oppert : *A Forbidden Land*, New York and London, 1880.
4. Rev. John Ross : *Corea ; its History, Manners, and Customs*; Paisley, 1880.
5. Captain H. C. St. John, R.N. : *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nippon*. Edinburgh, D. Douglas, 1880.
6. W. E. Griffis : *Corea without and within*, New York, 1883. This book I have not seen ; his previous work I have already mentioned.
7. P. Lowell : *Cho-san*, London, 1886.
8. W. R. Carles : *Life in Corea*, London, 1888.
9. D. Boulger : *A Short History of China*. London, Allen, 1893.
10. R. S. Gundry : *China and her Neighbours*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1893.
11. Stanley Lane Poole : *Life of Sir H. Parkes*.

to uphold order, to promote prosperity, to maintain peace, and, generally, to secure content and good will among the people. The few recent outbreaks, which we call rebellions, have in reality been due to court intrigues and attempted *coups d'état* by rival political chiefs; but in them the people have taken no part. When, as sometimes happens, a Governor or Prefect, has exhausted the long-suffering patience of his subjects and become unbearable, he is generally escorted by a body of the people to the frontier of his district and respectfully told that he had better not come back. Obligated thus to return to Seoul, he is there compelled to render an account of his stewardship, to which his expulsion gives a *primâ facie* air of injustice: the Supreme Government sees that matters are righted. The people have a peculiar remedy even against decrees and orders of the Supreme Council itself, when these constitute a substantial grievance. It consists in stopping work, and making public demonstrations, unattended however by any disturbance of the peace. Such meetings continue to be held, till the agitation of the people and its cause have to be reported to the highest authority. The king then either rescinds the obnoxious orders, if the people have right on their side; or should the agitation have arisen from some mistake, he issues proclamations explaining the true facts of the matter. In either case, the people are soon quieted and return to their customary avocations. Recent travellers* bear witness to the efficiency of the government, to the security for life and property, and to the general sense of protection, content and prosperity among the people, in spite of the almost universal poverty prevalent in the country. Should recent disturbances be cited as proofs of bad government, we should bear in mind that non-official Korea has no means of reaching the public with *her* side of any question; and considering the *outré-cuidance* of some foreigners, we cannot justly lay on Korean shoulders all the blame of outbreaks—chiefly directed, from

* The Hon. G. N. Curzon: *Problems of the Far East*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894, and Captain Cavendish already mentioned.

inveterate feelings of revenge, against the Japanese. Even in the present crisis, foreign life and property have, till now, been absolutely safe from Korean attack.

There are four political parties among the nobles in Korea ; the " Western " being split into " Young Korea " and " Old Korea," which need no explanation beyond this, that the latter wish not only to remain still, but even to go back, while the former want to run ere they have learned to walk.

Education is almost universal ; the system of examinations, the subjects, the language and official position for the successful are taken from the Chinese. Learning is the road to office and power.

The Koreans belong to a Mongolian stock, and use a polysyllabic and agglutinative language which is intermediate between Mongolo - Tartar and Japanese.* A Grammar and Dictionary by Raphell were published at Yokohama in 1879. Parallels between Dravidian and Korean grammar have been noticed by several writers. The Koreans have a script of their own ; but Chinese is the language of the literary. Chinese characters are in common use ; and Korean customs have very naturally been influenced by the long continued influence of China and Japan.

The best authorities on the manners and customs of the people are the letters of the missionaries since 1784, whence Père Dallet compiled his elaborate work†—the great reservoir whence others have drawn. The Koreans are tall, well-formed, strong and hardy ; brave and facing death with fortitude, as they showed in their war with the United States ; slothful and wanting in energy according to our ideas, which means that they have not yet entered on that mad race for wealth in which other people seek for much more than the needful : the Koreans, like St. Paul,

* H. J. Von Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*. Paris, 1826. D'Harvey de S. Denys : *Ethnographie des Peuples Étrangers*. Paris. Léon de Rosny : *Peuples Orientaux connus des anciens chinois*. Idem : *Les Coréens*. Paris, Maisonneuve frères, 1886.

† Charles Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*. Paris, 1874 ; 2 vols., especially in the Introduction, long but most interesting.

when they have enough to eat and to wear, are content. They are orderly, obedient and law-abiding; fairly industrious in a bare sufficiency of work, but objecting to hard labour; frugal, with few wants easily satisfied. A happy, contented, jolly set; generally good-natured and hospitable towards foreigners, and free from the Chinese and Japanese violent and contemptuous hatred of them, even though they would prefer being without their presence. They are studious, intelligent, persevering and full of curiosity; self-willed and obstinate; quick-tempered and vindictive, but, as P. Dallet says, extremely charitable and helpful to each other; deeply attached to their country and loyal to their King. Their religion is mainly ancestor-worship, with Confucianism and vestiges of Shamanism and Buddhism combined in a peculiarly national form. Christianity, with a fair beginning and violent persecutions, has made little progress. Their morals are generally reported to be good according to their by no means very severe code; but they are said to be excessively inclined to gluttony and drunkenness. Capt. St. John seems to attribute to foreign intercourse much of the prevalent evils which older writers had not noticed, or had described as non-existent. Early marriages and large families are the rule. Women are honoured and well treated, and children made much of. The details of their customs, as given by Hamel, Dallet and others are most interesting.

Our information on Korean trade is brought down to the end of 1893,* a peculiarly bad year for trade owing to small crops and political causes. *Exports* were \$2,497,016 against \$3,458,568 in 1892; and *Imports* were \$3,500,750 against \$4,230,132. The percentages of Imports were, British goods 57, Japanese 19, Chinese 12, all others 18, though British shipping was *nil*, while Japanese was about 75 per cent. of the whole. Irrespective of the circumstances of 1893, the trade shows a steady decline; for the totals were—for 1891, \$10,249,209, for 1892, \$9,669,400,

* W. G. Campbell: China, No. 2, of 1891 (Parliamentary Papers), and Foreign Office Annual Series, 1894, No. 1417. H.M.'s Stationery Office.

for 1893, \$7,778,055. Vessels entering were 1,322 with a tonnage of 387,507,—a decrease, on 1892, of 64 and 2,990 respectively; and vessels clearing, 1,331 with a tonnage of 386,771,—a decrease respectively of 87 and 4,935. The shipping return gave Japanese 956, Korean 290, Chinese 27, others nominal: the Japanese, though still retaining $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the carrying, had 205 vessels less at Korea than in 1892. Meanwhile the increase in Korean vessels is remarkably great. In 1886 she had only seven steamers and 3 sailing vessels; but they increased respectively as follows: 1891—23 and 38; 1892—33 and 65; 1893—141 and 149. The tonnage has risen from 8,780 to 41,466—the increase being nearly 500 *per cent.* This promises well for Korean enterprise and industry. The chief exports of Korea are, besides those already named, skins and hides, cotton piece-goods and fish, besides *Ginseng* (*Aralia, quinquefolia Pantax*) the much prized tonic root.

The expectations formed when Korea was forced open have not been realized; fortunes have not been made; the profits have not even been high; and though it is said that prospects for the future are not blank or even discouraging, yet it is not at all evident that anything whatever has been gained by the world at large by the needless violation of Korean isolation. To Korea itself the results are more than questionable: she has received no benefit whatever but a deal of detriment. It is a poor land in its present state, and its development on new lines is yet far distant. Meanwhile she has learned new tastes. Hence her imports largely exceed her exports and thus drain her money. That drain and the export of food-stuffs have combined to raise the prices of necessities, and have thus aggravated the poverty of the people. Korea left to itself did harm to no one: Korea forced open is of no good to anyone. But she has to suffer for this “opening up,” not only in being gradually impoverished, but also (and much more) in being now made a “bone of contention,” between China and Japan and later, perhaps, between either of these powers and Russia.

II.

KOREAN AFFAIRS : A JAPANESE VIEW.

BY CONSUL G. HAYASHI.

MUCH energy has been wasted in speculations which have appeared and are appearing in the public press of this country, concerning the final issue of the war now going on between Japan and her colossal neighbour. Most of the opinions in England are in favour of the bigger and richer of the two combatants. China is indeed a great Empire whose fighting capabilities as well as boundless resources are not to be despised.

“To China a powerful navy is indispensable. In 1860 she first became aware of this, and set about founding one.” These are the late Marquis Tseng’s own words. China’s naval advance however had been very slow till the late war with France, when China seemed really to awake. Under the able supervision of an English officer, Captain Lang, the principal division of the navy of China has attained its present strength, which is considered by many to be superior to the rival naval force of Japan. Moreover, China has now arsenals and dockyards, and her important forts are strong. As to the army, China has about 300,000 men on a peace footing, but in time of war this number is said to be capable of expansion to about 1,000,000. Some of the Chinese army are well drilled and properly armed, at least those under the direct control of the Viceroy of Chi-li, Li Hung Chang. China relies not only upon this enormous army, but upon the vastly more enormous number of her population, which is equivalent to that of the whole of Europe. Marquis Tseng uttered the following words :— “The strength of a nation is not in the number of soldiers it can arm and send forth to battle, but in the toiling millions that stay at home to prepare and provide the sinews of war.” As to money, I am of opinion that China

can raise it easily abroad, if it is not possible for her to do so in her own country. Not to speak of the other financial administrations of China, one branch at least—that of Customs—is admirably managed by Sir Robert Hart. The returns and reports of the Customs amply show that the trade of China has enormously grown, and her revenue from this source has consequently greatly increased. Foreign capitalists are therefore, it seems to me, willing to invest money, if they can get the security of the Customs' revenue.

All these facts must have been known to those who have the control of affairs in Japan. China is certainly not considered as a weak foe. Even if the duel happily ends in favour of Japan, still the victory and peace thus secured must be a costly one. It must, moreover, have been known in Japan that China would resolve in case of strife "to fight to the bitter end." There must therefore be some strong necessity on the part of Japan to uphold her claim about Korea. This necessity, briefly stated, lies not only in the protection and promotion of the material interests which she has already acquired in Korea, but also in meeting in a friendly manner the advance of that Unknown Civilization from the north. To attain these ends, in which Japan's national projects are so deeply concerned, it has been considered indispensable that the integrity of the Kingdom of Korea should be preserved and its peace and reformed administration be secured.

It may not therefore be without interest if I venture to state shortly the development of the commercial relations of Japan with Korea. Not long after the invasion of Korea by Taigo, which lasted about seven years (1592-8), peace was made with that country and commercial intercourse arose. It is said that the Korean authorities made use of this conclusion of peace with Japan as a plea against China in order that she might withdraw her troops from Korea. An official establishment for Japan was then built at Fusan in about 1618. From that date we have ever kept our position in Fusan; even when the Korean Government

refused to receive diplomatic despatches and missions from Japan, which had been sent, more than once, soon after the restoration of our Empire, the Japanese position at Fusan remained in our possession. When the new relations were entered into with Korea, that is, "when Korea was opened up by treaty in 1876, the Japanese settlement at Fusan contained 1,150 inhabitants."

Mr. J. H. Hunt, Commissioner of Customs at Fusan, in his Decennial Reports of the port described the increase of the Japanese population as follows:—"The population steadily increased until in 1883 it numbered 1,500; in 1889, 4,000; and in 1891, 5,255. In addition to these last figures, there is now a floating population of 6,400 Japanese fishermen." The Japanese population in all the open ports and in the capital of Korea, this floating population excepted, roughly amounts to more than 9,000, while the Chinese population does not exceed 2,000. As to the improvements of the Japanese Settlement of the same port, Mr. Hunt went on to report:—"In the early days, many of the Japanese were merely Tsushima fishermen or junk-masters seeking an investment for money easily earned when good freight prevailed. Since then influential merchants, with connexions in Osaka and elsewhere, have found business profitable enough to justify them in opening houses in Fusan; and, in place of the low, wooden, one-story structures, with shingle roofs, so common here as late as 1889, serving as shop, warehouse, and dwelling-house in one, handsome and substantial Anglo-Japanese buildings of two and even three stories, with tiled roofs, have lately been erected. Godowns, too, hitherto built of wood and plaster, are being replaced by solid brick fire-proof buildings, evincing that to the Japanese, at least, the trade of Fusan is on a sufficiently assured basis to admit of their sinking so much money in the place." Again as to the public works of the Settlement he wrote:—"Important public improvements within the Japanese Settlement have lately been made, in the shape of new roads and drains, street-lighting, and the filling in and bunding, at great expense, of a large

area to the south of the Settlement, opposite Deer Island. . . . The expense of all such works is defrayed by the accumulated municipal taxes. Water is conveyed to the Settlement from the hills at its back by means of wooden pipes laid underground along the streets, and discharging into wooden tanks placed at stated short distances. . . . With all this prosperity, the price of labour within the past few years has increased three-fold. . . .”

The port of Yuensan was opened to Japanese trade in 1880; it was three years later that this place was thrown open to the trade of the Chinese and of other nations. In 1892, we had a population of 705, and the Chinese settlers numbered 63. Chemulpo, where we have recently landed our troops (the right of military protection we had obtained previously in 1882 from the Korean Government itself) was opened to the trade of Japan early in 1883, and the Korean Government showed a marked favour in conceding the Settlement to Japan. In the first article of the agreement of the Japanese Settlement, the following words are found:—“The portion marked red on the annexed plan of the General Foreign Settlement at the Port of Jenchuan, Corea, is specially assigned to Japanese subjects as a place of residence, in acknowledgment of their priority of arrival. . . .” At the time when the place was opened there was no trade of any description, only a handful of “mud-cabins” of fishermen being found in the place. But now “trade has increased to such an extent that the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company) finds constant employment for five steamers, which keep up regular communication with Japan, China, Vladivostock, and the Korean ports.” These are the words of Mr. J. C. Johnston, formerly Commissioner of Customs at Chemulpo. In 1892, the Japanese population there numbered 2,540, while the Chinese was 637.

The Foreign trade of Korea amounted in the year 1892 to \$7,042,224, in which Japan was represented by \$4,814,414, and China by \$2,200,715. As to the shipping, the total tonnage in the same year amounted to 390,467, in

which the Japanese share was 325,623, while the Chinese was 15,000. It will be understood therefore that to maintain and promote this material interest in Korea is considered in Japan as highly important. And the promotion of this interest will also lead to the happiness of the Koreans, for Japan is Korea's best customer. It is well known that the beans and rice which are the two most important exports of Korea are almost all going to Japan, "where there is promise of a long continuance of the demand."

Now as to the political situation of Korea, if China would waive her so-called right of suzerainty over that kingdom as she had done on more than one occasion, and would come to an understanding with Japan so as to make the peaceful progress and material improvement of this kingdom possible, no better solution of the present difficulty could be found. But China has pursued and is determined to pursue quite an illogical policy; the policy, I am sorry to say, which seems to have been backed by most of the English people. The anomalous position of Korea has been created not by Japan but by the anomalous policy of China. In 1866, when the French had to ask the Peking Government about the status of Korea, China altogether disavowed her suzerainty-claim over that kingdom. The name Rozé Island in the harbour of Chemulpo bears testimony to the then expedition of France. Similarly, the American expedition of 1871 to Korea was undertaken after the denial of responsibility for her on the part of China. There is a fort at the entrance of the River Han, not far up from Chemulpo, which is called Fort Monocacy, bearing the name of one of the American war vessels that took part in the expedition. Again, the third time, China made a similar disclaimer to Japan, and finally by the treaty with Japan in 1876, the "*once* Hermit Kingdom" of Korea was introduced to the world as an independent state. In the opening article of the treaty, the following solemn words are found:—"Corea being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan."

Shortly after this time Chinese policy seemed to have undergone a change, and then began the anomalous political status of Korea. "The King of Korea acknowledges that Korea is a tributary of China; but in regard to both internal administration and foreign intercourse it enjoys complete independence." This is a part of the illogical expressions found in the despatch which the Chinese Government is said to have induced the King of Korea to send to each of the Governments of the Treaty powers *except Japan*. It will be interesting to quote once more the words of the late Marquis Tseng to see this change in Chinese policy. They run as follows :—"China, to save the rest, has decided on exercising a more effective supervision on the acts of her vassal princes and of accepting a larger responsibility for them than heretofore. The warden of the marches is now abroad, looking to the security of China's outlying provinces—of COREA, Thibet, and Chinese Turkestan. Henceforth any hostile movements against these countries or any interference with their affairs will be viewed at Peking as a declaration on the part of the power committing it of a desire to discontinue its friendly relations with the Chinese Government."

But the opposite view, I think, must have been entertained by the statesmen of Japan, at least as regards Korea, for we have nothing to do with Thibet and Chinese Turkestan, the difference being that China claims the suzerainty right over Korea, while Japan claims her integrity. That this has been the case can be seen from the spirit of the so-called Li-Ito Treaty of Tientsin 1885, for, to use the expression of Mr. Curzon, it "involved the very admission of substantial equality of rights as regards Korea." But we must here consider for a moment another factor in connexion with the Korean question. That is the advance of the huge power from the North. Russia has already become conterminous with the Northern frontier of Korea. That Russia is making every effort to connect the province thus obtained with her capital and European provinces by means of railway is well known. In a few years the condi-

tion of things on this shore of the Japan Sea will undergo a great change and improvement. To meet this advance of civilization from the side of Russia, Korea should be improved, so that the peace and order of that kingdom may be assured, and the material progress of the people may become possible as well.

If China be allowed to pursue her own policy in Korea, and if Korea be left to the mercy of China, it will almost be sure to increase the mutual jealousy of rival powers, and the so-called "Eastern Question" might possibly find new stage of contention in this corner of the Far East. It is difficult to suppose again that China alone could take the responsibility of guiding the affairs of Korea on such a solid basis as to give full assurance for the good order and the peaceful progress of the country. Moreover that such actions of China towards Korea as her interference with Korea's opening the port of Ping-yang, her opposition to Korea's sending a diplomatic mission abroad, or her prevention of Korea's exercising Customs' authority over smugglers, have been viewed with favour on the part of Korea is extremely doubtful. It is clear, I think, that Japan has been calmly watching the policy of China with the fear that it would finally come into conflict with that of Japan. It is equally certain that we have been anxiously observing the corruption of the Korean Government and the disorder of its people with the uneasiness that these would eventually endanger our commercial interests and our national safety. It is not to be wondered at then that Japan has finally been obliged to openly uphold her claim about Korea. "The various champions of the academic theory of Korean independence have one by one disappeared from the stage, but the Chinese Resident remains." These are the words of Mr. Curzon. But it now appears that Mr. Yuan himself has disappeared from the stage, though it is to be hoped that he will again appear on it, representing however a better and wiser policy than that which he has hitherto represented.

III.

A CHINESE VIEW OF THE KOREAN QUESTION.

BY A CHINESE OFFICIAL.

WHEN Marquis Tseng published "China : the Sleep and the Awakening," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* he did not anticipate the sensation that it caused in Europe nor that it would add to his credit in China. He was pleasantly disappointed when even members of the Yamen complimented him on it, for the vigorous attack in the article on the so-called Treaties, or rather Capitulations with Foreign Powers, which ever injure China, showed that he was still a true Chinaman, uncontaminated by his sojourn in Europe. Yet, strange to say, none of the foreign ministers complained of the article, which was as true as it was severe and which ended in the following striking sentence :

"The world is not so near its end that China need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done that she will not have time to play the rôle assigned her in the work of nations."

I do not expect that my remarks will either create sensation or add to my reputation, were an authorship known which must be concealed for obvious reasons. That a Chinaman, and he too an official, should explain, or, worse still, justify Chinese policy to foreigners, is, in itself, already a departure from, if it be an improvement on, ordinary usage ; but, as my identity is not likely to be suspected, I can have no hesitation in expressing my own views as a private individual in the hope that they may throw some light on the present complications.

The proper course, it seems to me, which Oriental countries should follow, is to unite against all foreign encroachments and, therefore, it would be better for China and Japan to be firm allies than to weaken themselves for the advantage of either England or Russia. Some such thought must have permeated the mind of Lord Rosebery

who, at first, seemed to be a staunch supporter of China against the sudden, though well-prepared, aggression of Japan. A hint from Mr. Gladstone, it is said, changed his attitude and he who with one word to Japan, that Lord Salisbury would certainly have uttered, could have prevented the war, has entrenched himself behind a neutrality that will, of course, have to be broken when both China and Japan will have fought to the bitter end.

I admit that we can afford to lose our ten thousands to the hundreds of Japan, but this only deepens the crime of waging war, except in the purest self-defence. It is natural that barbarians should honour the military profession, without circumstances also compelling the centre of the world's civilization to do the same, and thus to subordinate laws to arms. That war-like genius, however, exists in China, without having been evoked in Berlin, may be seen in a recent episode in Korea. Helped by the Koreans—in itself a proof of the justice of our cause and of the hypocrisy of Japanese professions of friendship for their hereditary foes—Yéh Tung-ling, who, under Liu Ming Chuan, the General who, some years ago, so successfully defended Kelong against the French squadron, after being repulsed to the South of Seoul, out-flanked the Japanese army by a march of some 30 miles and was attacking it with effect, *from the North*, where he had been joined by the Chinese troops despatched to his aid. I have no doubt that the Chinese Army will yet give a good account of itself, although no statue has yet been ordered of its future Moltke. We leave these imitations to the Japanese.

The case by sea, however, is different, and the Chinese fleet, instead of drawing the Japanese navy into the Gulf of Péchili and then closing up behind it, was, apparently, in hiding. That our sailors are as brave as our soldiers was seen in the affair of the "Kowshing" when, rather than be taken captive to Japan as their own English captain had consented to do, they fired on him and preferred death in the waves, shot down in masses by the europeanized

Japanese, to live under the protection of the Naniwa. All honour to Captain von Hanneken who showed that our German employ  s especially are ready to face death in the service of China rather than bring dishonour on her and themselves by any improper surrender.

There is another element of misgivings. This is that the native Chinaman, in more than one province, is impatient of the Manchu Dynasty that rules him. Its greatness, as that of China generally, is built up, like all moral powers, on prestige, and not on the assertion of brute force. When the English captured Canton, Shanghai, etc., and appeared before Nankin in 1842, that prestige received a shock, resulting in the Taiping rebellion that lasted for 20 years. The success of the combined attack of the French and English in 1860 did not equally injure the Dynasty, as it was not the same indignity for it to yield to two great European powers 20 years after it had given way to one only. It would be different had China to yield to the hitherto disdained Japanese, who, moreover, with their talk of the fraternity of Mongolian races, may rouse rebellion by their success, with which the Dynasty may find it difficult to deal. Indeed, its end might be expected, after the country has passed through a period of disorder, in which, among other results, Foreign Commerce would be destroyed. Yet there is no other Dynasty to take its place! That it understands the gravity of the situation may be inferred from the gift of 18 million taels towards the expenses of the war contributed by the illustrious Empress-Dowager out of the allotment towards the celebration of her 60th birthday, and of 9 millions given by the Emperor himself.

The present evil has, of course, all originated out of the Treaty of 1885, in which the Viceroy Li Hung Chang, whom Europeans call the Chinese Bismarck, trifled with Chinese suzerainty in Korea for the shadow of the quasi-European so-called "national independence" of a kingdom that is only happy in proportion as it can become more and more thoroughly Chinese. For our yoke is, indeed, light and

Upper Burma finds already that the little finger of the English presses more heavily on it in one short year than centuries of the whole body of China. Siam, too, regrets its emancipation from a paramount power, whose mere name would have protected her in her hour of need. The Pamirs and adjoining countries mourn their ingratitude to good, if mighty, Khetái. As the Treaty above referred to has nowhere been published in its entirety, I insert it here for the benefit of (and a warning to) the future Bismarcks of our country :

CONVENTION BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN, FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE TROOPS FROM KOREA, SIGNED AT TIENTSIN, APRIL 18TH, 1885.

Translation.

ITO, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Great Empire of Japan, Minister of State and the Imperial Household, First class of the Order of the Rising Sun and Count of the Empire :

LI, Special Plenipotentiary of the Great Empire of China, Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Superintendent of the North Sea Trade, President of the Board of War, Viceroy of Chi-li and Count Sherin-Ki of the First rank ;

For obedience to the Decree which each of them respectively is bound to obey, after conference held, have agreed upon a Convention with a view to providing and promoting friendly relations (between the two great Empires) the Articles of which are set down in order as follows :

It is hereby agreed that China shall withdraw her troops now stationed in Korea, and that Japan shall withdraw hers stationed therein for the protection of her Legation. The specific term for effecting the same shall be four months commencing from the date of this Convention, within which term they shall respectively accomplish the withdrawal of the whole number of each of their troops, in order to avoid effectively any complications between the respective countries: the Chinese troops shall embark from Massan-Po, and the Japanese from the port of Ninsen.

The respective Powers mutually agree to invite the King of Korea to instruct and drill a sufficient armed force, that she may herself assure her public security, and to invite him to engage into his service an officer or officers from amongst those of a third Power, who shall be intrusted with the instruction of the said force. The respective Powers also bind themselves, each to the other, henceforth not to send any of their own officers to Korea for the purpose of giving said instruction.

In case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea, which necessitates the respective countries or either of them to send troops to Korea, it is hereby understood that they shall give, each to the other, previous notice in writing of their intention so to do, and that after the matter is settled, they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them there.

Signed and sealed this 18th day of the 4th month of the 18th year of Mirji (Japanese Calendar): the 4th day of the 3rd moon of the 11th year of Kocho (Chinese Calendar).

L. S. ITO, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Great
Empire of Japan.

L. S. LI, Special Plenipotentiary of the Great
Empire of China, etc.

When it is remembered that Japan is even more exclusive and jealous of foreigners than China, it will at once become obvious that the real object of the Treaty of Tientsin was to *open* Korea to *all* nations instead of converting it into a Japanese monopoly. This is why China gives her vassal authority to treat direct and independently with Foreign States and puts her on the same footing as Japan itself. The fear of Russian encroachments on Korean independence is a bugbear, for as long as Korea does not become subordinate to any foreign power, Russia has solemnly promised not to interfere in her affairs. Nor have we hitherto known Russia to break her promises, and it was not Russia that forced opium on us, plundered the Summer Palace, and that worries us with hosts of religious and other adventurers. Therefore, if Japan will only keep out of Korea, her fear of Russian aggression has no reason to exist.

England restored Port Hamilton in 1887 to Korea on the guarantee of China "that no part of Korea, including Port Hamilton, would be allowed to be occupied by a foreign power," so the present occupation of Japan, continued after Chinese disapproval, is also a threat against England. As for reforms, the present puppet-king is a notorious enemy of foreigners and of all improvements, even if dust has been thrown in the eyes of Europe by such announcements as the abolition of slavery in Korea, the remarriage of widows (which interferes with that of maids), and other futilities by which the Japanese ever see European Powers justify their own interference with Oriental countries. What China has done for Korea is to give her a good administration of Customs, the only paying Department in Korea, and this the Japanese would desire to abolish, as also that guaranteed

status which, while putting her on a footing of independence in all her foreign relations, preserves her national traditions and also ensures the integrity of her dominions, so respected by her own Suzerain, and now threatened by the short-sighted ambition of Japan which invites the very complications that it professes the desire to prevent.

Perhaps it may be considered to be unpatriotic to make, or even merely to hint at, the speculations that I have expressed. I foresee that the apathy, or policy, of the Great Powers has consigned both China and Japan to a long and exhausting waste of time, life and treasure. May our country emerge from it as gloriously as in the past, so that there may yet be left intact in this world that great Empire with its Dynasty, in which reign supreme peace and filial piety and THE ONE problem is *not* how to destroy quickest the enemies raised by one's greed. Had we ever-ready vast armaments and armies, equipped with innumerable engines of murder as also the wickedness and organization to use them on the smallest provocation, we should be, in European estimation, the most civilized of nations and even missionaries would vie with other unmasked visitors in becoming Chinese subjects, the only way of rendering foreigners and their work popular in China.

Countries, large enough for huge European wars, are continually lopped off the great Chinese Mass without causing the least emotion ; Korea, however, is too near its capital and sentiments. It will be fought for with that never-ending persistence which restored Chinese authority to Yarkand and removed Ili and Urumtsi from the grasp of Russia. To quote the words of Marquis Tseng in January 1887, or barely 18 months after the foolish Treaty with Japan of 1885, in the article alluded to at the beginning of this paper :

"China, to save the rest, has decided on exercising a more effective supervision on the acts of her vassal Princes, and of accepting a larger responsibility for them than heretofore. The Warden of the Marches is now abroad, looking to the security of China's outlying provinces—of KOREA, Thibet and Chinese Turkestan. Henceforth, any hostile move-

ments against these countries, or an interference with their affairs, will be viewed at Peking as a declaration, on the part of the Power committing it, of a desire to discontinue its friendly relations with the Chinese Government."

This clearly shows that, in the opinion of one of her most distinguished statesmen, the Treaty of 1885 was by no means an indirect or partial surrender of the Chinese suzerainty of Korea, as is now claimed by Japan to have been the case. One more word to the wise, whether in China or Japan, from the lips of Marquis Tseng :

"It behoves China, and all the Asiatic countries in the same position, to sink the petty jealousies which divide the East from the East, by even more than the East is separated from the West, and combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on Treaties rather than on Capitulations."

The Chinese have no wish to fight the Japanese, but the Japanese are ever anxious to fight the Chinese. Many Chinamen do not know of the existence of Japan, but every Japanese is now taught to hate China, the true parent of his literature and culture. Having purchased murderous toys, like Gatlings, the Japanese like to play with them at the expense of Chinese lives ; having forsaken the chivalrous ancient custom of committing *Harikari* on themselves, they must now shed the blood of others, being a military race, whereas the Chinese are a literary nation. Wishing to devour Korea, they naturally would prefer to see it independent . . of China, its natural and beloved protector. As for Korean misgovernment, it is generally modified by the traditional practice of the people conducting a bad Governor outside the district which he misrules. This is called "revolution" by Europeans and Japanese, but it is only an involuntary leave-taking on the part of the unpopular official. Be that as it may, the Koreans love their supposed oppressors, the Chinese, and abhor their self-constituted deliverers, the Japanese, whose only friend in the country is the notoriously seditious and unpatriotic puppet-king whom they have just placed on the throne. However, as the Japanese have adopted the manners and weapons of Europeans, they

have "a mission" to civilize Korea out of existence and to become the arbiters of the "Far East," to quote European newspapers.

As for the comparative veracity of Chinese and Japanese accounts of the war, to which the *Times* refers in an able article on September 4, 1894, with almost the same incredulity, I would point out that falsehood is not a monopoly of the East, but that deception in the words of literal truth is a talent of the West. Nor is the conventional phraseology of Chinese Reports necessarily any more untruthful than the European assertion of having "the honour of being one's humble servant." The Chinaman knows exactly *what* to believe in public statements—the European does not, and the Japanese have, till quite lately, been accustomed to hear the truth from their rulers.

The ideal of China is philosophic calm; that of Japan enterprise. The former prefers to lessen her responsibilities, the latter to increase them. Japan would like to forestall the future; China is satisfied with the past. So little does China care to interfere with the internal Government of Korea, as, indeed, with that of any of her numerous vassals, that she made it penal for any Chinaman to cross her frontier into Korea. This is the secret why Chinese rule is loved by Koreans, and if China allowed Korea to deal with foreign "outsiders" direct, it was because she herself did not wish to be troubled with the task. This explains the Treaty of Tientsin of 1885, from the misinterpretation of which all the present mischief has arisen, but which is merely part of the traditional policy of China to delegate to Korea the right of independence as regards foreign States, though it does not rescind the dependence of Korea herself on China. The King of Korea whilst concluding an independent Treaty with the United States in 1882, as he already had with Japan in 1876, was careful to explain in a Circular to all the Powers with which he had concluded Treaties that "*The King of Korea acknowledges that Korea is a tributary of China, but in regard to both internal ad-*

ministration and foreign intercourse it enjoys complete independence." This may be an anomaly, or even a quibble, from an European point of view, but it is perfectly compatible with China, whilst insisting on every punctilio of the etiquette of vassalage from Korea, also, in the words of Mr. Curzon, "strongly urging upon the Korean Government the signature of treaties with the foreign Powers as the sole means of continued security and independence for the threatened Kingdom." The treaties are with Japan, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Austria—and even with *China*! (1882). Yet, on the Great Middle Kingdom, all its extremities are dependent, though these extremities may be allowed independence as among themselves or towards still more distant "outsiders." If the Foreign powers wish to guarantee the independence of Korea against one another, and Japan is also sincere in that wish, China would be the last to object, provided Korea remained in the relation to the protecting paramount power that her traditions, her own sentiments and a complimentary tribute have indicated for ages.

We quote the following extract from "Men of the Time" regarding Li Hung Chang :

"Li Hung Chang, General, the Prime Minister of China, was born in the Anu-Huei province, Feb. 16, 1823. In 1860 he co-operated with General (then Colonel) Gordon in suppressing the Taeping rebellion, being then Governor of the Thiang-Sin province. The other Thiang province being added to his rule, he was created Viceroy of the United Countries, May, 1865. The following year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, and in 1867 Viceroy of Hong-Kuang, and a Grand Chancellor in 1868. After the Tien-Tsin massacre in 1870, he was despoiled of his titles, and otherwise punished on the charge of not assisting the General in command, but in 1872 the then Emperor restored him to favour and the office of Grand Chancellor. He was the mediator for fixing the indemnity for the murder of Mr. Margary, who was killed in 1876, while endeavouring to explore South-Western China. Now, Li Hung Chang is the Viceroy of the Metropolitan provinces of Pe-Chih-Li, and as such is the actual ruler or chief administrator of the Chinese Empire. He is a man of liberal views, permits coal-mining and coast-steamer traffic to be carried on by English companies, and is thought to be favourable even to railways."

IV.

THE KOREAN QUESTION.

BY ERNEST OPPERT.

My views on the Korean question and on the difficulties that have in consequence arisen between China and Japan are the following :

The claim, which the Chinese government now suddenly sets up again, in pretending to consider Korea as a vassal state, has no foundation in fact. The old treaties which were concluded while the old Ming dynasty in China was at the height of its power, have long since become obsolete and no one knows this better than the Pekin government itself. It is true, that upon the accession of the present Manchu dynasty towards the middle of the 17th century the then existing old treaties were renewed between China and Korea, and the payment of a certain annual tribute was imposed upon the latter. At first, as long as there was any cause to fear aught from the more powerful neighbour, Korea met her obligations with a good enough grace ; but with the decay of the Chinese power they were less scrupulously fulfilled until they were considered a mere matter of form. Missions of " presents " were exchanged at various intervals ; but as the Chinese Envoys who were sent with a return of presents to Seoul, were looked at with great suspicion there, and being surrounded with spies, were almost treated like prisoners, such missions had for very many years been discontinued altogether and the intercourse between the two countries was only resumed after Korea had been opened by the Japanese. Indeed, if China had a right to consider Korea as a vassal or tributary state, Japan could bring forward as good a claim, for by the treaty of 1615 between Korea and Japan, a yearly tribute of 300,000 bags of rice was imposed upon the latter state, which, though regularly paid at first, has been discontinued for the last two centuries.

The Chinese government has, moreover, on several given occasions, declared its utter inability to interfere in Korean affairs, and I maintain still, as I have done all along in the face of all counter-assertions, that Korea is a perfectly free and independent state, and the general view that the relations between China and Korea are still those of liege and vassal, is quite erroneous. Whatever covenants or treaties may in olden times have been entered into or agreed upon, at present they are only waste paper and have long since been forgotten and set aside.

So much for the Chinese claim—now let us look at the other side of the question, viz., the Japanese demands. Legally, their claim can in no way be more substantiated than that of China—morally, however, they can set forth a better kind of pretension, now, at least, to having a say in Korean affairs. I have no hesitation in saying, that if it were not for that small but energetic State, Korea would be to-day to all of us as closed a book as it has been for centuries past; for, instead of leading the vanguard in opening the country, as they ought to have done, the great and mighty Western powers only stepped in when they saw that little Japan had succeeded in what they had not thought it worth while to try. Disgusted with the general indifference, with which Korea was regarded in Western Europe, I closed the preface of my book with the remark: “Rather than see the present state of things continue, it might be preferable to have Korea taken possession of by Russia;—(which at that time could easily have been accomplished) at all events it would then be made accessible and cease to continue a mockery to the world.” My London publishers rather objected to this passage and wrote to me in return: “would not that rather be in *our* line?” Yes, decidedly it would have been more in the English line, and I should have liked nothing better than to have seen the British government follow it up; unfortunately however it did nothing of the kind then and only followed suit when little Japan had led the way.

I quite agree with what Mr. Henry Norman states in his article lately published in the "Contemporary Review": That China means barbarism, Japan, on the other hand, represents progress and culture in Eastern Asia. The Pekin Government, I verily believe, is, in its innermost heart, as inimical and adverse to foreign intercourse and progress to-day, as it was fifty or a hundred years ago and most certainly it would never take a step of its own accord to further it—excepting only improvements and progress in shipbuilding, arms and means of defence, which can be turned eventually against us. True, there may be a few—very few indeed—among the leading men there, who are a little more liberal and advanced in their views; but even men like Li-Hung-Chang, decidedly the ablest Chinese statesman of modern times, possess only a limited influence, and it takes very little indeed to set them aside or overthrow them altogether. Japan on the other hand has rapidly progressed—too rapidly perhaps—since 1859, and there certainly exists no other country in Eastern Asia—or in Western Asia either—to compare to it in culture and progress. Japan has also by far the largest commercial interest at stake in Korea, and if, in the face of the abominable mismanagement prevailing there since the disastrous rule of that monster, the late Regent, it insists upon the introduction of such inner reforms, which would tend to put an end to the corruption of the authorities and to the systematic pillage and robbery of the people by the former, it would certainly be deserving our thanks.

Mr. Norman calls Korea a "worthless" country. How he comes to that conclusion is an enigma to me and I entirely disagree with him in this respect. A country, that produces silk, tea and cotton besides a number of other valuable articles, that is blessed with a moderate and healthy climate, owns immense woods rich in the finest timber, that possesses untold treasures of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Coal and other minerals, deserves by no means to be called "worthless." If all this wealth has been

lying waste up to this day, and has as yet proved of no, or of little, benefit to the country itself or to the world at large, no one is to be blamed but its miserable government, which kept its own people in a state of forced seclusion and degradation for so long a period, and prevented it from utilizing the treasures which the country could yield in a state of culture.

As to the chances of the war now pending between China and Japan, my impression is that they are vastly in favour of the latter. Talking of a Chinese "army" in our sense of the word is simply absurd—with the exception of the comparatively small body of men, of which Li-Hung-Chang's somewhat better drilled and equipped troops consist, the Chinese hordes, undisciplined, badly armed and worse officered, will never withstand, in open battle, however large in numbers, a much smaller, better led and equipped army. The same applies to their navy, though the Chinese are as good sailors as the Japanese. Nor do I think it at all unlikely, that the Japanese, with their superior troops and navy, will succeed, if they seriously mean it, in landing a sufficiently strong force somewhere on the Petcheli coast, will attack the Taku forts and threaten Peking itself, and carry the war right up to the gates of the Imperial city. And I do not see, why they should not have the same right to do this, if fortune favours them, as the English-French forces in 1861. England, at all events, has no reason to interfere, for a strong and victorious Japan would be the best bulwark against Russian encroachments in the far East.

Let me conclude these few and general remarks with the wish, that, however this struggle will end, it may at all events have the one beneficent result to open a new era of peace and progress to the poor and heavily visited people of Korea.

AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE.

By J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.

THE Korean question is of paramount interest to the British Empire, not merely as a matter of trade and commerce but much more so from the Imperial point of view.

So long as Korea was left alone, under her traditional vassalage to China, her politics were simple in the extreme—*nil*. At present four powerful nations must watch the course of events. Of these, England, whose mercantile interests are paramount, stands aloof, her effete Foreign office, whether under a Conservative or a Liberal chief, utterly unwilling or unable to do anything to protect Imperial interests where first class powers are concerned. True, England wants nothing for herself but unhampered trade with Korea; but to secure that, she must insist on Korean integrity and independence. Yet though both are at stake, she is apparently unconscious or careless of the coming results. Another, Russia, has till now been an apparently idle watcher: yet not quite so, for she has increased her armament in the Pacific. Unlike England, it is Russia's interest to wait, while Japan and China mutually weaken each other and exhaust Korea. Whoever loses, Russia will step in and win at the end. When she does, she will annex the entire peninsula and its islets, Russify it in course of time, and thus secure for her Pacific navy a set of harbours free all the year round from ice. This is a serious menace to English trade and Imperialism in the East. The hopes fondly expected to result to the British Empire from the Canadian Pacific line, the steamship communication between Canada and Australia, the proposed Pacific cable are all nullified or jeopardized in this prospect; and it is hardly too much to say that England will have to resist *à outrance* any attempt on the part of Russia to seize Korea. Our government, however, is still inactive; and it will most probably awake only too late to realize this

certainty. China, like England, desires only to maintain Korea intact and independent of all, save her light, traditional vassalage to herself. Wars have occurred between Korea and China and have ended in fixing more strongly and closely the bonds of vassalage. Yet these wars have left no ill-feeling between the two nations. Korea leans naturally and willingly towards China; for though the latter has strenuously maintained her own suzerainty, she seems to have done so more for the purpose of using Korea as a Buffer to keep off strangers from the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Pechili, than from any desire of interfering directly with Korean internal affairs or of deriving any profit from the connection. She has been generous in remitting the amount of the fixed tribute, when Korea was unable to pay all. Besides aid in domestic and foreign broils, China has advanced considerable sums of money, and yet for these loans she has sought neither payment of interest nor repayment of capital. Nor has she used the power which these loans undoubtedly gave her, to extort concessions from her vassal in her own favour. In fact, China, as if to emphasize her desire that Korea should stand by herself, self-supported, though under Chinese suzerainty, had long agreed to neutralize the line where the two frontiers were conterminous in the north. That line was made a perfect desert, several miles in width, from shore to shore; and it is only of late years that it has begun to be inhabited.

Mr. Curzon thinks that China erred in allowing Korea to make treaties directly with foreign powers, a concession which he considers incompatible with vassalage. But Li Hung Chang in this acted quite consistently with the Chinese ideal of vassalage: it is Mr. Curzon who has misread the position. As against arrogation of equality with China and against aggression from without, Korea is China's vassal—she must pay tribute and will in turn receive protection in case of need. As regards other powers, she is independent and equal; and it flatters Chinese self-esteem that the acknowledged vassal of

China should treat on a footing of perfect equality with the greatest potentates of the earth,—the Queen of England, the Presidents of the United States and France, the Emperors of Germany, Austria, Russia, and Japan. In fact, making Korea, while actually acknowledging her vassalage, treat directly with foreign powers was a masterpiece of Chinese diplomacy and the clearest statement of Korea's real *status*. The policy of China towards Korea, past and present, is (1) to leave Korea free to manage her internal affairs and her friendly relations with Foreigners; (2) to uphold her integrity and independence against internal revolt or foreign aggression; and (3) to keep her as a friendly Buffer-State between herself and Japan and Russia. This is all that China is even now striving for. The position is clear, and it is as honourable to China, as it is beneficial to Korea.

The last of the four countries concerned is Japan. Cognate in race and language, and a near neighbour, importing thence part at least of her civilization, aggressive Japan could not always be kept at the same arm's length as the rest of the "barbarian" world by Korea when she adopted a policy similar to that of China with regard to foreigners. While her subordination to China is undoubted up to the days of Wu-Wang, admitted by all from the beginning of the present Korean dynasty, and never even questioned academically till 1876, Korea has sent missions with tribute and owned a certain subjection to Japan, since at least the third century of our era. Japan has long, if not always, been the bitter foe of Korea. Her unprovoked invasions, her bloody massacres, and her ruthless devastations have left an indelible mark on the country and have created that deep-seated feeling of hatred which makes the Japanese the first, if not the sole, victims in every popular outbreak. Whatever rights Japan may have acquired by former unprovoked conquests were simply extorted at the point of the sword, and they have lapsed since the last 200 years at least. Japan now once again repeats her former rôle.

Whatever her object, it is well known that she has long

prepared for her aggression; and worked up to it. That she had nothing particular to complain of, the absence of all proof has shown. That whatever reforms or changes might be required in Korea should have been sought peaceably by peaceful international representation, reason and common sense agree in indicating; and Korea would certainly have listened to it. It says little for the pretended desire for peace—whether in Societies* or Sovereigns or Governments—that Japan, which would not have dared to disobey a flat order from Russia, England, France and the United States, should have been allowed to force on a war with China, the end and the results of which no one can clearly foretell. She ought to have been told at once that she would not be permitted to interfere in Korea.

To prove the illegality of the interference of Japan, we have only to read the opening words of Art. I. of the treaty dictated in 1876 by Japan to Korea: "Chó-san [Korea] being 'an independent State, enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan." This blow was aimed at Chinese suzerainty; but it now recoils with crushing force on its own authors. If Korea is an independent State, whence the right to interfere, with an armed force, to regulate her internal affairs or to compel the adoption of imaginary reforms? Russia and the United States might as well step in to-morrow at Tokio and land armies to extinguish the scandalous vagaries of the Japanese Diet and Japan's growing intolerance of foreigners.† If the treaty of Tientsin, 1885, between China and Japan, in which both parties agreed not to send troops into Korea without previous intimation to the other power, be urged as justifying this invasion by Japan, Korea may well reply that being independent (as Japan asserts), and not having

* While I write, two Peace Conferences have been sitting; but neither has had a word of practical purpose to end this war, not even a resolution regretting it.

† Japan has flattered Europe by imitation; and European writers have repaid her by flattering her up to the skies, and thus turning her head. She professes to pose as the arbiter of the Pacific. See *Japan and the Pacific*, by M. Inagaki. London: J. Fisher Unwin, 1890.

been a party to that treaty, she is in no way bound by it, Japan in no way justified by it in violating Article I. of her own treaty of 1876, under pretext of a subsequent treaty which, according to the Japanese contention, is essentially unjust and consequently invalid. Whether Korea is a thoroughly independent State or whether she is an autonomous vassal of China, it is equally unjust and unjustifiable in Japan to attack and coerce her, unprovoked, at the point of the bayonet, whatever the excuse may be.

As I write, the war progresses, yet the so-called civilized nations allow it to go on, instead of ordering Japan to withdraw. Where is the boasted solidarity of nations, when a common note cannot yet be sent to Tokio, though three months have elapsed since the first act of wanton aggression? Will no power take the lead in procuring so desirable a concerted action? Should not England who is most interested, begin the rôle of peacemaker?

The eventual triumph of China is still very probable. A small army destroyed does not mean the extinction of China; and it is easier to go to Peking than to stay there or to get back.* Press writers may compare the respective number of ships and regiments and their armaments; yet what is Japan compared with the inexhaustible resources, the vast population, the intense nationality, the giant strength and the enormous staying powers of China? But between the two, Korea and her very interesting people will be ground to the dust and thrown back perhaps for centuries. Is it not high time to prevent this ruin, by an *International* concerted action? and to render all future troubles impossible by an INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE OF KOREAN INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE?

The British Foreign Office should gird itself at once to this task, for our Imperial interests are at stake:—British, Canadian, Australian and Indian. Too much time has already been lost!

September 20th, 1894.

* *Life of Genl. Sir Hope Grant*, by Col. Knollys. 2 vols. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1894. See vol. 2, pp. 190-196.

VI.

ENGLAND AND CHINA IN THE FAR EAST.

BY GENERAL A. R. MACMAHON.

THOUGH only a few months have elapsed since the publication of Mr. Curzon's able article in the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "India between two Fires," in which he points out that events in the Far East, which are gradually shaping themselves, tend to prove that the interests of England and China in that part of the world are identical, the lesson to be derived from them is apt to be forgotten in the excitement caused by recent occurrences in the same region. He particularly drew attention to the simultaneous advance of Russia and France upon the north-western as well as the Burmese boundaries of our Indian Empire, a coincidence sufficiently remarkable to merit thoughtful attention, as, under contingencies by no means improbable, it might develop into a danger of the first magnitude. He therefore considers that the contiguity of Great Britain with either France or Russia in Asia is profoundly to be deprecated in the interests alike of good government, economy and peace, as it is not only a question of Indian or Asiatic politics but one of European politics as well; for here in the heart of the Great Eastern Continent, and on the flank of our Indian Empire "are planted the solè European nations who regard this country with hostility and might, under very easily conceivable circumstances, desire to do us an injury." The same Powers also press on the frontiers of China and it is highly probable that a situation might arise in which each might be able to render the other material aid in the event of our being concerned simultaneously. The *Times* remarked in a leading article of 6th September, "both Great Britain and China are to be congratulated on the Convention signed by their respective plenipotentiaries last March and ratified on the 23rd of last month, which has just been issued as a Blue-

book. The wisest statesmen of both nations have long since come to the conclusion that the vital interests of the two countries as Asiatic Powers imperatively demand the maintenance of that good understanding between them which happily subsists, and has subsisted for so many years. The present Convention will be generally welcomed as an important step towards the prevention of possible disagreements which might tend to disturb that good understanding in the future. . . . The Convention cannot but help still further to cement the friendly relations between the Signatory Powers. While we obtain from it advantages which we highly value, it must be admitted that the Chinese have exhibited their usual skill at a bargain."

China within quite recent times has achieved a remarkable position, the great strength of which, as the Marquis Tseng says, in pungent metaphor, she fully realises. War has taught her how she can best cope with European Powers. She has the means of increasing enormously the number of her trained soldiers, the supply of which is practically inexhaustible, and above all, by reason of the profit derived from her foreign commerce, she has ample funds to pay for them as well as for competent commanders, the want of whom at present is the weak point in her military organization. Thus she can readily comply with the demands of her War Minister's budget, be it ever so exacting.

The wonderful successes achieved by the "Ever-Victorious Army" commanded by Gordon, prove conclusively what the Celestials can accomplish when led by officers whom they can trust. Captain Lang, R.N., who for some time had chief control of the Chinese Navy, is of opinion that "there is the making of anything in the Chinese. They are well-trained and excellent marksmen, and the discipline is very good. As compared with the Japanese, the Chinese Navy is about equal. Probably the Japanese have more dash and go, and there is among them more *esprit de corps*. Otherwise the two naval forces are about the same. When I was in command the condition of the Chinese Navy was such that I should have had no fear of meeting the Japanese,

or, for the matter of that, any other navy. In steam-tactics the Chinese were well to the fore, and their drills were excellent and unsurpassed anywhere. All depends, however, upon how they are led. With an officer like Admiral Ting, whom I would not hesitate to follow anywhere, the Chinese Navy would prove a splendid force. If the men have confidence in their leaders they will face anything."

Many authorities, both naval and military, furnish us with equally undeniable proof of the potentialities of China as a belligerent nation. Others do the same in connection with the Japanese. It forms no part of the present writer's programme, however, to draw any comparison between these Powers, now unhappily in dire conflict, with both of whom, fortunately, England is on the best of terms. He therefore only ventures to quote a plain unvarnished statement of the real state of affairs in China as to its fighting capacity, from the standpoint of an eminently capable ex-official, to prove that it is far better for us to have her as a friend than an enemy. We may conveniently inaugurate our review of the question by recording what the people think of themselves as reflected by a dispassionate and able statement by that eminent statesman the Marquis Tseng, who proves very conclusively that China is no longer the *quantité négligeable* which a French official declared her to be. We know that the Russians in the Pamirs, the French in Tong King and Siam, and the English in Burma, one and all, have realized the truth of the theorem, and consequently have been obliged to modify their diplomacy when dealing with the Celestials. Forgetting that China, though slow to move, is very tenacious of what she deems her rights when once she has taken her stand, each coolly made its own arrangements without consulting her, and sometimes therefore had to cry "peccavi." The Russian Bear had to relax his fell grip of the Pamirs when the Chinese Dragon cried "Paws off"; the Siamese Lamb would have been gobbled up by the French Wolf if the same intervener had not rebuked him for his gluttony;

while the British Lion, though he had done none of these things, yet in subservience to a policy of undue concession, wagged his tail in token of acquiescence when the latter insisted on his acknowledging him as his Lord and Master, or in other words called upon England to pay tribute to the Son of Heaven, as Suzerain. All three, in fact, were obliged to recognise the power of a country they had hitherto treated as dead, but which, as the Marquis proves, was only sleeping. The advent of white traders, better in fight than the turbulent pirates and filibusters of their own country, who, troublesome though they were, gave them comparatively speaking little concern, caused her to awake and realize that her actual position hardly justified her sense of security. "It required the fire of the Summer Palace to singe her eyebrows, the advance of the Russians into Kuldja and the French in Tonquin" to bring the fact home to her, just as it required Colonel (afterwards Sir Edward) Sladen's tramping into King Thibaw's presence shod in ammunition boots, instead of crouching in his "stocking feet" to carry conviction to his Majesty of the Golden Foot that his glory had departed.

China, acting on the advice of one of her great statesmen, paid the price of her mistakes and cheerfully set about preparations to prevent History repeating itself in like fashion; just as the Italians, with a moral courage, equally high, did after Lissa. As the Marquis wisely concludes, "it is not a moribund nation that can so quickly accept its reverses, and gathering courage from them, set about throwing overboard the wreckage and make a fair wind of the retiring cyclone"—a commentary equally applicable to Italy in a similar predicament. That astute politician anticipated the obvious danger threatened by the awakening of 300 millions, who remembering their defeats and conscious of their newly discovered power may be aggressive, but argues that China is one of those Powers which "can bear their misfortunes without sulking," is also free from the insane earth-hunger which afflicts some other nations, and

therefore a hankering, on her part, to wipe out her defeats is not to be dreaded. Our diplomatists therefore should earnestly strive to keep on good terms with China, and also bear in mind that the Pamirs, Tibet, a vast international trade, and many other important interests affecting both countries may be prejudiced by misunderstandings. As an instance in point, Sir Charles Crossthwaite, a former Chief Commissioner of Burma, quotes what happened to the French when they insulted the dignity of China by repudiating her claim to Tong King. "Were they not," he asks, "incessantly harassed by Blackflags and other filibusters instigated by the Chinese authorities?" and might not, he hints, the same intolerable experience be our fate if we trespassed on Celestial territory? As a matter of fact, however, he argues on wrong premises, for subsequent evidence tends to prove that the Blackflags were not encouraged in any way by the *Tsungli Yamen*, which did not interfere with the French in that region till long afterwards, nor does he sufficiently take into account the extraordinary apathy of the Celestial Government which allowed more than 'twenty years to elapse before it improvised efficient measures for crushing the Panthay revolt which ruined Yünnan, and their subsequent supineness in maintaining a secure grip of the country after restoring order.

Further he does not make due allowance for the commendable capacity of the Chinese authorities for taking a broad view of political affairs—proved not only by their dignified attitude towards England, which prominently sympathised with those revolutionists, but also by their absence of malice towards Frenchmen residing in other parts of the Middle Kingdom. Moreover he fails to take into consideration that French prestige was never higher than in 1885 when it attained its zenith. The French in that year gracefully "stooped to conquer" by frankly yielding to the sentimental weakness of the royal family and handing over to them the Roman Catholic Cathedral of

Peking, which for many years had been a source of extreme irritation, amounting to a veritable apple of discord in Franco-Celestial diplomacy, owing to its lofty towers dominating the royal pleasure grounds and gardens. Indeed the concession pleased the Court so much that it granted special indulgences to the French clergy at the capital, at the very time that Chinese freebooters were harrying French laymen on the frontier.*

A brief reference to the Panthay episode seems opportune here. Apparently a digression, it will be found, nevertheless, pertinent to our subject. Some three decades ago Captain Sprye brought forward his attractive scheme for running a railway between Rangoon and Esmok (Ss-mau), on the frontier of Yünnan, and tapping the rich south western provinces of the Middle Kingdom. This project, however, was thrust aside in favour of re-opening the ancient trade routes from Bhamô, with the same object in view. The outcome of this alternative idea was the despatch, by permission of the king of Burma, of Colonel Sladen's mission which was treated by his Majesty's representative at Bhamô with great courtesy and dignified hospitality. The Kachins who dominate these routes were described by him as inveterate "caterans" whose normal profession—as Sladen found to his cost—was raiding caravans, diversified by the congenial pastime of cutting one another's throats, inter-tribal conflicts and kidnapping their neighbours. The region beyond Kachin territory had also, by his account, lapsed into a very dangerous state of disorganization owing to the eccentric proceedings of equally estimable worthies who, having been robbed of their possessions during the prevalent anarchy, retaliated by a reckless spoliation of others weaker than themselves. Beyond these again, he said, were the Panthays, or Chinese

* To bring about this concession the consent of the Pope had to be obtained, for it is one of the canons still in vigour in the Church of Rome that ecclesiastical property cannot be alienated in any way excepting by the express permission of his Holiness.

Mahommadans who, having successfully rebelled against China had seized on Yünnan, were unable to form a stable Government, and had effectually put a stop to commerce.

Sladen, on mere report, was naturally disinclined to abandon his enterprise, on its very threshold, and accordingly started on, what afterwards proved, a very weary pilgrimage. He soon had ample opportunity for verifying by painful experience all that the king's official had told him, especially when he found himself, *nolens volens*, forced to accept the hospitality of the genial Kachins and likewise on the horns of a dilemma as to whether he should incur the equally dangerous risk of advancing or retiring. He chose the former. By a happy thought he appealed for aid to the Panthay governor of Momein the frontier town of Yünnan, wisely judging, as the sequel proved, that it was better to trust to people who were known to have made a considerable advance in civilization rather than remain with savage and undisciplined clans. Tasakon the governor responded with alacrity to Sladen's requisition, received the mission with great distinction and treated it with the most generous hospitality and consideration during its long stay at Momein. Emboldened thereby Sladen solicited his good offices in aiding him to visit Talifu, the capital of the Panthay Kingdom. The governor was willing not only to do so, but even to furnish him with an armed escort if he decided to push on, despite his warning that, in the then disturbed state of the country, an advance might prove disastrous. Hampered by "instructions"—the *bête noire* of the official mind—which forbade jeopardising the safety of his party, Sladen relinquished the idea of proceeding farther, contenting himself with forwarding a letter and presents to Suleiman the Panthay King, who duly acknowledged them and promised to return the compliment. A mission from the King arrived at Rangoon, in due course, in charge of his son Prince Hassan, who heralded his advent for the purpose of paying a visit to the Chief Commissioner

of British Burma by visiting-cards of large dimensions emblazoned with his rank and titles.*

The latter welcomed the Mission with distinction and forwarded it to the Viceroy, who in turn sent it on to the Secretary of State for India with his own recommendation. The Envoy was the bearer of a Royal letter from King Suleiman to the Queen of England, in which he described himself as "a humble native of the Goldteeth Country." His Majesty also entrusted his Envoy with some "pieces of rock hewn from the Tali mountains" as the most formal expression of his desire to become feudatory to the British Crown. Our unromantic Foreign Office, blind to romantic symbolism, would not suffer them to be extricated from the bonded warehouse of the Customs; yet it seems unlikely that the tariff includes among forbidden imports the sacred rock of the "Goldteeth."†

In the opinion of many thoughtful people at that time, these courtesies were a lamentable error in judgment, a conclusion fully borne out by subsequent events. Even the most phlegmatic Celestial, they argued, could hardly view with complaisance the honourable reception accorded by the British Government to the representative of rebels who for long had been striving with might and main to wrest the province of Yünnan from the Chinese Empire. Prince Hassan having spent all the money granted him from King Suleiman's treasury, was absolutely penniless on arrival in England, and, as a royal representative, had to submit to the incongruity of being lodged and entertained at the expense of the Court to which he was accredited. Everything was done to make his visit to London gratifying, short of introducing him to the Queen. The authorities, so far wise in their generation, shirked what would obviously have been a grave political blunder.

* When calling on the present writer in London, the Envoy condescended to adopt the comparatively microscopic "Barbarian" equivalent, bearing the simple legend—"Prince Hassan of Talifu."

† Mr. Colborne Baber's report on the Honble. Mr. Grosvenor's Mission.

Their well meant, though mistaken, hospitality, however, resulted in the complete ruin of the Panthay people. For the Chinese Government, which had hitherto been criminally negligent as regards Yünnan, immediately took action, and by measures short, sharp, and decisive, made almost a clean sweep of the rebels. The Panthay monarch made a gallant stand at Talifu, worthy of his reputation as a doughty Commander. But finding defeat inevitable, he, with a moral courage eminently heroic, endeavoured by self-sacrifice to avert the doom that awaited his soldiers if they needlessly provoked the choler of the besiegers by a hopelessly obstinate defence. Accordingly his Majesty surrendered himself to the commander of the attacking force and merely begged that the lives of his people might be spared. Heedless of his prayer, however, the victors massacred the helpless garrison and townsfolk. Thus it will be seen that the Chinese contented themselves with wreaking their vengeance on the compatriots of the Envoy only, who possibly might never have been interfered with if the English had not intervened. Dignified in their anger, however, the Celestials spurned the idea of retaliating in any way on the interveners. It seems therefore beyond the limits of common sense that they would treat the new rulers of Burma as they did the French, when the former, unlike the latter, were anxious to do all in their power to bring about a satisfactory solution of boundary and other questions.

Despite Sir Charles Crossthwaite's opinion therefore, Burma, even by the very widest stretch of the imagination, cannot be described as on all-fours with Tong-King. France, by annexing the latter, was decidedly guilty of trespass on Chinese dominions. England, by taking possession of Upper Burma, picked up no such bone of contention. On the contrary, the Court of Peking loyally accepted the situation, when General Prendergast took possession of Bhamô. Had England taken a slice of Yünnan, a parallel would doubtless have been established ;

but by confining herself strictly to territory which by a general consensus of opinion belonged to the deposed sovereign, she was decidedly within her rights.

Bearing in mind the very dignified reticence of the Chinese Government in the Panthay episode, when it received just cause of offence from England, it is difficult to believe that the attitude of China, as regards the annexation of Upper Burma, should become so pronounced as to render a good understanding between the two countries more difficult. Yet Sir Lepel Griffin—in the *Nineteenth Century* for November last—seems to be of this opinion, and taking as Gospel the suggestion of French writers that our harsh treatment of Burma furnished them with a precedent for the dismembering of Siam, considers the position unfortunate. So powerfully, declares he, did this consideration appeal to the Indian Government that annexation was only decided upon when continued injuries and insults had left no other course possible. But the same things happened often enough before without impressing on the British Government the necessity of waging war with King Thibaw and taking possession of his country. They therefore could hardly be pleaded as a reason for the new departure, which every one knew would have been postponed *sine die* had it not been for deep laid schemes on the part of the French for obtaining a predominating influence in Upper Burma, and thereby cutting off the English from commerce with South-Western China. Some more plausible excuse had therefore to be invented. A “happy thought” suggested the use of the “Shoe Question” as a fulcrum for upsetting the Aloung-pra dynasty. This was an engine of oppression favoured by the Arbiter of Existence for humbling foreigners, whereby all who were vouchsafed an audience with his Majesty had to squat on the floor in the royal Presence, divested of their boots. The Indian Government after long having allowed their officers to be subject to this indignity, without protest of any kind, reversed its tactics when a high-handed policy

suited its purpose ; and, dubbing the practice "humiliating," insisted, in its ultimatum to King Thibaw, that it should cease. This to all who could read between the lines of the ultimatum was a fiat tantamount to poor Thibaw's abdication or dethronement. For the Lord of the Rising Sun and Great Chief of Righteousness, who ruled over the countries of Tsampudeepa and Thoonaparanta, and all the great Umbrella-bearing Chiefs of Eastern countries was, after all, a mere slave to Custom ; so much so, that in order to keep up his prestige he felt himself constrained to appeal to arms, an alternative which, if he reflected at all, he knew must result in his instant and complete discomfiture.

According to Mr. Michie, the same political storm-cloud hovers above the Chinese continent as well as the Indian Empire. It boots not over which it may burst, the other in any case must follow suit. So pronounced indeed is the situation that there is a consensus of opinion among some experts that an alliance offensive and defensive between England and China is desirable, though, at the same time, they seem to be oppressed with misgivings as to the possibility of an understanding of practical value between these empires, linked together though they be by a common interest—mayhap by a common destiny.

VII.
 THE SIAMESE BLUE-BOOK
 AND THE
 PRESENT CONDITION OF SIAM AFFAIRS.
 BY "MEI NAM KONG."

THE recently published Blue-book on the affairs of Siam contains a series of letters and official documents dating from July 1887 down to April of this year. Its appearance has been long delayed; and now that it has been published, it is obviously a selection, and a carefully selected selection, from the whole official correspondence. To this no objection can be reasonably taken. Very important matters regarding Indo-China are, unfortunately, still at issue between Great Britain and France. The public interest is the interest of peace, and it is more than possible that the interest of peace would not have been served by an indiscriminate publication of communications that have passed on what has become such a delicate subject as the relative and proportionate influence of Great Britain and France in Indo-China. Moreover a blue-book of 225 pages is quite long enough to wear out the stock of patience that most politicians are ready to give to a country so far away as Siam. "Out of sight, out of mind" is emphatically true of a country ten thousand miles out of sight, and rare indeed is it to find a statesman farsighted enough to distinguish clearly the perspective and due proportion of the events which are happening on the other side of the world, and foresighted enough to influence the causes of a geographically remote catastrophe, instead of awaiting its results when they reach us here. How can a Cabinet Minister the floor of whose room is daily blocked with scores of those long red-leather boxes each of which has its budget of prolific papers demanding immediate attention, the pigeon holes of whose brain are crammed with questions from every part of the civilized and uncivilized

world and who is continually called upon to make extremely humorous speeches after extremely unwholesome dinners : How can such a man, in such a position, grasp the realities of an unseen world, the other side of the globe ?

The story of the Siamese Blue-book opens with the account of a raid by some wild Northerners roaming over the country between Siam and China. They swooped down upon the Siamese f Luang Prabang on the river Mekong, and took possession of it for a time. A Siamese armed force was sent from Bangkok, in November of the same year (1887), to expel and chastise the "Chin Haws"; and this expedition was accompanied by two French officers apparently sent by the French Authorities for this purpose. A clearer proof that Luang Prabang belonged at that time to Siam, and that this was recognised by the French, it would be impossible to imagine, even had it not been subsequently recognised by the French Ambassador in England in his communications with the Foreign office.

The inevitable tendency towards either conquest or absorption, created by the contact of great European Powers with relatively weak Oriental nations, is likely to work automatically and irresistibly when up to both frontiers of a weak country, two of the Great Powers are advancing, one from the East, and the other from the West. Such a mill as this may grind slowly, but, if left to itself, it will grind exceeding small. Siam certainly could never be in a condition to prevent, unaided, the approach of the upper and nether millstones of English and French influence in the far East.

The neutrality of Siam must be a neutrality manufactured by Treaty. The independence and integrity of Siam must be guaranteed, or, to the great detriment of many countries, and the greatest by far to England, the very existence of Siam will be in jeopardy. Once let this fact be clearly recognised and boldly accepted; once let the necessary arrangements be made with absolute singleness of purpose

by England and by France ; and once let there also be the active sympathy of Siam's gigantic geographical neighbour China, and the cordial approval of other Powers commercially interested in the Far East, and Siam will enter on a new phase of her national existence, a phase in strong contrast to that of a state "protected" by one overpowering neighbour, who dictates her foreign policy, and manipulates her internal resources. She will then retain her territorial integrity and her political neutrality under the guarantee of the Great Powers who, spontaneously, and for their own interests will have mutually arranged for the continued and permanent existence of a real Buffer-State.

Far from losing in strength Siam will in reality have largely added to it. She will have become more really strong, and more genuinely independent, because then she will be endowed with the opportunity for reforms which an uncertain existence, threatened by the jealous rivalry of powerful neighbours renders impossible. She would be the peaceful and progressive Belgium of the East, her internal government in her own hands, and her foreign relations unhampered. Like Belgium she has everything to gain by peace, and everything to lose by war. And, of all wars, that which would be the most fatal and most destructive, would be a war between her powerful neighbours fought out upon her own soil. So far the analogy between Siam and Belgium is complete enough. Every friend of Siam must hope that the Siamese will, in the future, render the industrial, commercial and administrative analogy as complete as may be. But the political analogy must be made complete before the others can follow. And, as regards the Buffer-State policy of which we have heard so much, whatever other Buffer-State may be artificially created out of the parings sliced off some remote provinces and dedicated as the happy hunting-grounds of the outlaws of Indo-China, whose sports will be presided over by a Chinese Mandarin ; whatever may be done in this way, the only State which is big enough to be

an effectual and permanent Buffer is Siam herself. Of course something more than mere size is required for an efficient Buffer-State between English and French territories in the Far East. Order and security, and the growth that depends upon them are essential—in other words, a civilized government—not a contemptible aping of the varnish of European manners and customs as a substitute for their own, which generally results in a feeble and ridiculous caricature, but the gradual adaptation of what can be adopted and adapted while maintaining the national life and assisting its normal growth.

Time, and plenty of it, is essential for such a process as this. What is lacking is not the time but the patience that knows how to mark the stages, slow indeed when compared with the lives of men, but marvellously rapid of late when contrasted with those that have gone before, as far back in the centuries as there is any record to mark them. And here perhaps one word may be said in remonstrance against the extreme bad taste and gross unfairness which taint some travellers' writings who go abroad and share largely the hospitalities and enjoyments offered to them by leading Orientals, and then, on coming home, set themselves to describe in detail the worst side, and leave, hardly mentioned, the better and more hopeful side of life and character in Eastern countries. The real motive is generally some personal disappointment that they have not got all they expected to obtain for themselves out of their venture. What would be thought in England of an educated Siamese who, having been kindly and hospitably entertained here, went back to Siam and published a minute account of the doings in the West End of London between 11 p.m. and 2 a.m. as a fair description of English morals, and of the enjoyments and employments of the aristocracy of London?

To return to the Blue-book. Mr. Waddington paid a visit to Lord Salisbury in April 1889 in order to propose that a guarantee should be mutually arranged between

the two Great Powers for the integrity and neutrality of Siam. There can be no reason to doubt that, at that time, the offer was intended to be thoroughly genuine.

In a letter to Lord Lytton—British Ambassador at Paris—Lord Salisbury gives the substance of Mr. Waddington's communication as follows: "The French Government had a twofold object in view. They wished to establish a strong independent kingdom of Siam, with well-defined frontiers on both sides; and they desired to come to an arrangement by which a permanent barrier might be established between the possessions of Great Britain and France in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Such an arrangement would be advantageous to both countries and would prevent the complications which otherwise might arise between them." Here was the Buffer-State policy, simply and straightforwardly expressed, and accepted at the outset by England and France as beneficial to each, and assured of acceptance by Siam as doubly beneficial to her. The man who proposed this policy on behalf of France was singularly well qualified, by his knowledge of England, to carry through such a negotiation (Mr. Waddington was much more of a haplomat than a diplomat). But this policy, formally and officially proposed in April 1889, still remains, in September 1894, not only unexecuted, but with much that has happened since to make it more difficult of execution than it was at that time.

In the very same month that Mr. Waddington made his proposal to Lord Salisbury, Prince Devawongse, Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs at Bangkok, informed Mr. Gould, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Siam, that the King had expressed the desire for the appointment of a Boundary Commission to settle the pending frontier questions; and, on the 27th of the following August, Lord Salisbury wrote to Mr. Waddington expressing his entire approval of the scheme which the French Ambassador had propounded in April, enclosing a map showing the approximate

boundaries of Siam towards the North and North-West, and asking what, in the views of the French Government, were the Eastern boundaries of Siam. To this question we look in vain for a reply—Lord Rosebery more than once pointedly calls attention to the fact that none has been given. The only reply has been the advance of French and Annamite soldiers last year, and the forcible seizure of the territory up to the Mekong. How was such blundering possible? How, with all the machinery of diplomacy at hand, and with a bit of work so simple and so beneficial ready set out—how could such a failure happen?

The English and French representatives in Bangkok were on the best of terms—Captain Jones in January 1890 and in July 1892 writes almost emotionally about the discretion and moderation, the impartiality, the conciliatory spirit, and the justice of M. Pavie, the French Representative at Bangkok—qualities which are said to have won the esteem and the goodwill of the Siamese. How did the little rift begin that silenced the music of these harmonious notes? We look to the Blue-book in vain for an answer; for just where the answer should come in, there the correspondence becomes most meagre; and just when our curiosity and interest have been roused to the highest pitch, there has evidently been a very free use of the scissors, and a very sparing use of the paste. Lord Salisbury has retired into the shadow of opposition, a shadow not altogether ungrateful to one who had begun to find the Foreign Office a weary land. His post had been taken by Lord Rosebery; and the place occupied at Paris by Lord Lytton, who died suddenly pen in hand, was filled by a second Viceroy-Ambassador Lord Dufferin, the most experienced member of the British Corps Diplomatique. And behind the young Foreign Minister and the old Ambassador was a Government pledged to peace and a Premier whose programme of reform at home demanded peace with foreign countries as the primary and most

essential condition for its fulfilment. Here surely was a combination of motives and forces powerful enough to win the day against any malign influences on the side of aggression. But already there were signs of coming disturbances.

M. Pavie had been, as French Commissioner, surveying the Mekong River and its tributaries. He had been spying out the land which now everyone knows, but which at that time everyone by no means knew, to be the Naboth's Vineyard of the ambitions of the newly-appointed Governor of Indo-China, M. Lanessan, a man whose name will long be remembered as that of the most acquisitive Frenchman ever sent out as Governor of a group of French Colonies. The course of the River Mekong from the 18th to the 20th parallel of Latitude may be roughly described as running North by East. Just below the 20th parallel on the river is situated the town of Luang Prabang, and, immediately above it, going up stream, the river takes a gigantic sweep, and, almost doubling back upon itself, the course is South-West and West until, somewhere near the 100th degree of longitude, it turns Northward and its sources are to be found far away among the wild mountainous regions of Yunnan. The configuration of the river in the neighbourhood of Luang Prabang is something like the outline of a dumpy teapot, with the spout pointing East towards Tonquin, Luang Prabang being situated just below the furthest extremity of the spout, at which point the Nam Oo, by far the most important tributary of the Mekong in all that region, flows in, draining a vast stretch of country to the North-East and North.

The Mekong and the Nam "Oo" figure largely in the Blue-book, and the importance of Luang Prabang, as a commercial centre, and as a strategical position, have been for several years perfectly well known to M. Lanessan, and those who follow his lead, or study his policy. M. Lanessan was appointed French Governor of Indo-China in the spring of 1891. As long ago as 1886 he had

written a book describing in great detail, and foretelling the advance of the French in Indo-China and the methods by which they might at once consolidate and enlarge their empire there with the minimum of risk and the maximum of commercial gain and political influence to themselves. The appointment of M. Lanessan could only have one meaning—the opportunity of carrying out his own schemes and fulfilling his own prophecies, but as very few people in England had troubled themselves to read M. Lanessan's book, very few were aware what these prophecies were, and fewer still realized that they seriously and injuriously affected British interests. It is impossible that Lord Rosebery could believe, and proclaim his belief in, the repeated assurances of Members of successive French Governments that they desired nothing so much as a strong and independent Siam, if he had realized that they had selected the one Frenchman as Governor of Indo-China who had given years to the elaboration of a scheme by which a French Empire in that part of the world should be constructed by adding the shattered remnants of Siam to the annexed or "protected" kingdoms of Tonquin, Annam, Cochin China and Cambodia. There was M. Lanessan's book open for the world to read, and there was M. Lanessan himself as Governor in Indo-China fulfilling with conscientious accuracy item by item of the prophetic parts of his Gospel of French good-will towards Siam, as far as he was supported by French money, French troops, and French public opinion—properly instructed by a small, but very noisy, band of aggressive patriots at home.

In the meantime, when there were any signs of uneasiness on the part of Lord Rosebery on being questioned by inquisitive or restless Members of Parliament, or when memorials from Chambers of Commerce, or appeals from private firms of British Traders on behalf of the trade that was to be taken from them succeeded each other more rapidly than usual—on any such occasion as this the

touching assurance was always ready of the desire of France to co-operate with England to secure a strong independent Siam, whose neutrality would be guaranteed by both.

The very object and purpose of the Lanessan policy, described with great minuteness in his book, was to divert all the trade of the country from Bangkok to Saigon. Railways, Canals, Consular Officers, everything and everybody were to be made subservient to this consummation of the ambitions of M. Lanessan to transplant the whole trade of Siam from Bangkok to Saigon.

This was his commercial scheme.

What was his political scheme?

His political scheme involved a "rectification" of the frontier that gave the lie to the whole of the work done by explorers, geographers and surveyors—all of them his own countrymen—who had made Indo-China their special study. But a certain kind of patriotic ambition sticks at nothing in dealing with weaker countries, and of this M. Lanessan has plenty. His political scheme was to connect Tonquin in the North with Cambodia in the South by a broad belt of territory. He also wanted to get a water communication between the two, as land travelling in those countries is notoriously difficult and uncertain. A glance at the map shows that the way to do this, and the only way, was to broaden the kingdom of Annam, already practically French, and to get hold of the Mekong River, the navigability of which for at least some hundreds of miles of its course was now considered as proved by recent surveys.

It was not difficult to manufacture the justice of a policy which was so obviously expedient. The archives at Hué, the capital of Annam, proved—as soon as they were wanted to do so—that the Empire of Annam had for centuries extended West as far as the Mekong. The protection of France has the curious and convenient attribute of being historical and retrospective, whenever desirable. Nothing could be easier than to wipe out a Siamese occupation of the territory in question that had lasted, according to

M. Lanessan's own account, "*depuis une cinquantaine d'années seulement*" and to put the clock back so that the Kingdom of Annam should include what was supposed to belong to it half a century ago or more. In March 1893, M. Waddington went to Lord Rosebery and calmly propounded this view, and Lord Rosebery tells Lord Dufferin in a letter written immediately afterwards that he could not conceal his surprise at the communication. His indignation however he did conceal, — some think too well.

As early as December 1892 Lord Rosebery had informed M. Waddington that England had offered Siam a Province lying partly on one side and partly on the other of the Upper Mekong. This Province had become British Territory by virtue of the annexation of Burma. It was two months before M. Waddington could recover from his surprise sufficiently to express it, and to point out that such an arrangement with Siam "*porterait atteinte à notre influence sur la rive gauche du Haut Mékong, où nous avons pourtant expressément et à diverses reprises déclaré que l'action d'aucune Puissance Européenne ne devait, suivant nous, s'exercer en dehors de la nôtre.*" (Letter from M. Waddington to Lord Rosebery, February 22, 1893.) More than a year before this M. Waddington had approached Lord Salisbury with a proposal that England and France should each bind itself to the other not to extend its influence beyond the Mekong. Lord Salisbury had replied with refreshing bluntness that such a proposal looked very much as if each Power intended to give the other something which belonged to neither.

This proposal was called by M. Waddington a prophylactic, a long Greek word for which a shorter English one might be found, and it was repeated to Lord Rosebery more than once, who might perhaps have saved himself the repetition, had he applied the snub courteous as skilfully as his predecessor. He thought it would "be open to misconstruction, and be more likely to excite alarm and suspicion on the part of Siam than to reassure her as to the intention

of the two Powers to respect her integrity." This shrewd guess at the probabilities did not cure matters, and the prophylactic fit has remained chronic in a greater or less degree of intensity ever since, until it became merged in the convulsions that have brought France to the Mekong, and her "sphere of influence" 25 kilometres beyond the Mekong on the right-hand bank. M. Waddington's complaint to Lord Rosebery was that, while the French had been merely proposing to remove their neighbour's landmark, the English had already traversed the one landmark which was irremovable, and, at the earliest possible moment France proceeded to copy the English example. They said, "If you ride astride of the Mekong in the North, we will ride astride of it in the South. You have two stirrups, and we have only one, but our saddle is five times as long as yours, and we will soon show you that we can dismount either side we choose." And yet, only a few months before the catastrophe happened, and the Mekong was made a French River, M. Waddington was writing to Lord Rosebery—"Pour ce qui nous concerne, nôtre préoccupation dès l'origine, il n'est pas inutile de le rappeler en ce moment, a été en outre de sauvegarder l'indépendance et la neutralité du Siam." And then, immediately afterwards, follows a reference to a former proposal which M. Waddington spoke of as having been repeatedly put before Lord Salisbury, that the wide tract of country bounded on the North by China, on the West by the Salween River, and, on the East by the River Nam Oo should, by being added to Siamese territory, turn Siam into a Buffer-State, extending from China to Cambodia, adequate in all its dimensions to act efficiently and permanently in this capacity.

The criticism on any such proposal is obvious enough. It would have been said that France was gaining, and England losing, a large tract of country to which by virtue of the annexation of Upper Burma she had an unquestionable title. If British gains and losses are always to be

calculated by superficial measure, the criticism is as just as the calculation is superficial. But there remains the further question whether the loser is not sometimes the gainer, and the gainer the loser, in such a case as this. And if the loss in square miles means a saving in men, in money, in anxiety, in administrative difficulty, in possibilities of disturbance—so apt to develop into realities at the most inconvenient times—then the loss is, indeed, minute, compared with the gain of keeping British and French frontiers divided by a band of territory broad enough to be a real Buffer, and marked by irremovable boundaries which Nature herself has set. No one who has watched what has been going on would deny that our aggregate loss under that arrangement would be far less than what we now have to face. For, after all, what are British interests in that remote corner of Indo-China? They are transitory—not of time, but of place. We are not going to settle new colonies between the Salween and the Nam Oo. We may want to pass through the country—we may want to make a railway there—we want powers of transit. Is it impossible, while agreeing to hand over a tract of country to such a Power as Siam, to reserve certain permanent conditions giving us the rights of transit whenever we want to exercise them? To give up what we don't want, and to keep what we do?—to create thereby a really efficient Buffer-State and, in the doing of it, to give a substantial reason for the continued confidence and friendship of the Government of the State so created?—to arrange with France to strengthen in every possible way this Government so that outlaws and criminals of all kinds may find no harbour there?—this would be something attempted, something done, worthy of two civilized European Governments. But when the spirit of aggression is once let loose it has the strength of a madman, and it feeds on its own success. Lord Dufferin not only revealed his surprise to M. Develle on the annexation of Luang Prabang by France, but told him in good plain language that “in every

French Annuaire, in every French map, in every French Geographical Gazetteer, Luang Prabang, until a year ago, had been described as an integral part of Siam. It was true that, within the last twelve months, a mysterious revolution had occurred in the minds of French Geographical Authorities, but, as an honest man, he must be as convinced as he (Lord Dufferin) was, that the district in question was, and had been for nearly a century *bonâ fide* Siamese territory, and that it could not be confiscated by France without a flagrant infringement of the formal assurances he had given us not to impair the integrity of Siam. As for the pretension advanced by France, *ab antiquo*, to the left bank of the Mekong, such a supposition was not only contradicted by M. Waddington's express declarations on the subject, but by the further fact that, under the Franco-Siamese Convention of 1886, the French had claimed the right of sending a Vice-Consul to Luang Prabang. This, in itself, was an absolute proof that the locality belonged to Siam." (Lord Dufferin to Lord Rosebery, July 26, 1893.) No wonder, with such facts as these staring them in the face, the French absolutely refused arbitration when, over and over again, it was proposed by Siam. Any form of arbitration, with evidence taken on principles known to a civilised community, must have shown that the French—in Mr. George Curzon's language—"had no case at all, but had been guilty of one of those acts of aggression that stamp the insolence of a stronger Power at the expense of a weaker."

The moment the first blow had been struck, events followed each other in a way that proved that M. de Lanessan had his plan of campaign ready prepared. The fight on the Mekong—hardly more than a skirmish—was early in May of last year, and it was followed by a general advance from the South and East and North through the territory, which was now claimed as part of Annam, up to the Mekong River. The occupation of Stung Treng and Khone had been already foretold in M. Lanessan's prophetic work on Indo-China, and the prophecy was now

fulfilled, and the Mekong became the boundary of French territory, to be made a French River by the Treaty which, later on, was the final incident of the campaign. But the pressure brought to bear on the Siamese by the annexation of all their trans-Mekong Provinces was not considered enough. Early in July two French cruisers appeared off the mouth of the Menam River. The forcing of the passage of the Menam by the French warships may have been an "unfortunate misunderstanding," and probably was done in defiance of one set of orders from the French Consul, and in obedience to another set of orders given by the Admiral. However this may be, what was not "unfortunate" for the French officers most concerned were the rewards and distinctions conferred upon them subsequently by their Government for what was undoubtedly an act of great courage carried out with the coolness and determination that so often characterize Naval officers. Such rewards and distinctions are not however generally conferred for "unfortunate misunderstandings."

It is a fact worth noticing that the forcing of the passage of the Menam on July 13 had been preceded by a formal notice given by M. Pavie to Prince Devawongse that two more French ships were ordered to Bangkok owing solely and exclusively to the action taken by Great Britain in ordering more of her warships up. Prince Devawongse replied, with logic absolutely unanswerable, that, as the Siamese Government had not received any notification from the English that they had the intention to do anything of the kind, he presumed that the French would abstain from sending more warships. Prince Devawongse sent simultaneously the following postscript to his letter which, at that critical moment, could not have been put into more clear and statesmanlike language: "I must object to the interpretation of a Treaty which would give to any power an absolute right to send into the territorial waters of Siam, and to the capital of the Kingdom, as many war-vessels as they should like. The spirit of the Treaty cannot be that

Siam should be deprived of the natural right of any Nation to protect herself, and the French Government will easily understand that, under present circumstances, we cannot, without abdicating our right to exist as an Independent State, adopt such interpretation." But "*inter arma silent leges.*" Under the guns of the French cruisers that had come up to Bangkok "against orders," an Ultimatum was prepared, and presented when the French cruisers were actually steaming up and down the river with their guns pointing on the King's palace, and finally accepted a few weeks later on, when these same guns were almost within hearing distance, after a blockade had already been commenced, and after the Siamese had been given to understand in the most unmistakable manner that nothing short of an unconditional acceptance of the main propositions submitted would prevent further hostilities. By the Treaty with France, signed on October 3 of last year, Siam renounced her trans-Mekong Provinces, her right to maintain armed ships in the Great Lake, and the fortresses or military establishments in the Provinces of Battambang and Siam-Reap or an armed force anywhere within 25 kilomètres of the Mekong. By the Convention, signed simultaneously, it was provided that the Siamese would evacuate the trans-Mekong Provinces in two months, that all the Forts within the zone specified should be razed, and that the persons accused of the murder of the French Agent, M. Groscurin, should be tried, in the first instance, by a Siamese Court, and subsequently by a French Court, if the French Authorities were not satisfied with the sentence pronounced. As is well known, a Siamese sentence of acquittal has been reversed by the judgment of a French tribunal condemning the Siamese Phra Yod who was accused to 20 years' hard labour. But a demand for his transportation to a French Colony has been successfully resisted.

The last clause of the Convention gives to France the right of occupying Chantaboon "*jusqu'à l'exécution des stipulations de la présente Convention, et notamment jusqu'à*

la complète évacuation et pacification tant de la rive gauche que des zones visées à l'Article III du Traité en date de ce jour."

The Siamese, on their part, have now fulfilled the stipulations of the Treaty and Convention. They have evacuated the trans-Mekong Provinces. They have brought up for trial the Siamese accused of M. Groscurin's murder, and he has been sentenced, and is now in prison. They have long ago paid the large sum of money claimed by the French as an indemnity for their losses.

The number of times that the French Foreign Ministers have repeated their "solemn assurances" that their earnest desire and their fixed intention is to evacuate Chantaboon can now only be guessed at. It defies enumeration. Chantaboon is no distant trans-Mekong Province about which there can be any "frontier dispute." It is a port on the Gulf of Siam as much a part of Siam as Portsmouth is of England. From Chantaboon there is direct communication to the Provinces of Battambang and Siam-Reap which, by the Treaty of October of last year, are to be kept without any Siamese military establishment in them. These Provinces are as much a part of Siam as Hampshire and Surrey are a part of England, and they are within easy striking distance of Bangkok. This is the present position of affairs. If ever there was a case where coming events had cast their shadows before them, this was that case. If ever there were unusual opportunities for foresight, surely they existed here.

Nothing in this Blue-book is more remarkable than the earnest desire of the Government to believe what the French Government desired they should believe. Although M. Lanessan had explained that the occupation of the Lower Mekong was but an initial step in the scheme for the annexation of the whole trans-Mekong District, to say nothing of a good deal more territory much nearer Bangkok, when opportunity should serve, in the very heart of Siam, the Government regarded this as a mere local frontier

dispute in which England had no concern. Lord Rosebery did say that the foreign trade of Siam is at present almost entirely in British hands, and we could not preserve an attitude of benevolence or neutrality towards any attempt to impose restrictions on it with the view of diverting it into other channels. But here was M. Lanessan taking one measure after the other—each one of which he had described in his prophetic work as a series of events, which were intended to divert, by force, from English into French hands, the trade of Indo-China, created by the energy and enterprise of Englishmen and maintained by them. Yet, in the very face of all the prophecies made in the book, and of all the preparations for carrying them out by the writer, Lord Rosebery speaks of “Her Majesty’s Government finding themselves suddenly, and without any previous warning, brought face to face with a peremptory claim by France for this vast tract of territory.”

It is impossible to form an opinion on the part played by England during the last 18 months in regard to Siam until the results are tested by the Treaties that will govern the permanent relations of England, France, Siam and China. If English commerce is to be hampered, and her trade filched from her, to the injury, not only of herself and of Siam, but also of every other European country that benefits indirectly from British Trade in Indo-China, then a gross blunder will have been committed which no amount of retrospective indignation will rectify.

The language of Great Britain to Siam as it appears in the Blue Book is “Agree with thine adversary quickly. This is your quarrel, not ours, and we are not going to interfere.” The language of Great Britain to France was at first that of absolute neutrality, if not of complete indifference. This was a mere frontier dispute, in which Great Britain had practically no interests at stake, and she hastened to give France an effusive assurance that she had no intention to interfere in the quarrel. The tone of the English Foreign Office and of the British Ambassador at Paris was however by no means one of indifference when it was discovered

that Siam had been forced into accepting an ultimatum that permitted the landing of French soldiers at Chantaboon, prohibited the maintenance of Siamese troops in two of their most valuable central provinces, and turned the Mekong into a French river all the way up to Luang Prabang. Whatever the English Foreign Office thought, the Siamese can never have regarded the French advance to the Mekong as a mere frontier question. They knew M. Lanessan and his ambitions thoroughly well, and they could hardly be expected to enter into the delicate and intricate complications of European and African diplomacy that might easily have rendered the interference of England not only nugatory but absolutely mischievous, and specially so to Siam herself. The Siamese must have thought the cautious inaction of England a very poor proof of friendship when the French and Annamite soldiers were closing in on them from the East, and French cruisers were threatening their Capital City with immediate destruction.

If the arming of Great Nations means that no appeal or remonstrance is ever to be made by one Nation to another unless tainted by a threat, then the *raison d'être* of diplomacy is gone just at the point where it is most wanted. The machinery of peace will not work, and the brutality of war is let loose. Diplomacy that does not mean words without threats, and that, in some sort, does not constitute an International Parliament is worth very little. We await with an anxiety tempered by hope some final arrangement that will retain for Siam her place among Eastern Countries and will keep England and France in a geographical and political position in Indo-China to render the chance of collision infinitesimally small. The recent appointment of one of the most promising of our younger Diplomats—Mr. de Bunsen—as Chargé d'Affaires at Bangkok is an important item on the side of hope, and we wish him cordially every success in his important mission.

Since this was written the war between Japan and China has entered a very acute phase, and M. Lanessan, the stormy petrel of the China Seas, has been sent back to Tonquin. We know what to expect.—*Mei Nam Kong.*

VIII.

LAW AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE
FRENCH COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES
OF THE FAR EAST.

BY C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A., F.S.S.*

THERE have been French Colonies and Protectorates in the Far East for a considerable period, and at one time it might have been doubted whether our influence or that of France would become the dominant influence in India. The question as to India was settled, it may be said, by Clive and Warren Hastings, and for a time there may have seemed little probability of a revived French influence in the East, although certain Colonial establishments have remained French to this day on the Continent of India. But of late years there has been a great and, as it seems, a growing French influence in the Far East, partly in the shape of Colonies, and partly in that of Protectorates. The French Chambers appear to have pronounced in favour of Protectorates as against Annexations, and in any account of the Administration of French power in the East, whether directly or indirectly, it is necessary to take both Colonies and Protectorates into consideration.

The Central Administration of the French Colonies generally was remodelled in 1887, but the day of change and reform is not yet spent. Projects of reform are still in the air, the effect of which, if passed, would be, so we learn, greatly to modify the existing system. It is, therefore, to be borne in mind that my own account, such as it is, may become superannuated before it can possibly be printed, and the next Session of the Statutory International Congress of Orientalists, when it meets, may require to

* A paper read on the 10th September before the Statutory IXth International Congress of Orientalists, (London, 1891); and now brought up to date.

have placed before it entirely fresh details on this subject.

Leaving that task to future workers in this department of the Congress, I will briefly state the latest results of my researches.

The Administration of Indo-China has been reformed since 1887 with a view to reductions in the Budget for that service. The Home relations of some of the Colonies and Protectorates have been altered, the Protectorate of Annam and Tonquin having been transferred from dependence on the Foreign Ministry to that of the Navy and Colonies.

By Decree of 11th May, 1888, the powers of the Governor-General of Indo-China over the Residents General and the Director of the Local Service of Cochin-China are maintained as they were defined by the Decrees of 17th Oct., and 12th Nov., 1887. He continues to regulate in the Superior Council of Indo-China the particular Budgets of the several countries constituting the Indo-Chinese union, and he decides on all Financial questions. Ultimately, therefore, the power of the purse lies with the Governor-General in Council, and this is usually found to be a very substantial power.

The Superior Council of Indo-China, as reorganized by the Decree of 7th Dec., 1888, consists of the Governor-General, as President, the Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces of Indo-China, the Admiral commanding the Squadron of the Far East and the Naval Forces stationed in Indo-China, the Residents General of Annam and Tonquin, and of Cambodia, and the Procurator-General in Chief of the Judicial Service of Indo-China.

The Superior Council meets at least once a year, on the convocation of the Governor-General, at Saïgon, or in any other place named by him. The organization of the Colonial Council of Cochin-China, instituted, 1880, has been modified by a Decree of 28th Sept., 1888. Its institution dates from the time when Representative Institutions were granted to almost all the French Colonies. The Annamites, who form

the majority of the taxed, are represented in the Council of Cochin-China, and vote their own taxes and the objects to which they shall be allotted. The Government is represented on it by two members of the Privy Council named by Decree.

The Military organization is, by Decree of 15th Oct., 1888, confided to the Council for the Defence of Indo-China, which is presided over by the Governor-General, and comprises the Commanders-in-Chief of the Land and Sea Forces, the Superior officer or General commanding at the place where the Council may sit, the Chief of the Administrative Service, the Chiefs of the Artillery, Engineers, and of the Health Service, with a *Chef de Bataillon*, or *Escadron*, for Secretary.

The Judicial Organization of Indo-China has been remodelled by Decree of 8th Sept., 1888.

Art. 16 of the Treaty of Hué, of 6th June, 1884, had placed under the French jurisdiction in Annam and Tonquin all foreigners and all litigation between Annamites and foreigners. Down to that date the Residents General had administered justice in such cases, and the Decree of 1888 did not alter this in regard to Annam, but in Tonquin the larger number of Frenchmen and foreigners of various nationalities, the large amount of litigation and the difficulties which it involved rendered necessary the creation of regular Courts with a well defined jurisdiction. Two Courts of First Instance were erected, one at Hanoi and the other at Haiphong, with a Criminal Court at Hanoi. The Governor-General is empowered to fix the jurisdiction of the Courts of First Instance, which take cognisance of all Civil, Commercial and simple Police cases except those in which the parties are solely Asiatics or natives of one of the classes enumerated in the *Arrêté* of the Chief of the Executive of 23rd Aug., 1871,—completing the Decree of 25th July, 1864,—which leaves under Annamite Law the Chinese, Cambodians, Minh Huongs, Siamese, Moïs, Chams, Stiengs, and Malay half-breeds (*sang-mêlés*) of

Chaudoc, all other persons being placed under French Law. It appears, however, that, as regards the Chinese, the Treaty between France and China of 9th June, 1885, Art. I., placed them under French jurisdiction, since they are to enjoy for their persons and property the same rights as those of persons under French protection. Nevertheless, it seems right to note here that there is an antinomy on this point between the notices in the *Ann. de Lég. Fr.* for 1889 and for 1891, though both are written by the same French advocate, M. Bouchié de Belle. Taking his most recent statements of the Judicial Organization of Indo-China, in the *Ann. de Lég. Fr.* for 1891, we find that by the Decree of 28th Feb., 1890, the jurisdiction of the Criminal Court of Hanoi extends over the whole of Tonquin, and that in addition to the Courts of First Instance at Hanoi and Haiphong there are Residency Courts (*Tribuneaux de résidences*). The Courts of Hanoi and Haiphong take cognisance of Civil and Commercial causes whatever the nationality of the parties, in the territories conceded to France; while, in the other districts of their jurisdiction they take cognisance of similar causes between Europeans and those assimilated to them, between foreigners of all nationalities, between Europeans and those assimilated to them, between Europeans or those assimilated to them and foreigners of all nationalities, between Europeans or those assimilated to them and Annamites, between foreigners of all nationalities and Annamites.

Appeal lies from the Courts of First Instance of Tonquin to the Court of Saigon. The Residents and Vice-Residents of the Provinces of Tonquin other than those in which the Courts are situated judge finally in all matters of *status* and *Personalty* (*affaires personnelles et mobilières**) up to the value of 150 Frs. In Correctional matters the Courts of Hanoi and Haiphong judge all delicts (*délits*) committed on

* I have here taken *affaires personnelles* to mean questions involving the *statut personnel*, and *affaires mobilières* to mean questions connected with movables (*mobilia*) or personalty, *quæ sequuntur ossa*.

the territories conceded to France, whatever the nationality of the delinquents, or parties to the cause (*partie civile*). Within the rest of their jurisdiction they judge all delicts committed by Europeans or those assimilated to them, by foreigners of all nationalities, by Annamites against Europeans or those assimilated to them, and by foreigners of all nationalities.

Annamite Law is applied in all causes between natives (*indigènes*) or Asiatics, and French Law in all causes between Europeans or between Europeans and natives, or between natives who may declare that they made their contract under French Law (*Ann. de Lég. Fr.*, 1890, p. 320). The most recent statement on this point (*Ann. de Lég. Fr.*, 1891, p. 225) which I have been able to trace seems to be identical in substance, viz., that the Procedure and the Civil and Criminal Law applied in Indo-China are those in force in Cochin-China.

A Decree of 17th Dec., 1890, provides that *internement* for Political offences committed by natives in terms of the Decree of 25th May, 1881, may be undergone either in the Colony where the sentence was passed, or in another Penal Colony, as it had been found that imprisonment on the Indo-Chinese territory did not sufficiently ensure the tranquillity of the country, owing to the popularity of some of the Chiefs hostile to the French supremacy, whose influence lasted after their arrest. This is, no doubt, a difficult matter, and the alternative now provided by the Decree of 28th May, 1890, will probably be largely followed in such cases.

With regard to Local Self-Government, an interesting experiment, initiated by the Governor of Cochin-China by *Arrêté* of 12th May, 1882, deserves mention here. In order to give the natives a share in the management of the affairs of their country, a tentative creation of Councils of *Arrondissement* was made, with their seats at the several local centres (*chefs-lieux*), and under the presidency of the Administrators of Native Affairs. The experience of the

years which have elapsed since the erection of this Institution has been, so we are told (*Ann. de Lég. Fr.*, 1890), favourable to its continued existence, and the Local Administration insisted upon its being given definite authorization by the Executive, which was carried into effect by a Decree of 5th March, 1889.

The Members of the *Conseil d'Arrondissement* are elected by the Cantons, at the chief town of each canton, by vote of the notables whose names are on the Registers kept by the Administrators. Functionaries in the pay of the State, the Colony, or the *Arrondissement*, are not eligible. The Councils hold two ordinary Sessions of eight days each, in August and February.

At the August Session they vote the preliminary (*primitif*) Budget for the ensuing year, decide upon the works to be undertaken, and prepare Draft Bills (*projets*), and claims for grants in aid (*subventions*) from the Colonial Council. The sittings are not public, a point as to which it might be desirable that some reform should be found possible consistently with the safety of the country, in view of the partially Representative character of the *Conseils d'Arrondissement*. The Reports (*Procès Verbaux*) of the Sittings are drawn up in French and in Quoc-ngu, or Annamite written with the Roman alphabet, *i.e.*, Transliterated. These Councils, it should be added, have only a deliberative power. Their deliberations are submitted to and approved by the Governor-General in Privy Council; but no measure affecting the local interests of an *Arrondissement* can be taken without having been previously voted by the *Conseil* (*i.e.*, I presume, the *Conseil d'Arrondissement*). The *Conseil d'Arrondissement* gives advice on matters affecting local taxation, on the classification of Colonial roads, alterations in the delimitation of *Arrondissements*, and on the classification of villages for the purposes of the Rice Tax (*Taxe des rizières*). It formulates its wishes on matters relating to Economical and Administrative questions.

The Budget is drawn up in transliterated Annamite and in French, by the Administrator.

The *Conseil d'Arrondissement* deliberates; the final decision emanates from the Governor-General in Privy Council.

With regard to the Courts, it may be mentioned that the Court of Appeal for Indo-China sits at Saïgon, and hears appeals (1) from judgments of the Courts of Cochin-China, (2) from judgments given by French Courts of the Far East, whether in Protectorates or as established at French Consulates. It also hears appeals under the Law of 28th April, 1869, from judgments in Civil, Commercial and Police (*Matière Correctionnelle*) cases from the French Consular Courts in China, Siam and Japan. Judgments in Final Instance, in native causes, may be brought before the Court of Appeal for the purpose of being quashed, according to the forms laid down by the Decree of 25th June, 1879. At least three Judges must sit for the ordinary *quorum* of the Court of Appeal, and five for cases where it is sought to have a judgment in Final Instance quashed. Criminal cases arising within the territory of Cochin-China are decided by the Criminal Courts of Saïgon, Mytho and Vinh-Long. Crimes committed in Cambodia by Europeans or by Asiatic subjects of France are judged by the Court of Saïgon. In cases where a European is accused of crime the Court of Saïgon is composed of three Councillors and two Assessors taken by lot from a list of twenty French Notables, and when an Asiatic or Native is accused, from a list of Native Assessors. In other Courts than that of Saïgon, the Court is composed of one Councillor of the Court of Appeal, two local Judges (*Magistrats*), and two French or Native Assessors. The Criminal Courts hold their sittings every three months.

The reorganized Judicature of Indo-China has been extended to Cambodia, by Decree of 18th Nov., 1889. The Court of *Juges de Paix* at Pnomh-Penh has been suppressed, and its place is taken by a Court of First

Instance, before which Europeans or those assimilated to them are brought, in cases where no Cambodian is concerned. In Residencies, other than that of Pnomh-Penh, the Residents give judgment conformably to the Procedure of the French Consular Courts of the Far East.

Some interest may be felt in the modifications of the French Legislation for the Far East in the matter of gambling houses (*Maisons de jeux de hasard*). By the Decree of 8th Nov., 1889, modifying Art. 410 of the Penal Code on this subject, the penalties of the existing Law are extended from the owner of the house (in many cases a mere man of straw put up to screen the real owner) to all who assist in keeping up (*subvertionnent*) such houses, and to the players found there. For the owner or persons assisting, the punishment is imprisonment of from six months to two years, with a fine of from 100 to 6,000 Frs., and for the players, imprisonment for not less than a fortnight or more than three months; and a fine of from 100 to 2,000 Frs., the imprisonment being doubled for *récidive*.

The marriage of French subjects in Annam, Tonquin and Cambodia has been placed by the Decree of 29th Jan., 1890, on the same footing as that of French subjects in Cochin-China in the terms of the Decree of 27th Jan., 1883. The Dispensations allowed by the earlier Legislation are to be granted to French subjects residing in Cambodia by the Privy Council of Cochin-China, and for those residing in Annam and Tonquin by the Council for the Protectorate of Tonquin.

This brief account of the Law and Administration in the French Colonies and Protectorates of the Far East, which I have ventured to think might be of some interest to the Congress, may perhaps fitly be concluded by the mention of a few works on Annamite Law, a subject lying rather outside the ordinary studies of English Jurists, even when directed to Oriental Law. Paris may be assumed as the place of publication, where no other is named.

Aubaret. *Code Annamite*. 1865.

Législation Civile Annamite, Précis de la. Saïgon. 1885.

Philastre. *Le Code Annamite.* 1875-6.

Vanier. *Etude Analytique sur les Codes Annamites et Chinois.* 1868.

I can only regret that the list which I have been able to compile is so small,* and I simply give it tentatively, in the hope of its being at any rate better than no list at all, and in the hope also of being able to add to it before the publication of the Transactions of the Congress.

Postscript.—Since the above Paper was read, there have been a few modifications in the situation described by me, but they seem to be, at least in the case of the principal representative of France in Indo-China, mainly in the direction of increased centralisation, rather than of that greater freedom which a certain amount of Representative Institutions, however limited, had appeared to forecast. The account of Indo-China given in the *Annuaire de Législation Française* for 1892 shows a marked concentration of power in the hands of the Governor-General, synchronising with the appointment to that post of M. de Lanessan, who had, as Deputy for the Seine, placed before the Chambers an entire scheme for the organisation of the Indo-Chinese Colonies, during the Budget debates of 1888. In his scheme, M. de Lanessan, as the *Annuaire* above cited tells us (p. 175), had dwelt upon the excess of purely administrative expenses, the inordinate number of the European functionaries, the want of Public works calculated to develop the wealth of the country, the heaviness of the taxation of Cochin-China since the Civil Administration succeeded the purely Military rule.

He had criticised the system of direct administration and annexation, which, according to him, were the cause of the risings (*soulèvements*) which had taken place, and which, he

* Courses of Lectures on Annamite Law are, however, I believe, delivered at the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris, and it is to be hoped that some of them may be published in the *Annales* of the School.

believed, would cease if the policy of respect for local authority were restored. He asked that there should not be a difference of government (*régime*) in Tonquin and in Annam, that the Emperor of Annam should be put in a position to govern his people himself, and that he should be considered as our fellow-worker in the Administration, so that it might be possible to diminish alike the military expenses and those of the French Administration.

He desired to see Residents in each Province, to act as the Counsellors of the Annamite authorities, to assist them in putting down rebellion by means of the Militia under French supervision, and of troops (both apparently native) under the command of French officers, and in this way he thought that French activity might be exercised without wounding the susceptibilities of the Annamite Authorities, or the national pride of the people. A single Resident at the Headquarters of each native Governor would, in this view, suffice to exercise a control over the Administration of the country.

Three years after the favourable reception of this scheme by the French Chambers, M. de Lanessan, more fortunate than many another author of a promising administrative scheme, was given authority to carry out his views as Governor-General of Indo-China.

This appointment was made the occasion for greatly increasing the authority and the free hand of the Governor-General. The powers of this functionary had been defined by a succession of Decrees, viz., those of 27th Jan., 1886, for Annam and Tonquin, and of 17th and 20th Oct., and 12th Nov., 1887, for Indo-China as a whole. But the situation created by these acts of the Home Government, says the *Annuaire* for 1892, had not been sufficiently clear (*nette*), and had given rise to grave difficulties and even conflicts. A veritable anarchy was reigning throughout the whole Peninsula. For this reason, the Government took occasion to issue a Decree, on 21st April, 1891, simultaneously with the nomination of M. de Lanessan,

regulating anew the powers of the Governor-General so as to give him an incontestable supremacy.

In the terms of this Decree the Governor-General has the supreme authority (*la haute autorité*) over the Commanders of the Naval and Military forces and over the other heads of the services in Indo-China. No Military operations can take place without his consent, but the conduct of the operations belongs to the Military authorities. The Governor-General alone corresponds directly with the Minister responsible for the Colonies, and with the other Ministers under cover to the Minister for the Colonies. He nominates all the functionaries in Indo-China, except those reserved to the President of the Republic, and even these are only appointed after agreement with the Governor-General. He is charged with the organisation and regulation of the Militia intended for Police purposes and for the protection of the population in the interior of the French Possessions in Indo-China, and he appoints to all posts in this service. He may constitute Military districts (*territoires*), after having taken the advice of the superior Resident competent in the matter, and of the Military authorities. Within such districts, the Military Authorities will exercise the powers of the superior Resident.

The same Decree creates a Director General of Finance (*contrôle*), charged with the administration of the Budget, and having under him the whole of the Financial Department for Indo-China.

The Governor-General drafts the Budget for Cochinchina and the Protectorates, and submits it to the approbation of the Home Government, to which he also submits the ratification of all projected works, contracts, concessions and undertakings of every description which may be beyond the resources of the Protectorates. We learn that on his arrival at the seat of his new government, M. de Lanessan found what appeared to him to be an exaggerated mistrust of the natives among a certain number of the French

officials. He at once proceeded to apply the views which he had put forward in the French Chambers, and it is interesting to note that he was immediately rewarded by the confidence and the effective support of the Court of Hué.

The Emperor of Annam enjoined all his subjects to give the utmost assistance to the new Governor-General, and the Regents came to Tonquin for this purpose.

In the Delta, M. de Lanessan restored the Annamite functionaries who had been deprived of power and charged them with responsibility for the maintenance of security in the Delta, for which purpose he assigned to them a Native Military force, the *Linh-co*, a Militia of about 4,000 men placed under the orders of the Phus and the Huyens, and he forbade the Residents to interfere with this Militia.

The Native functionaries are also to be charged with the Administration of Justice, under the Residents, and with collecting the normal taxes and increasing the Public wealth. The Residents are to abstain from all acts calculated to weaken the prestige of the Annamite functionaries in the eyes of the people. The Residents, however, have under their orders a force of 4,700 Civil Guards (a rather larger force than that of the *Linh-co*, it will be noted), commanded by European officers. The object of this force is to guard those points of the territory which are most exposed to raids from mountain bands.

It is intended to occupy some of the chief places in each Province, and to form a Reserve force, to which the Residents can appeal for support in case of need.

In the Mountain region, four Military districts have been formed by the Governor-General, and the Civil powers have been vested in the Commandants of these districts.

A body of 4,000 Civil Guards formerly under the orders of the Residents has been transformed into sharp-shooters (*Tirailleurs*), and placed under the orders of the Military Authorities.

The new system, says the authority which I have been following (*Ann. de Législat. Française*, 1892), may be summed up in two words:—it abandons to the Military Authorities the work of the pacification of the Mountain region, and it charges with the responsibility for the security of the Delta the Native functionaries, whom it leaves masters of the means for securing peace, under the control of the Residents. Time alone, says the writer of the notice on the Colonies in the *Annuaire* for 1892, will enable us to judge the merits of this system. This is, of course, true, if not a truism. As far as I have thought it proper to express any opinion on the French Colonial Administrative System in the course of the present Paper or of the *Postscript* to it, I should say that while from one point of view I may consider the increased centralisation of power in the hands of the Governor-General of French Indo-China an evil, and an at least apparently retrograde measure, I can, from another point of view, see the possibility of this very centralisation, in the hands of an enlightened Administrator such as M. de Lanessan would appear to be, leading up to the ultimate concession of wider powers of local self-government. I hope that this may be one of the results of the good fortune which has placed such a rare opportunity in the hands of one who had thought out a large scheme of Colonial Administration while in the mother country, to carry out his views in one of the Colonies to which he had more particularly devoted his attention. I shall be sincerely glad if the meeting of the Statutory International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1895 should have to record such a favourable result of the government of M. de Lanessan in Indo-China.

INDIAN LAND AND-IRISH POLICY.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

"What the people of this country want, from the Nizam on his throne to the ryot in his field, is to be left alone, and the Government of India seems unable to appreciate this simple fact."—CALCUTTA PAPER.

"I believe the people of this country recognise the advantages of our rule, and are ready to acquiesce in it. But if they come to associate it with inquisitorial prying into their private affairs, and with exaction or oppression in one shape or another, their affection for it will be of short duration."—LORD LANSDOWNE, Jan. 23, 1894.

"Please govern me as little as possible."—LORD BRAMWELL.

"Why can't you let it alone?"—LORD MELBOURNE.

The following is the latest intelligence concerning the Behár Cadastral Survey:— "The officiating Secretary to the Government of India has drafted a letter from the Secretary of State's despatch to the Government of Bengal, and after briefly stating the Secretary of State's orders that records should be kept, pointing out the relations between the ryots and the zemindars, and that the Survey must be carried out, the Government of India has asked for a bill to be drafted for the purpose of carrying out the orders from the home Government, and for its introduction into the local Council, at an early date. The consolidated settlement rules are now under the consideration of the Government of India. The committee of the Behar Landholders' Association have resolved that no time should be lost in making their protest known against the contemplated enactment, enabling the Government to realize by summary processes from landlords the expenditure on the survey, including the ryots' share; that it is difficult for the Government, and much more so for landlords to realize dues from ryots; and that the obligation cannot be imposed under the terms of the permanent settlements and their estates sold for debts of third parties."—*Indian Mails*.

The sudden cessation of the mud-smearing of mango-trees in Behar is, perhaps significantly, coincident with the reduction of the Government demand on the unhappy landlords and tenants of that province, afflicted with drought and dreading a famine. At all events, the small mercy of Government itself bearing four annas of the charge on the tenants in the cost of the Cadastral Survey of Behár has, fortunately, caused a lull in the storm, that is likely to burst, sooner or later, over India, unless the present policy of squeezing the Land, to the temporary gain of the Government Treasury and to the ultimate ruin of both Landlords and Tenants, is abandoned. Mr. H. Baden Powell, the eminent Revenue authority, has already, without any reference to questions involved in the

contemplated breach of the Permanent Settlement, proved to demonstration in the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* that the assumption of Government being the universal Landlord in India, is disproved alike by the history, whether of Hindu or of Muhammadan rule, and by the solemn assurances of the British Government, repeated time after time, guaranteeing the fullest rights of private ownership to existing landlords. Signs are not wanting to show the growing alienation of the gentle Hindu population from British rule owing to incessant interference with its peace and customs at the bidding of English and native saddists. The feeling between the Hindus and the Muhammadans is becoming one of active hostility. Cow-killing still waves its red rag to the Brahmini Bull and no practical step seems yet to have been taken to replace it by the introduction of frozen meats for our troops. Oriental education, with its sacred associations of reverence for God, for parents and elders, and for the Government, is being displaced by a caricature of English education and radicalism. Above all, the masses are now being stirred into resistance by insidious attempts to convert them into State-helots. If ever there was need to stop this reckless tampering with the *Pax Britannica* of India and to "hark back" to all that is compatible with true, because cautious, progress in the conservative institutions of that country—it is *now* and *at once*.

It is for this reason, I venture to submit, that the resuscitation of the old "Indian Constitutional Association," formed mainly for the defence of those landed interests which are the very backbone of Indian loyalty, and which, if justly treated and properly cared for, are the mainstay of the peace and prosperity of the Indian Empire, is particularly well-timed at the present moment. *Stare super antiquas vias*—the "settling and establishing, upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India," of the land system of the country—was the keynote of Pitt's India Act of 1784.* It was acted upon by Lord Cornwallis in 1793; followed more or less closely by subsequent British administrators down to the period of Mr. Gladstone's Irish land-legislation; and fully justified, in spite of the most powerful adverse influence, by the exhaustive agrarian inquiry that was reported on by the Bengal Board of Revenue on May 28, 1891. It was for the maintenance of those principles that the Indian Constitutional Association was founded; and I think it fully deserves the support, not only of all classes of the Indian community of Bengal—which it certainly enjoys—but also of all those, whether officials or non-officials, who desire to see British faith absolutely trusted in India.

I submit that the dissertation on the Indian land-revenue system, with which Mr. Fowler, in his Budget speech of August 16 last, prefaced the announcement of certain concessions in regard to the oppressive Behar

* See Sir William Hunter's *Bengal Records*, vol. i., page 21. This great work, as the *Times* has well pointed out, has put our knowledge of the actual facts of the legislation of 1793 on altogether a new footing; and has demolished, once and for ever, those false views that, founded on the Radical bias and anti-Native prejudice of the elder Mill, have found their latest exponents in Sir A. P. MacDonnell and the *ultra* Land-league school now so powerful in Bengal.

Cadastral Survey, must be read with dismay by all those who are interested in the land of Bengal. The present Secretary of State for India is regarded, I think, even by his political opponents as a fair-minded and far-seeing politician ; and it is all the more alarming, therefore, to find him rendering himself up a willing captive to the spear and bow of Sir Antony Patrick MacDonnell, and the Bengal officials of the ultra-Irish school. When the Secretary of State takes to bewailing, from his place in Parliament, the loss imposed on the Indian Government by the Permanent Settlement, wherein Lord Cornwallis solemnly pledged that Government for ever to allow the "unearned increment" to fructify in the pockets of the people of Bengal, and not to seize it every few years for the civil and military expenditure of the State—we may look with certainty for a great and immediate rekindling of that ardent desire and determination to "get at" the fabled accumulations of Bengal, which embarrassed Indian financiers have occasionally manifested.

For the Indian land question differs from the Irish land question in this, that in India it is really and primarily a fiscal question, and only secondarily an agrarian or "condition-of-the-people" question. Mr. Fowler observed, "in India they nationalised the land centuries ago ;" I would rather suggest his using Sir William Hunter's more accurate and less *doctrinaire* phrase, "the collection of the (land) revenue formed almost the sole idea of government among the Native Powers who erected themselves on the ruins of the Mughal Empire." At the present moment, more than two-fifths of the whole revenue of India is derived from the assessment on the land. In Bengal and Behar, the Permanent Settlement fixed this assessment unalterably in 1793 ; in the districts of the rest of India—to speak generally—our settlement officers go out every few years. resurvey the land, and sweep into the Government coffers "the unearned increment," in addition to what they had formerly taken.

It is not, however, on the fiscal side of the question that the fight really rages. Much might be said of the advantages of a system that has made the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal the milch-cow of India in the matter of general taxation—that enables it to consume more English manufactures than all the rest of the provinces put together, to pay a far larger proportion of the salt-tax per head, and to give all those returns to the State that flow from exceptional and undeniable prosperity. Much, on the other hand, too, might be said against the other system of periodical assessment—under which Sir A. P. MacDonnell, when Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, justified a sudden enhancement of rent to the tune of over 100 per cent., and was accused of allowing enhancements of over 300 per cent. !—under which, according to the authority of Mr. Rogers, one of the most experienced Bombay settlement officers, Madras estates are sold up for non-payment of revenue every year at an appalling rate—under which, in the North-Western Provinces, the cultivators were ground down in the way exposed by the *Calcutta Review* under my editorship just twenty years—and under which, in Bombay, the imperial legislature is continually called upon to devise "Deccan Ryots' Relief Acts," and the peasantry at large is in that deplorable condition described in the

debate on the first Bill of that nature, brought in by Mr. (now Sir Theodore) Hope in 1879.*

But it may at once be admitted—since the difference of opinion on the relative merits of a “Permanent Settlement” of the land-revenue, as compared with a periodical revision of the land-revenue payable to Government by each holder, is so considerable—that there is no probability of the Government of India consenting to repeat in the other provinces the legislation of 1793 that has done so much for Bengal. What can be hoped, and what (I venture to submit) ought to be conceded, in this direction by the Government—for the guidance and moderation of the acquisitive zeal of its Settlement officers in the Central Provinces, Bombay, the North-West, and all the non-permanently-settled districts—is the enactment of a statutable *maximum* per-centage on the gross assets of the land, above which the Government demand should not be permitted to go; and possibly the enactment of certain broad principles, of a liberal nature, on which settlements of revenue should generally be made. It is true that there are already certain rules of this nature, which are *supposed* to be generally binding on Settlement officers. But a perusal of the Minute of Sir A. P. MacDonnell, when Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, on the extraordinarily heavy and apparently most extortionate resettlements of certain portions of the Bilaspur district—in which an unfortunate *tahutdār* complains of having his land-revenue demand assessed by a personal enemy, and in some villages raised more than 300 per cent. at a blow, and in which an enormous enhancement is hotly justified by the Chief Commissioner—will convince any impartial observer, I think, that there is most dangerous and improper laxity in these rules, and that there is an ever increasing tendency to press hardly on the proprietors of land.

On the other hand, it may be also admitted that the terms of the Permanent Settlement, and the language of the British Government in 1793, were so precise, that there is little probability of an actual and avowed abrogation of the Permanent Settlement, so far as Bengal is concerned.

But the real point now at issue in India is this. It is admitted on all hands that no public contract or engagement of the British Government was ever entered into with more deliberation, or confirmed and ratified with greater solemnity, be it for good or be it for ill, than the Permanent Settlement of the Land-revenues of Bengal in 1793. It is also admitted, as I have said, that it cannot be openly abrogated without the grossest and most palpable breach of faith, likely to be attended by the most serious political consequences. Is it right, then, is it in keeping with all the immemorial traditions of British honour, that a prejudiced ruler, dressed with a little brief authority, should take upon himself to whittle away the provisions of this solemn charter, to abuse and injure the landowners of

* For two able summaries of this relief-legislation for the Bombay peasantry, from 1879 to the Commission of 1892, see Sir William Hunter's *Indian Empire*, pp. 529-532, and Mr. J. W. Neil's account of the Commission, over which he presided, in the *Asiatic Quarterly* of April, 1894.

the province while he forces on the tenants by means of this Survey an inquisitorial system of so-called "Fair rents," and all on the strength of a garbled account of the circumstances and meaning of the legislation of 1793, and fabulous misrepresentations of the subsequent misconduct and extortions of the landowner?

"By the terms of the Permanent Settlement"—I am quoting the *ipsissima verba* of the standard authority, the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1812—"no further demand is to be made upon the landowner, whatever may be the augmentation of his resources by increased cultivation *or any other means*."

And further, the Despatch of the Honourable Court, in ordering the Permanent Settlement, laid down the following stringent rule as to the exemption of the landowners from the "minute local scrutinies" of a Cadastral Survey :

"The tribute of each zemindarry being thus ascertained, the proprietor must be left in the undisturbed administration and enjoyment of his estate, and have the strongest assurances that, as long as he pays his stipulated revenue, he shall be subject to no LOCAL SCRUTINIES, or interposition of the officers of Government, unless where a regular judicial process may become necessary to adjust disputed claims between him and his tenants or talookdars, or between co-partners of the same zemindarry."

The Honourable Court had complained of the "rapacity" of its local officials, had strenuously condemned their "high claims of Asiatic despotism," and had checked them in a way that may be commended to the notice of modern Viceroys and Secretaries of State: but Sir John Shore states positively, in his Minute of June 1789, that these orders had been carried out, and that "minute local scrutinies were objected to."

Such, then, being the solemn pledges of the British Government in 1793, admitted to have never been withdrawn or modified, Sir Charles Elliott and Sir A. P. MacDonnell now insist, not only on inflicting on the landowners a "minute local scrutiny" of the costliest, most offensive, and most inquisitorial nature, in the shape of a Cadastral Survey to settle "Fair Rents," but also on saddling them with the greater part of the cost as a "further demand" beyond their "stipulated revenue"!

And Sir A. P. MacDonnell ardently wished to go far beyond even this audacious violation of British faith. During the temporary absence from India of Sir Charles Elliott, he boldly attempted to rush a measure for adding to the "stipulated revenue" a perpetual Survey "cess," for the maintenance of the record. This would have enormously increased the permanent taxation on the land, as the cess was to be an addition of about 10 per cent. on the revenue demand*; but it proved to be too large an order, even for the *dura ilia* of a Radical Secretary of State. Lord

* This is according to Sir A. P. MacDonnell's own calculation. In § 68 of his great Minute, he says the Land-record cess would be "one-fourth of an anna per rupee of rent," i.e., over 1½ per cent. on the rental. In § 60, he says the revenue-demand under the Permanent Settlement in North Behar is about 34 lakhs on about 250 lakhs of rent, i.e., rather less than 15 per cent. on the rental. I have proved Sir A. P. MacDonnell's figures to be grossly, palpably, exaggerated when they tell against the landed interest, but I have never found him inaccurate in the other direction, so I suppose these astounding figures may be accepted.

Hartington and Lord Kimberley had previously discouraged, and finally vetoed peremptorily, a much milder attempt by Sir A. P. (then Mr.) MacDonnell in the same direction; and Mr. Fowler, doubtless to the great relief of Sir Charles Elliott, has declined to be rushed, even at the bidding of Sir A. P. MacDonnell, into such extremes as this.

Possibly both Mr. Fowler and Sir Charles Elliott have borne in mind the advice tendered by Mr. Michael Davitt to the Indian National Congress last December, to "advance along the lines of least resistance." That, indeed, has been the line of tactics pursued by the assailants of the Permanent Settlement from the beginning. The first point chosen for attack was connected with the liability for the cost of roads—a liability that seems not unjustly imposed on the owners of the land. So Sir George Campbell introduced a tax on land to meet the cost of the Bengal roads and added it to the revenue-demand; but in order to obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State for this, he had to call it a "cess." When that Road Cess was sanctioned by the Secretary of State, all those members of his Council who had been renowned as revenue-officers, or had made a name for themselves as authorities on matters connected with the land, voted against the sanction; and formally recorded their dissent in a series of Minutes of great weight and force. I will quote some extracts from these minutes of dissent. Sir Erskine Perry says:—

"I object to the despatch of the Secretary of State, because even in its modified form it seems to decide, and, I believe, does decide, that there is nothing in the language or promises of Government in 1793 to preclude the present Government from levying local taxes in Bengal for local objects.

"I have come reluctantly to the conclusion, after many struggles and attempts to draw fine distinctions in support of a different view, that the language and acts of Lord Cornwallis, and of the members of Government of his day, were so distinct, solemn and unambiguous, that it would be a direct violation of British faith to impose special taxes in the manner proposed."

Sir Frederic Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said:—

"First, as regards the pledges of the permanent settlement, the despatch, after setting aside as irrelevant the chief argument relied on by the Government of India, and after intimating to that Government that they had entered on the serious dispute 'without adequate attention to some most important facts,' goes on to affirm that the right to impose this new tax on the zemindars in the face of the promises of the Permanent Settlement, had been already 'ruled and decided in the cases of the Income-tax,' which is as much as to say, that because in 1860 a general tax was temporarily imposed affecting all classes, therefore a special tax may now be permanently levied on one class only, although that class has been solemnly assured that no new tax and arbitrary exaction shall ever be laid upon it.

"But this reply, which will seem to the zemindars of Bengal curiously inconclusive, will also be felt by them as peculiarly irritating and offensive. When the Income-tax was first imposed in 1860, the zemindars of Bengal were disposed not without very plausible reasons to object to it as an infringement of their settlement, but they soon gave up the point and accepted the advice and example of the greatest of their body, the Rajah of Burdwan who, in a remarkable letter to the Legislative Council, announced that he would set an example to his fellows of submission to the Income-tax, because it was levied after the great mutiny of 1857 to supply deficiencies created by 'crushing the late mutinies, and thus preserving the property, lives, and honour of the zemindars,' and because it was 'levied equally on all classes.'

"That this well-timed and patriotic declaration should now be turned against its

author and his brother zemindars as a reason for setting aside the plain terms of the Permanent Settlement, and imposing upon them a special tax, of which other classes not connected with the land are to bear no share, cannot prove otherwise than severely and undeservedly grating and painful to their feelings.

"Second, as regards the injustice, independently of all promises, of saddling this special tax on one class of the community, namely, the class connected with the land and no other, I do not see that any answer is attempted to this despatch, in the very reasonable remonstrance of the zemindars, who have, at all events, Macaulay on their side."

Mr. H. T. Prinsep, recognised as the first living authority on the subject at the time, wrote :—

"I have never felt so deeply grieved and disappointed at a decision given in opposition to my expressed opinions as when it was determined by a casting vote to approve and forward the despatch referred to at the head of this paper, for I regard the principles laid down in that Despatch to be erroneous, and the avowal of them to be unwise, while the policy inaugurated and the measures sanctioned, will, if attempted to be carried out, alienate the entire population of India from the Government, and shake the confidence hitherto felt universally in its honesty and good faith."

Mr. R. D. Mangles wrote :—

"Now it appears to me to be very doubtful as to what length the Government of India may feel themselves justified in going, under the sanction of the Despatch just sent. They may, I fear, be encouraged to take steps which may lay them justly open to charges of breach of solemn promises. Unguarded action may destroy in a moment the credit which the British Government has won by its honourable persistence for a period little short of a century, in the unbroken observance of its pledges ; such a price would be too dear to pay for even an object so valuable as the education of the masses. We have no standing ground in India except brute force if we ever forfeit our character for truth."

Sir Frederick Currie wrote :—

"In fact, though the general argument of the Despatch endeavours to fix these territorial obligations on the zemindar, it seems to be admitted in para. 4 that they do really attach to the Government ; and the plea that they cannot be met by the 'Imperial Revenue' is that those revenues from which they ought to be provided are exhausted in our state expenditure. This latter fact I do not dispute ; it is a very cogent one for enquiry, the adoption of retrenchment and economy and strenuous endeavours to ameliorate our financial condition by legitimate means ; but it cannot justify our laying a special tax exclusively on the zemindars of Bengal, to do which Sir Erskine Perry's paper shows conclusively would be a breach of faith and the violation of the positive statutory engagement made with those zemindars at the Permanent Settlement."

And finally Sir H. C. Montgomery recorded his strong feeling in the following words :—

"A Government should not in my opinion voluntarily place itself in a position laying it open to be charged with a breach of faith. It should rather avoid any measure which would be so held in the estimation of its subjects specially interested.

Sound policy would seem to point out this as the course to be pursued, that carrying the landholders and their dependants with us must be more efficacious than meeting their opposition at every turn, and fostering in their minds the idea (however well or ill-founded) that their rulers are breaking faith with them under the specious plea of doing what they assert to be for their ultimate good."

Now, it must be remembered that this unanimity, on the part of all those whose knowledge of India and its land-systems was greatest, was thus strongly expressed, although it was admitted by everyone that, if any special taxation of any sort (not laid on all classes alike) could be laid on

the landholders of Bengal at all, the making of roads was the purpose, in regard to which, the least could be said against the proposal to lay the burden of the cost of it on incomes from land only.

Next came a Cess for Public Works. And this was, of course, followed by others; for of dishonest finance the maxim is especially true, *facilis descensus Avernii*.

And then came Mr. Ilbert's Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. In the discussions that preceded the passing of this great measure—which conferred occupancy-rights on the vast majority of the tenants of Bengal—Sir A. P. MacDonnell, Mr. Finucane, and some of their friends persuaded Lord Ripon that a Survey would still further benefit the tenants, and protect them against their landlords, and Lord Ripon actually recommended a Survey in his Despatch of March 21st, 1882. Now it is always alleged by Sir A. P. MacDonnell and his school that the present Cadastral Survey of Behar, at the expense of the landed interest of that province, is only a sort of fulfilment of the intentions of Lord Ripon in the Tenancy Act; so I wish to point out:—

(1).—That in § 100 of Lord Ripon's despatch quoted above, he defends the propriety of the Government paying the cost of the Survey if made.

(2).—That in § 104 of the same Despatch, he declared that what he intended to propose was *not* a Cadastral Survey, which was far too costly and minute—and he might have added, inquisitorial—but “some less costly method of measurement, conducted after the manner of settlement operations in Northern India,” where Government has to pay the piper, and consequently goes to work on a very different scale from the lavish extravagance of Sir Charles Elliott and Sir A. P. MacDonnell in Behar.

I should like to give one or two instances of the lordly way in which the Bengal Government flings about the rupees in this Behar Survey, after getting the Secretary of State weakly to assent to the principle that a large proportion of this cost can be wrung out of the landlords. At Bhágálpur, when Sir Charles Elliott was on tour, the inhabitants of the Division presented him with an address, in which they prayed him to abandon the Survey on the ground of the oppression and extortion certain to be practised by the *amins* or surveyors, and the consequent loss and harassment to both landlords and tenants. Sir Charles said, in reply, that he could not deny the probability of corruption among the *amins*—whom, he added, he could not defend; but he airily promised the unfortunate zemindars, some of whom would be called on to pay, that he would provide an ample supply of “constant supervision and inspection of their works by superior officers,* with the aid of scientific mathematical instruments.” Yes, and who is to pay for these “scientific mathematical instruments,”

* In the famous Cadastral Survey trial at Gopálganj on January 15th last, one of these “superior officers” of Sir Charles Elliott was fined Rs. 20 by the Magistrate for savagely beating an unfortunate *rāiyat*, who refused to give a bribe to one of his (the superior officer's) friends, who is naively called throughout these legal proceedings, “the hanger-on of the Surveyor.” The “hanger-on” too, I am glad to say, got Rs. 20 fine for breaking the head of the same unfortunate tenant; for it turned out that the “scientific mathematical instrument” he was carrying was a good serviceable bamboo *lathi* or club!

and for the inflated salaries of these "superior officers"? And the Gopálganj case seems to throw a doubt on the value of this "constant supervision and inspection"—except as an additional means of looting the raiyats.

And on this point, the employment of "superior officers," as on all other points, Sir A. P. MacDonnell goes far beyond Sir Charles Elliott. The Secretary to the Behar Indigo-Planters' Association last summer had addressed to Sir Antony certain very caustic criticisms on his now defunct scheme for imposing a perpetual land-tax for the special purpose of maintaining the record. Now, any determined opposition on the part of the Indigo-Planters' Association would undoubtedly be fatal to the scheme, for their voices can be heard both at Simla and at home. So Sir A. P. MacDonnell tells us, in § 73 B. of his Minute of Sept. 20, 1893, that he at once communicated with Sir William Hudson, the President of the Association, and that he assented to the "condition" of Sir William "that an European Officer of the Survey Department with the powers of a Deputy-Collector (i.e., of a revenue officer) be appointed to supervise the working of the scheme *in each district*." On this condition, he says, Sir William "accepts my scheme for maintaining the record." It is clear that the condition may be, and probably is, a very advisable and necessary one, if the madly-extravagant scheme must be persevered with at all costs. But that it is utterly incompatible with the pretence that this expensive Cadastral Survey can be worked on the cheap scale proposed by Lord Ripon when the Government was to bear the burden of the cost, is equally clear.

I have shown elsewhere that every one of the grounds on which Sir A. P. MacDonnell's Minute bases his demand for a Cadastral Survey of the permanently-settled districts of Bengal and Behar can be shown to be faulty, on an examination of the figures he uses and the documents he quotes. I will conclude this article with a brief examination of three points only.

1. The Minute pours on the zemindars a flood of the most violent invective, founded on the absolutely unproved assertion that they have deliberately and persistently refused to give their tenants those *pattas*, or written memoranda of the terms of the holding—which Sir A. P. MacDonnell erroneously styles "leases renewable in perpetuity" at a rate of rent "fixed and unalterable for ever"—which they were bound to give under the Permanent Settlement. Now, the fact is, that where the zemindars have not given these *pattas*, it has been because the tenants refused to receive them, or to execute *kabuliyats* (acceptances) in return—and there has never been any law to compel them to do so. That this was well understood at the time of the Permanent Settlement is shown by the very terms of Sir John Shore's Minute of June, 1789, § 241 :—

"It has been found that the ryots of a district have shown an aversion to receive *pattas*, which ought to secure them against exaction, and this disinclination has been accounted for in their apprehensions that, the rates of their payments being reduced to a fixed amount, *this would become a basis of further imposition*. . . . The Collector of Rajeshahy informs me that he fears the ryots would hear of the introduction of new *pattas* with an apprehension that no explanation would remove."

And that it is absolutely absurd to hold that the rents recorded in the *pattas* were to be "fixed and unalterable" on the renewal of the *pattas*, is shown, not only by the words I have italicised above, but also by the terms of the Fifth Report :—

"With respect to the cultivator or ryots, their rights and customs varied so much in different parts of the country, and appeared to the Government to involve so much intricacy, that the Regulation only provides generally for engagements being entered into, and pottahs or leases being granted by the zemindars, leaving the terms to be such as shall appear to have been customary, *or as shall be particularly adjusted between the parties.*"

Could any form of words be used that would more clearly indicate the absolute freedom of contract—subject, of course, to the stipulation that every contract for the hire of land should be fairly set out in writing—that was left by the Permanent Settlement to the zemindar and the ryot? Could any form of words be used that would more clearly show the utter baselessness of the whole of Sir Antony MacDonnell's ponderous arguments about the Permanent Settlement fixing a judicial rent for ever? And as if to make assurance doubly sure, the Fifth Report goes on to state the reasons for this policy of freedom, so strongly in contrast with the high-handed despotism advocated by Sir Antony :—

"It is moreover to be expected that the parties, on experiencing the inconvenience, expense, and delay, combined with the uncertainty attendant on decisions in the newly-constituted Courts of Justice, *will come to a reasonable agreement* between themselves, the zemindar for the sake of retaining the cultivator by whose means alone his estate can be rendered productive, and the cultivator for the sake of gaining a subsistence on the spot where he has been accustomed to reside."

2. Again, Sir Antony over and over again alleges, as the chief reason why the landlords should be mulcted to pay for the Survey and the maintenance of the Record of rights, that they had neglected an alleged obligation to maintain a *patwari* (or village accountant) "as a public servant," and had fraudulently used the *patwari* as their own private servant. These are Sir Antony's words in § 18 :—

"The zemindars were bound by sec. 62, Regulation VIII. of 1793, to maintain a *patwari* in every village, *who was to be a Government Servant.* But in this, too, they (the zemindars) neglected their obligations, and gradually converted the *patwari* into their own private servant."

And this offensive charge is repeated over and over again, *usque ad nauseam*. Will it be believed that the fact is the exact opposite of Sir Antony's allegation? I give once more the *ipsissima verba* of the Fifth Report :—

"The village accountant or *patwarry*, whose duties have been described, it was deemed necessary to retain under the new system; but he is, by the Regulations, placed in the situation *of a servant to the zemindar.*"

3. But the most outrageous and astounding misstatement of this egregious Minute—one that was telegraphed to the English as well as to the Indian Press in advance of the Minute, and that has entirely misled such influential journals as the *Bombay Gazette* in India and the *Daily Chronicle* in England, and doubtless many others—was with regard to the alleged prodigious enhancement of the rents, and unjust increase of the

wealth, of the Behar zemindars since the time of the Permanent Settlement. At the end of the Minute, Sir A. P. MacDonnell summarised, under eleven heads, what he had "shown"; and this summary was telegraphed far and wide. Of these heads, the fourth and fifth were those which, naturally enough, seized the public imagination. They were:—

"4. That *the rentals* of Behar landlords have within three generations increased to an amazing extent (the figures show eightyfold) and out of all proportion to what was contemplated at the time of the Permanent Settlement, or to what was justifiable by any subsequent legislation ;

"5. That *this increase in rent*, and the destruction of rights which it entailed, have reduced the raiyats of Behar to an extreme state of poverty and depression."

I understand it is now stated that the words "rental" and "rent," which I have here italicised, were used by a "slip," and that the words should have been "profits," or "net income"—of course a very different thing. But I can undertake to prove, by numerous quotations from public journals, that Sir Antony has been universally understood to mean what he said, "rent"; for instance, the *Bombay Gazette* actually had the robustness of imagination to speak of "continuous enhancements which have raised their (the ryots') payments to the zemindars eightyfold"!

However, we may accept, of course, the explanation. But it must not be forgotten that the effect of the "slip"—which I fear will never be eradicated from the public mind—was to make the enhancements "eightyfold," when what was meant was "about ninefold"!

I turn, therefore, to the consideration of how Sir A. P. MacDonnell arrives at even this curiously-diminished calculation. I must give the passage *in extenso* as it appears, not in the "slipping" summary, but in § 15:—

"In his Minute of June 1789, Mr. Shore wrote:—

"'A proportion of nine-tenths of the zemindars' receipts is surely as much as our Government ought to demand if it means to regard the welfare of their subjects by zemindars' receipts. I should hope that the profits of the zemindars would in time exceed this proportion by a due attention to the improvement of their lands and encouragement of their raiyats.'

"And this was the basis on which the Permanent Settlement was made, 90 per cent. of the assets (*i.e.*, then existing rentals) as then ascertained were taken by the Government, and 10 per cent. left to the zemindars. To modern notions this would be a harsh assessment, but it must be remembered that the zemindars had their *nankar* or *nij jot* lands free; that they were secured all the prospective income from waste lands: and that, finally, many of the best officers of the day believed there had been concealment of assets, and that as a matter of fact Government did not get nearly 90 per cent. of the assets of the estates. And this belief seems to have been better grounded as regards Behar than as regards Bengal. Mr. Sarishtadar Grant, in his *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*, published in 1788, estimated the concealment of assets at more than a crore of rupees, or one-fourth of the whole. But Mr. Shore disputed this; and I myself believe that we have, in the rapidity, especially in Bengal, with which estates were sold up for arrears of revenue at the end of the last century, some proof that the revenue assessed was at the time excessive. The sales of estates in Behar were comparatively few compared with Bengal, thus indicating the greater lightness of the settlement in the former province. Of course, the refusal of raiyats to pay rents, owing to the zemindar's demand of rent at rates above the pargana rate to which I have adverted, might explain to some extent the enforced sales, without the assumption that the settlement was itself harsh; but my impression is that the assessment made in 1793 was severe for the time. After a very few years, with the reclamation of waste lands and the unauthorised enhancement of

rents, the case was entirely reversed, the income of the zemindars, which was represented by one-ninth of the revenue in 1793, having become more than five-fold the revenue in 1893. *In three generations the income of zemindars of North Behar has increased eighty-fold* (in the Darbhanga district it has been increased one hundredfold).*"

	Revenue Assessed in, 1793 (Permanent Settlement).	Rental in 1793 (calculated on Government Revenue plus One-ninth Zemindars' Allowance.	Rental as shown in existing Road Cess Returns.	Year of Valuation of Rental.
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	
Darbhanga }				1883
Muzaffarpur }	10,55,395	11,72,661	71,37,044	1891
Champanan }			67,27,909	1888
Saran }	13,27,533	14,75,036	30,73,556	1883
			59,87,760	
	23,82,928	26,47,697	2,39,16,269	

Now, I venture to characterise this calculation as absolutely the most misleading one I have ever seen. And I shall endeavour to prove my words.

It will at once be seen that the whole calculation depends on the proportion between the Government share of the then existing rentals, and the zemindars' share, under the Permanent Settlement. We do know what the Government share was—it is given, I presume accurately, in Sir Antony's first column. We do know, approximately at least, the present rental as shown in existing Road Cess returns—it is given, I presume accurately, in Sir Antony's third column. *But we know nothing whatever* of the "Rental in 1793"—which Sir Antony's second column pretends to give—except as concocted, on the strength of the quotation given above from Sir John Shore's Minute of June, 1789, by adding one-ninth to the figures of the first column. That is, of course, clear, and is not disputed.

Now, will it be believed that Sir John Shore himself, in the very same Minute, expressly stated that his calculations were "merely speculative" (§ 109), and again that "all the material part of this information is wanting"!

But worse remains. Will it be believed that, printed in the same volume of the Fifth Report with this Minute of Sir John Shore's used by Sir Antony MacDonnell for his elaborate attack on the zemindars, there is a *later* Minute by the same statesman, which practically admits an enormous error—no less than three hundred per cent.—in this very calculation! On the 8th December, 1789, Sir John wrote as follows:

"Taking this (the gross produce, at 100 parts, the claims of Government may be estimated at 45. The zemindars and under-renters may be supposed to have fifteen, and 40 remains with the cultivators of the soil. In the two last classes, some enjoy considerably more than the assigned proportion; others again less."

* The following figures have been furnished by the Board of Revenue:—

	<i>Rs.</i>
Zemindars' gross income (on which revenue was assessed) in 1793...	26,47,697
Government revenue as assessed at Permanent Settlement ...	23,82,928
	<hr/>
Zemindars' profit	2,64,759(a)
Zemindars' gross income (rental) in 1893 (excluding increase in Darbhanga) ...	2,39,16,269
Government revenue in 1893	34,05,149
	<hr/>
Zemindars' profit in 1893	2,05,11,120(b)
Therefore (b) = 80 times (a).	

So that it turns out there is only this trifling (!) error in Sir A. P. MacDonnell's figures—even accepting his own method, and his own authorities—that the “Zemindars' allowance” of his second column (the column that affords him his comparison) ought to be 15-45ths, *i.e.*, one-third, of the Government revenue, instead of one-ninth.

Thus, the simple correction of Sir A. P. MacDonnell's “slip” reduced his “eighty-fold” to “nine-fold”; and this reference to Sir John Shore's later Minute, further reduces the “nine-fold” to “three-fold.” We are getting on.

It will be observed that Sir A. P. MacDonnell, in the passage quoted above, speaks of enhancements of rent as “unauthorised.” Elsewhere throughout the Minute in innumerable passages he speaks of enhancements of rent as “illegal.” Of course all this is based solely on the ridiculous mis-statement about the “fixed and unalterable” rents recorded in the *pattas* under the Permanent Settlement, which I have exposed above. But if there were any doubt about it, it is only necessary to quote the words of Lord Ripon's Despatch, when this figment about the “fixed and unalterable” *pattas* first came up in recent times (the same hare had once before been started in 1822). Lord Ripon thus wrote, March 21, 1882 :—

“The practice of enhancement was sanctioned by the legislature, the admission being simultaneously made that the old pergunnah rates were undiscoverable; and whether or no the authors of the Settlement of 1793 intended that the rates of rent should be permanently fixed equally with the amount of the land revenue, *it is not now proposed by anyone to withdraw the legal right of enhancement which has been conferred upon the zemindars.*”

And it may be added, as an interesting as well as an amusing fact, that Sir A. P. MacDonnell himself, when a District Officer in North Behar, and in that capacity landlord of the Government estate known as the Pusa stud lands, enhanced the rents of his miserable tenants there to the extent of 200 and 300 per cent. !—a proceeding that was stigmatised by his Commissioner, Sir John Edgar, as “unfortunate,” because (Sir John wrote) it was not desirable that the Government should appear as a harsh landlord exactly at the moment when it was taking measure to force other landlords to treat their tenants well. It has, indeed, been shown by Mr. Finucane, in his report on the necessity for a Cadastral Survey of Wards' and Government estates, that the Bengal Government has been conspicuous for its enhancements of the rents in the estates under its control. Lord Ripon drew attention to the same thing in his Despatch of March, 1882, § 47, which referred to the bad “example” of the Bengal Government. And it is, to say the least, a curious coincidence that most of the large estates, that are now to be re-surveyed in North Behar, have been comparatively recently under the entire control of the Bengal Government during long minorities of their owners.

I claim now to have shown that Sir A. P. MacDonnell's statements about the “eighty-fold” enhancements are exaggerations so gross and monstrous, that they can hardly have been made with knowledge. And yet, it will be admitted that such statements ought not to have been made by the head of the Bengal Government in ignorance.

And still a further consideration remains. Even if there were a semblance of truth about these statements—which there evidently is not—I ask, are they brought forward as fair arguments, or merely to create an unfair prejudice against those who are unable to defend themselves in the columns of the Government Gazette?

These statements plainly suggest, in the first place, that the Zemindars, having extorted so much unjustly from their tenants, ought to be made to disgorge by this Survey and its settlement of "Fair" rents. But it has been admitted, both by the Under Secretary of State in the House of Commons, and by Sir Charles Elliott—and even by Sir A. P. MacDonnell himself in his letter of July 6th, 1893—that one result of the Survey will be to disclose the "excess" lands of the tenants, and thus to *increase* their rents. All the experimental Surveys have proved this; and the last report on the Cadastral Survey itself admits that the "Fair" rents already settled are considerably in excess of those previously paid! The zemindars never objected to the Survey on the ground that it would diminish rents—on the contrary, they quoted the opinion of the Bengal Board of Revenue with approval, that it would result in that considerable enhancement which has now actually occurred. Their objections were to its inquisitorial, unnecessary, and costly nature, and to the endless extortion and litigation it is already producing.

And, in the second place, these gross exaggerations suggest that the zemindars have been so enriched by these unholy gains, that they can well bear squeezing. But what are the facts? By the breaking-up of properties, by forced and voluntary sales, by partitions under the *batwādra* law, and in other ways, the number of zemindars in North Behar has increased a hundred-fold since the Permanent Settlement; and it might well be that the *aggregate* income of the whole class had considerably increased, during a century of enormous progress, with a seven-fold increase of the whole population, with the reclamation of a third of the Province from waste, with the opening-up of the country by roads and railways, with the largely-increased cultivation of more profitable crops (like poppy and sugar-cane), with a continuous rise in the price of produce, and with a continuous depreciation of the currency. But the Road-cess returns, of which Sir A. P. MacDonnell has made such bad use, show that *the average income from land* of the zemindars in North Behar is about Rs. 100 per annum—or say, half-a-crown a week! For one of these districts,* curiously enough, the official Gazetteer enables a *real* comparison to be instituted between the average rentals of the zemindars at the time of the Permanent Settlement and those of the present day—very different from Sir A. P. MacDonnell's bogus calculation founded on Sir John Shore's figures, figures declared at once by their author to be "merely speculative," and subsequently altered by him to the extent of 300 per cent. Here are the figures of Hunter's

* Sir A. P. MacDonnell was Collector of Sāran in 1879-1880; and, in his annual administration report for that year, stated very strongly his belief that "the Sāran ryot is a well-to-do man." His Commissioner, Sir John Edgar, quoted his report, with others, to show (as he said) that "all the available evidence seems to point to a steady improvement in the material condition of the people throughout the division."

Statistical Account of Bengal, vol. xi., pp. 300-304 :—The average size of a Sárán estate at the time of the Permanent Settlement was 1,280 acres, the average size at present is 150 acres; or making the usual allowance of 5 or 6 co-parceners to each estate (for the purpose of this calculation, I will say 5, to give Sir Antony the benefit of the doubt), the average size of the Sárán zemindar's property at the time of the Permanent Settlement was exactly 256 acres, while at the present day it is exactly 30 acres. The average rental of "ordinary grain land" in Sárán in 1788 was Rs. 2 per bighá; taking this bighá to be the "great bighá" of 4,225 square yards (so as to again give Sir Antony the benefit of every doubt), this would be Rs. $2\frac{2}{7}$ per acre; and the average income of the Sárán zemindar at the time of the Permanent Settlement was, therefore, $256 \times \frac{16}{7} =$ Rs. 585. Similarly, the average rental at the present moment of land under broad-cast rice is Rs. 2. 6. 6 per bighá, of land under transplanted rice, Rs. 3. 8. 9, or say an average throughout of Rs. 3; and taking this bighá to be only the small bighá of 3,600 square yards, this would be Rs. 4 per acre; and the average income of the Sárán zemindar at the present time is thus shown to be $30 \times 4 =$ Rs. 120.

I have thus shown, from the precise figures of the official Gazetteer, and allowing the largest possible margin wherever a doubt is possible, that the average rental of the zemindar in this typical district of North Behar is hardly more than one-fifth of what it was at the Permanent Settlement.

Now, I put this question with absolute confidence to any honest man. Would any living soul, ignorant of the facts, and desirous of being taught by so high an authority as the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, gather this, or anything like it, from Sir A. P. MacDonnell's statement quoted above at page 335, that has been relied on by the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Bombay Gazette*, and other influential papers, as an officially-warranted, and therefore absolutely trustworthy assertion, about the eighty-fold (and in some cases one hundred-fold) enhancements?

The fact is, Sir A. P. MacDonnell has altogether overlooked this point, that the "unearned increment," which he is so anxious to sweep into the Government Treasury for the support of a huge Agricultural and Land-records Department, has been distributed, and more than distributed,* as it has accrued. In his hurry to get at this fabulous fund for the public purse, and at the same to harass the hated caste of landlords, he has piled up a vast mass of faulty evidence and inaccurate generalizations, that are exceedingly difficult to deal with because of their excessive bulk, and that are, not unnaturally, accepted as gospel-truths by the general public. I respectfully submit that I have now shown that this evidence and these generalizations are, at any rate in their most important bearings, absolutely untrustworthy.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

* By this I mean, that the unearned increment having been left to fructify in the pockets of the people of Bengal by the Permanent Settlement, the population in general, and the number of zemindars in particular, has increased at even a more rapid rate than the produce of the land.

THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

I.

WHAT most strikes one, looking back over some twenty years' experience in Morocco, is the singular continuity observable, not so much of policy (since, beyond mere obstruction and the persistent exclusion of foreigners, the Moorish government has no policy), as where the record of individuals connected with the government is concerned.

One is accustomed to think of fierce conspiracies and tragic intrigues, of sudden advent to power and still more sudden falls, of swift and secret death by poison or the sword, as the accompaniments and general characteristics of Oriental courts and dynasties. But Morocco has latterly proved a singular exception to the rule.

Mulai-el-Hassan, the late Sultan, had not only several brothers living at the time of his accession in 1873, but several of his father's brothers, some of whom had occupied important posts, were also alive. None of these possible claimants to the throne was put to death or allowed to languish in prison, nor did any one of them, once the Sultan was fairly installed at Fez, rise in revolt or dispute his rule. More than this, during the entire reign of Mulai-el-Hassan, that is from 1873 until the fourth of June, 1894, the composition of his cabinet, if we may thus describe his *Viziers*, has scarcely varied whilst even the *Kaids* or governors of districts have rarely been removed, except in the natural course of events; nor has one of these high officials been put to death. So great, indeed, was the monarch's aversion to capital punishment that he would not even assent to the execution of criminals and murderers, except when compelled by the intervention and pressure of one or another of the foreign powers in cases where foreigners had been the victims of native violence :—

cases so exceptional that old residents, like myself, cannot recall more than five or six during the last two decades. The fact that the heads of rebels, killed in armed revolt, were salted and exposed upon the gates of Fez and Morocco, together with the notorious cruelty and ferocity of several of the late monarch's predecessors had left a very different impression abroad, and many readers will probably be surprised to learn that Mulai-el-Hassan was singularly benign and human. He may undoubtedly be described as the best sovereign who has ever governed Morocco ; and the country will be fortunate, indeed, if his successor proves either as benevolent or as resolute, while it will be very nearly impossible to equal, much less surpass, the natural grace and dignity of character of the late sovereign who will long be remembered with esteem and affection by those who knew him. He was, in fact, the very ideal of an oriental potentate, whose gravest fault seems to have been a desire to accumulate wealth rather than to spend it nobly. Even this fault may prove to have been justified by circumstances, since it was only by avoiding indebtedness to any foreign powers and by keeping a cash reserve in store to satisfy the demands for indemnities,—only too certain to be frequently pressed, sometimes with more energy than justice,—that the Sultan could hope to stave off an intervention which would have converted him into a mere vassal of one or other of the neighbouring powers. To maintain his control amongst the fierce and turbulent elements of which the population of the interior is composed, and to preserve his independence where the foreigner was concerned, were certainly his chief ambitions ; and if we are to judge him by his success in these respects it must be admitted that his reign proves him to have been a man of no mean capacity. Nor was he lacking in a remarkable energy, that often tried the endurance of the strongest men about him, who were summoned to his side, at any hour of the day or night, either to transact public business or to start upon some military expedition. I have

been told by one of his most influential *Viziers*, that nothing, not even the most trivial affair, was decided without the Sultan's personal supervision and that no one about him knew at what hour the order to march would be given. Needless to say it was not possible for him to see or know anything except through the eyes of his *entourage*. By the concealment or perversion of information that should have reached the sovereign, the *Viziers* may have been said to rule the country, but in that sense only. The Sultan also hesitated to outrage the religious prejudices of the *Ulema*, and he even discontinued the electric illumination of his palace after these enlightened doctors of theology had declared that incandescent lamps and arc lights were *haram* or unlawful!

Perhaps, however, the most remarkable proof of the power of his personality was only revealed after his death, when his wish that he should be succeeded by the youngest of his sons, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz,—a boy of sixteen, the son of a foreign woman not connected with any of the great factions or families of the Sultanate,—was alone sufficient to secure the peaceful accession of this young prince in violation both of Koranic precept and established custom; for the procedure indicated in the sacred writings or Koranic commentaries would require a popular election, whilst the customs of the Filali dynasty would have required the accession, if not of the eldest of the Sultan's uncles, at least that of his own eldest brother, as the crown descends not necessarily from father to son but rather from brother to brother, as in the Ottoman succession.

It is, of course, unwise to venture upon predictions when a sudden revolt or a passing accident may, at any moment, deprive the young prince of power or even of life itself; yet, judging the future by the past, it seems not improbable that Mulai Abd-el-Aziz may out-last most of his contemporaries amongst the sovereigns now reigning, of whom, if we except the infant king of Spain and the queen of Holland, he is by far the most youthful. There is

indeed a pathetic interest awakened by the fact that this lad of barely sixteen has been so suddenly called to occupy what has been often a most uneasy throne ; but it is evident that some powerful influence has made for peace and order at the present juncture, contrary to the universal expectation both of foreigners and of the natives themselves, of whom the latter especially, both officials and the general public, evinced the greatest alarm when the news of Mulai-el-Hassan's death became known. Probably the widespread belief that internal dissension might lead to foreign intervention, together with the fact that the rural populations were occupied in getting in an unusually abundant harvest, may have acted as powerful deterrents to the disorders which would inevitably have attended a disputed succession. Certain it is, that precisely those personages who were looked upon as possible contestants have combined to acclaim, with unanimous accord, the heir-elect of the late monarch.

It is characteristic of the obscurity and uncertainty attending everything connected with this quarter of the dark continent that so little is known of the boy whose undisputed accession has been such a surprise to his own subjects. When the Sultan visited Tangier some four years ago, there passed before me the figure of a child, clad in white, mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, and followed by numerous attendants, of whom it was said that some day, if fate allowed, he might become the ruler of Morocco. But no foreigner had speech with the boy nor did the *Viziers* willingly discuss any gossip connected with the Imperial family, since it is considered impolite, even by the humbler folk among Muslemin, to ask after the women of the family or to make inquiries concerning the age, disposition or probable provision for the children, excepting in the case of relations or when a marriage is being negotiated : neither the society paper nor the journalistic interviewer has yet become a feature of Moorish life, unless we accept as their equivalent the female vendors of

charms and other finery who carry from house to house the discreditable secrets which are the delight of the prurient gossip !

Since the Sultan's departure from Tangier, this little Moorish prince was set up with an establishment of his own at Fez, as an indication of, or preparation for, his future position ; and he was occasionally seen attending public functions or visiting the arsenal and the arms manufactory at Fez which is under the direction of two Italian officers, Colonel Bregoli and Major Ferrara. Here the lad sometimes asked a question or exchanged some observation with a European official or visitor ; and it was currently known that his mother, Lalla Rekia, was a Circassian purchased abroad and presented to the Sultan by *Kaid* Brishia, an ex-ambassador and long time Governor of Fez, an important functionary who enjoyed the Sultan's especial regard and who, though said to be one of the most fanatical opponents of foreign influence, was singularly courteous and affable even to the hated foreigner himself. Although Lalla Rekia was the Sultan's favourite wife, not even the few European ladies who have accompanied the foreign embassies to Fez and been admitted to the palace seem to have met her. In fact, the barrier between natives and foreigners restricts all intercourse to the most superficial acquaintance. The former may enter our houses or we may drink tea with them in their courts or gardens ; but each remains a stranger to the other, in spite even of services mutually rendered. It is not, apparently, that they distrust us individually,—indeed they not infrequently appeal to us as arbiters or referees—but every topic connected with family life is instinctively avoided, and a public functionary suspected of being on terms of warm personal amity with a foreigner is thereby prejudiced at Court. This was not always so. Even when I first visited this country, there was much more intercourse between the foreign and native element than of late, the increased reserve being undoubtedly the result of the political aspirations of some of the Powers.

One of the conditions most difficult to grasp by those who have not actually resided in the country is the singular security enjoyed by the foreigner, even in times of trouble and revolt. Theoretically we are especially exposed and our lives are not safe unless we are under cover of frigates and gunboats ;—possibly, indeed, we might not be safe were it not for the cannon in the background. Yet, the cannon being understood as an integral factor in the equation, we practically enjoy absolute security even when natives themselves are exposed. As an illustration, I remember an occasion, during an altercation between the authorities and two hostile factions who were demanding the release of some fellow-Kabyles from the *Khalifa* or Lieut.-Governor who had taken up his position at a window over-looking the market place which we were crossing at the time. To our astonishment the *Khalifa* invited us to join him and moreover asked myself and my wife to sit before him at the open window. Observing the angry crowd below and noticing the natives charging their long flint-locks, I asked the official whether he apprehended any danger of an armed collision. “No!” he answered “whilst you are here they will not fire!” In other words, it was for his own safety that he had invited us to take our seats between himself and the angry disputants.

Again, the other day, when the news of the Sultan's death, whilst on the march to Rabat, became known at Tangier (where, by the way, the Europeans had knowledge of the event nearly forty-eight hours before the native authorities had received any reliable information), a lively panic ensued amongst the Moors and many of them, who were spending the summer out of town, hastily returned with all their household effects. It thus happened that we ourselves who were just taking up our abode at our summer residence on the Spartello heights met our Moorish neighbours flying for safety to the town.

A week or two later there was a second alarm. Armed natives were hurrying hither and thither ; the Kabyles

were said to have risen and were coming to sack the town ; or the Spaniards had landed troops at Garaiche and the country was up to repel the invasion, so that no Christian's life would be safe.

That very afternoon, when our own native guards were pallid with fear and looking to their arms, without which they would not stir abroad, two young English girls rode up, unattended, to pass the afternoon with us, to the evident amazement of the Moors who saw them quietly enjoying themselves. In fact, had there been any serious trouble we would have been surrounded, as upon former similar occasions, by villagers from the neighbourhood, flying to us, with their household effects, for protection, under the impression that there was safety in our mere presence.

It is, indeed, only when we read in London or Paris papers the alarmist telegrams, which so often appear, that we are troubled.

Here, at home, we ride or walk where we list, at any hour of the day or night, alone ; and, if we carry arms, it is not because we fear the natives but because there are too many Europeans of more than doubtful antecedents, men who have escaped from the prisons of Spain or Algeria and whom want may render dangerous : although, as a matter of fact, both life and property have been singularly secure hitherto in Tangier notwithstanding any fears to the contrary. Unfortunately, however, the enterprise of a few newspaper correspondents, anxious to supply their readers with sensational items, has done perhaps more harm than a few genuine outrages might have inflicted upon us. For the last three or four years, our seasons have been gratuitously spoiled, and our hotels and the guides, boatmen, porters and others dependent upon foreign visitors have suffered owing to rumours of epidemics or armed disturbances which have not otherwise affected us except by this reflex action, depressing local trade, and deterring the traveller and invalid from visiting

Tangier. Our churches and chapels cannot make two ends meet. There are fewer dances and balls, our hunt collapses, and our pack starves, whilst the fox and wild boar rejoice. But here our troubles end, with the sole exception that the frigates and iron-clads in the bay send up the price of provisions. As to the rest, the Sultan is dead! Long live the Sultan! There is a new Prince of the Faithful, and our local notabilities are much exercised as to when they are to go to Fez to pay their respects to the new Sovereign. He has thus far been fortunate beyond all expectation, fortunate in the undivided support of the *Uzara* or *Viziers*, in the adhesion of the army, in the deference of his brothers, in the general assent of both the urban and rural populations, and especially in the loyalty of his uncle, Ismail, who would have been the people's choice had there been an election. But of all the advantages, the greatest enjoyed by Abd-el-Aziz has been the scrupulous abstention of the Powers from any, even the most platonic, intervention in the selection of an occupant for the throne of Morocco.

II.

The preceding paragraphs had scarcely been despatched when the Oriental method declared itself in the shape of a conflict between the two most important factions in the cabinet. The Prime Minister, Hadj el Mahti, the Minister of War, Si Mohamed el Segrir, and Si Abbas, commander-in-chief of the Moorish forces, all three brothers, were suddenly superseded and afterwards imprisoned on a charge of having conspired against the young Sultan, with the intention of securing the succession for his uncle or for one of the Sultan's brothers.

The three functionaries who have thus fallen were connected with the imperial family by the marriage of their sister with the late Sultan, Mulai-el-Hassan. They moreover represented, in his cabinet, the Arab or white element, these Djamai brothers being the chiefs of a noted *douar* or

clan. Their adversaries, by whom they have been overthrown and superseded, are descendants of the once celebrated Bokhari, or negro guards of the former Sultans, the *janisaries* of Morocco. Ba Hamed, formerly the grand chamberlain, now prime minister and the Warwick of our horizon, is the son of the late Si Musa, who was at once a slave yet, also, grand *Vizier*, to whom Mulai-el-Hassan owed his own accession to the throne, and to whom, so long as Si Musa lived, the late Sultan entrusted the direction of his cabinet. Si Musa was, indeed, a most potent personage and left his sons heirs to the considerable fortune he had acquired during his long term of office. Thus in the veins of Ba Hamad and his two brothers who have assumed the functions lately administered by the Djamai, flows a large percentage of dark blood; yet in this struggle between black and white, public sympathy is rather with the fanatical descendants of the fierce Bokharis than with the Djamai; for, although the Djamai are lineal descendants of the Arabs who overran Morocco, the aristocracy of the empire, who are to the Berbers of the hills and the negroes of the Soudan what the Norman was to the Scot, the Saxon and the Kelt, yet the Djamai are far from popular. They were, indeed, the most extortionate and corrupt of all Mulai-el-Hassan's *entourage*; and though the ex-grand *Vizier*, Hadj el Mahti, was a man of singularly fine presence, yet he was not loved, nor has his sudden fall, thus far, inspired any general expression of disapproval.

His successor Ba Hamed is noted for his stern and uncompromising fanaticism and especially for his dislike to all European influences or tendencies. Nor whilst this statesman controls the councils of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, are we likely to see the introduction of railways nor the granting of concessions to foreigners or to their *protégés*. Hence, for those to whom the integrity of the Moorish empire and the maintenance of the *status quo* is an important consideration, it may be a satisfaction to feel that the determined minister, in whose hands the young Sultan is probably but

a state-puppet, will not easily fall under the control nor lend himself to the policy of any of the foreign representatives at Tangier. Whether, indeed, he will have the good sense to accede, as Mulai-el-Hassan did, to their demands when dictated by a common accord, yet remains to be seen.

Curiously enough, however, so far as one can judge of the foreign official impression, the different representatives seem generally to view the accession of Ba Hamed to power with a sense of relief, as each would appear more anxious to thwart his neighbour's schemes than to advance the especial interests of his own flag; and, certainly, it must be admitted that any exceptional feebleness, or general outbreak of disorder in this country, peopled as it is by so many discordant elements, would at the present juncture be far more embarrassing than welcome to any one of the Powers. For, whatever may be the aspirations or pretension to exercise a predominant control in Morocco, the fear of an international conflict growing out of an attempt to restore order, should a sudden necessity arise, would far outweigh the desire to play a leading rôle in the administration of this inorganic country—a problem which might tax the resources even of the wealthiest Power. Hence the sense of general relief, if not absolute satisfaction, in the consciousness that there is a strong hand at the helm,—how strong or how scrupulous yet remains to be proved. And regarding the treatment of Ba Hamed's opponents, as there will be no trial, either public or private, we shall never know whether the Djamai had in fact conspired against Abd-el-Aziz, or whether their worst fault was that they would not allow Ba Hamed to have his own way in matters which did not appertain to his own department. At first it was given out that the Djamai would not be treated with undue severity or harshness, and that they would be merely confined to their own houses until the succession of Abd-el-Aziz should be fairly established; but already the ex-*Viziers* are loaded with irons, and from a letter received whilst this is being written, it is stated that they are "swollen in their chains."

Naturally all those functionaries or partizans who are attached by ties of blood or interest to the Djamai are in an agony of apprehension.

Besides the Djamai and the Bokhari faction there are still two other members of the late Sultan's cabinet whose signatures were appended to the act of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz's accession, Si Fedoul Gharnit, the adroit minister of Foreign Affairs, and El Mesfuiwe, the minister of Justice, who had been Mulai-el-Hassan's tutor or instructor in Koranic jurisprudence. These two,—both of whom the writer knows personally,—have, thus far, endeavoured to follow a middle course. Should they be dismissed, all the members of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz's cabinet, excepting Ba Hamed himself, would be new men and unknown to the European element. Possibly this is not of much consequence, as Ba Hamed is virtually himself alone, Cabinet, prime minister, and Sultan, all in one; but as this potent personage is neither young nor in good health, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz may have another opportunity, in the not far distant future, of showing whether he has it in him to assert himself as a real ruler of Morocco, and genuine Emir el Mumenin, or whether he is to be, to the end, only a figment and an effigy.

The fact that the two brothers of the Sultan from whom Abd-el-Aziz was supposed to have most to fear, Mulai Omar, the viceroy at Fez, and Mulai Mohammed at Morocco, are both in prison, despite their having publicly acknowledged the succession of their younger brother, looks as though neither fear nor any humane sentiment will deter Ba Hamed from doing all that the most ruthless energy can effect, in order to render absolutely secure the throne of the young prince and to confirm the authority of the power behind the throne represented by Ba Hamed himself.

In the meantime, although the Djamai are rigorously confined at Tetuan, only a day's march from Tangier, and are unable to communicate with or influence any possible adherents, yet the Government is confronted by various local

but probably disconnected risings, especially of the Kabyles in the neighbourhood of Casablanca, Mazagan and Saffi :— risings due to the unpopularity of the *Kaids* or governors of some of the coast districts.

The Europeans in several of these ports are alarmed, and H.M.'s gunboat, *Bramble*, has been summoned, after a conference of the foreign representatives at Tangier, with the hope that the presence of this vessel may restore confidence. Unfortunately these disturbances amongst the natives interfere with trade, whilst the exaggerated telegrams which the English press continues to publish, on the responsibility of agents not always wisely selected, do still more harm to commerce and to all local interests.

Up to the present date, August 22nd, public order has not been as seriously disturbed since the death of the late Sultan, as it had been, frequently, during his reign. It should be remembered that there is a great difference between any merely local disturbances, during which foreigners have enjoyed an immunity from violence together with a security both of life and property which their countrymen at home might justly envy in these days of labour troubles and anarchist attacks, and any general difficulties between foreigners and natives that might culminate in a *Jehad* or holy war. That would be a far more serious affair; for in such a case all non-Muslemin would be exposed to the gravest peril. Barring such an eventuality, the interests of the foreign residents and the natives of the same locality are so bound up together that any attack upon the former would injure and distress their Muhammadan neighbours. Thus it has frequently occurred that travellers and tourists have peacefully traversed localities where local wars and sanguinary feuds were being waged amongst the natives, and have witnessed, without inconvenience, more than one lively engagement, much as they might have assisted at some performance at the theatre or opera. Even, therefore, should the Kabyles of the hills or the populations of the plains continue to depose their governors and to resist

the authority of the young Sultan, foreigners would not necessarily suffer any serious danger, whilst those who are more closely connected with the country may be much more disastrously affected by the vagaries of the irresponsible journalist than by the armed demonstrations of the partisans or opponents of this or that native official.

Having lived through the interregnum between the death of the Sultan Mulai Mohamed and the accession of Mulai-el-Hassan, when the country was practically without any government at all, when the district about Tangier was stripped of troops, and when an agrarian revolt against the authority of the *Bashas* had spread from province to province, I can bear witness to the general desire to avoid disturbing the foreigner. Indeed, the leader of the revolt, a certain *Kaid* Boaza, sent a deputation to Tangier to assure the foreign representatives that the lives and property of Europeans would be respected, together with a present of a handsome horse to myself, who, though I occupied no official position, was, nevertheless, invited to be present at a conference subsequently held when the terms of agreement between the then *Basha* of Tangier and *Kaid* Boaza were settled. This I mention merely to show that such experiences entitle me to at least as much weight as is given to the opinions of some of the younger representatives of the press at Tangier, whence such alarmist reports so frequently issue.

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE.

By J. LAMBERT PAYNE, SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE Colonial Conference, which met at Ottawa, Canada, in June and July last, marked a distinct epoch in the history of the Empire, an epoch which will hereafter be recognised as the anniversary of Greater Britain's majority. It was a gathering quite unique in character, conceived and carried out in a spirit which had not previously manifested itself in organized form. In a word, it was the creature of that new-born Independence which marks the strength, the development and the wealth of the Colonies. It had its birth in a desire for greater freedom of action without any breaking or weakening of the filial ties. Taking an illustration from domestic life, it was like a meeting of full-grown brothers, who, feeling themselves strong and useful, desire by unrestrained co-operation to increase the business and power of the family. And there is something unspeakably inspiring in the contemplation of this Colonial manhood; so suggestive of intelligent strength, of power to aid the parent State, of scattered yet united forces, of restless enterprise, of unshakable fealty and the rugged vigour of real life.

It is instructive to follow the lines of history which lead up to this Conference, and note the evolution of events. In 1887 the Colonial Secretary, desiring to recognise the growing helpfulness of the Colonies, summoned the first Conference to meet in London. That summons brought together a company of distinguished men from all parts of the Empire. The primary purpose for which they were called together was to consider the matter of Imperial Defence; but the honest student of their proceedings will see that when they settled down to work their chief interest centred in matters relating to trade and the welding of Colonial interests, rather than in the military measures laid before them. They sat, at easy intervals, for nearly a

month, left a bulky record of their doings, and separated without being satisfied that they had really accomplished anything in particular. It is not my purpose, however, to analyze the methods or seek the results of that Conference : I wish merely to show in what very important respect it differed from the recent gathering at Ottawa. The comparison is most suggestive. The Conference of 1887 was called by the Imperial authorities ; it was presided over by the Colonial Secretary ; its programme was laid out by the Colonial Office ; and in every respect the parental supremacy was asserted. It is a small matter, but, as showing the precise character of the meeting, it may be said that the Colonial Secretary took the chair without even the formality of an election. The Conference of 1894, on the other hand, had its birth in the Colonies, was summoned by a Colony without reference to the Imperial authorities, was held in a Colony, was presided over by a Colonial, and had a programme of exclusively Colonial matters. On this occasion the summoning Colony first invited the other Colonies to send delegates, and then notified to the Imperial Authorities that a representative of the Central Government would be made heartily welcome at the Conference. In effect it was said : "The Colonies intend meeting together for the purpose of discussing some business matters which concern both them and you ; they will be glad to have you send a delegate to consult with them, and see how thoroughly alive they are to Imperial interests." The Home Government had never before received such a message from a Colony ; but appreciating quite clearly its spirit and purpose, they sent a representative, and a most competent one at that.

Canada called the Conference. When the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell went on a business mission to Australia, in September 1893, he found it impossible within the time at his command to satisfactorily confer with seven distinct Colonies, and a Conference suggested in Sydney or Melbourne could not be arranged in time. Being a man of foresight

and decision, Mr. Bowell did not waste his time by further drafts on the abounding hospitality of the Colonies, but returned at once to Canada and soon afterwards induced his Government to dispatch formal invitations to the Australasian Governments, to the Cape of Good Hope, to Natal and to Fiji, to send representatives to Ottawa in June. The message defined in general terms the matters to be considered at the Conference, and with the exception of Western Australia, Natal and Fiji, all the Colonies sent acceptances. This was the origin of the Colonial Conference of 1894.

This brings me to the consideration of the personnel of the Conference. The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell was unanimously elected President; and in view of the part he had taken in bringing about the Conference, this was thought, quite apart from his executive fitness, a well-earned honour: Sir Adolphe Caron was chosen Vice-President. The complete list of delegates was as follows:

The Imperial Government.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, P.C., G.C.M.G.

Canada.

The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, P.C., Minister of Trade and Commerce; the Hon. Sir Adolphe Caron, P.C., K.C.M.G., Postmaster-General; the Hon. Geo. E. Foster, P.C., L.L.D., Minister of Finance; Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G.

New South Wales.

The Hon. F. B. Suttor, M.L.A., Minister of Public Instruction.

Tasmania.

The Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald.

Cape of Good Hope.

Sir Henry De Villiers, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice; Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B., Agent General in London; the Hon. Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, M.L.A.

South Australia.

The Hon. Thomas Playford, Agent General in London.

New Zealand.

Alfred Lee-Smith, Esq.

Victoria.

Sir Henry John Wrixon, K.C.M.G., Q.C. ; the Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C. ; the Hon. Simon Fraser, M.L.C.

Queensland.

The Hon. A. J. Thynne, M.L.C., Member of the Executive Council ; the Hon. William Forrest.

Mr. Theo H. Davies represented the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, and was heard at the Conference in relation to matters in which his Board was interested ; but he was not given the *status* of a delegate. Messrs. Douglas Stewart, Private Secretary to the Premier, and J. Lambert Payne, Private Secretary to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, of Canada, were joint Secretaries of the Conference ; and Mr. W. Hepworth Mercer, of the Colonial Office, London, was in attendance on Lord Jersey, for the purpose of rendering such information as might be desired, upon the different subjects brought before the Conference. Little need be said of the characteristics of the delegates, their rank at home and their strength in the Conference. They were certainly men of great ability, commanding the confidence of their Governments and having a thorough knowledge of Colonial needs and resources. They displayed marked earnestness and assiduity in their work. Beyond this it is not prudent to criticize. With respect, however, to Lord Jersey, it may be said it was felt that the Imperial Government had made a wise choice in sending one so conversant with Colonial affairs ; and it is the bare truth to add that he made not only a great impression on the Canadian people, but displayed excellent tact in the treatment of matters before the Conference.

Concerning the business of the Conference, it may be said that the Caption : " Trade Within the Empire " would fairly cover the character and purpose of all that was done. The proceedings bore wholly on the commercial relations of the Colonies to each other and to the Mother Country. There was no mistaking the earnest desire of the delegates to see the outlying parts of the Empire drawn closer

together. It was felt that the inventions of science had done much to minimize the actual separation by distance, and it needed only the ties of commerce—diversified, subtle and strong—to bind them into an organized community for the purpose of exchange and co-operation. At the back of all this was an unmistakable Imperial sentiment which gave shape to every resolution and spirit to every debate. The success of Colonial commerce—the real fibre of Colonial life—was felt to be the best means of strengthening the Empire; and the clear aim of the Conference was less towards selfish ends than towards the advancement of British prestige and influence. The judgment of the delegates in this regard was crystallized into the following resolution, moved by Hon. Mr. Foster and seconded by Sir Henry Wrixon:

“Whereas: The stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bands that unite the Colonies with the Mother Country, and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and co-operation in all that pertains to the common welfare;

“And whereas: This co-operation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products;

“Therefore resolved: That this Conference records its belief in the advisability of a Customs’ arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries;

“Further resolved: That until the Mother Country can see her way to enter into a Customs’ arrangement with her Colonies, it is desirable that, when empowered so to do, the Colonies of Great Britain, or such of them as may be disposed to accede to this view, take steps to place each other’s products, in whole or in part, on a more favoured Customs’ basis than is accorded to the like products of foreign countries;

“Further resolved : That for the purpose of this resolution the South African Customs' Union be considered as part of the territory capable of being brought within the scope of the contemplated trade arrangements.”

This resolution was not carried unanimously ; but there was practically no opposition to the central principle involved in it. The non-contents had various reasons for their negative votes. Thus, it was held by several delegates that Great Britain could not, in view of the division of her trade, make that radical alteration in her fiscal policy which would enable her to give preferential treatment to the Colonies. This was quite apart from the matter of a purely Colonial Customs' Union. There was also some doubt in the minds of two of the delegates as to the precise view their Governments might take of such a proposition ; and they did not, therefore, feel free to support it. For those and other reasons, 3 Colonies voted in the negative ; while 5 held to the affirmative.

Two other resolutions were carried which may be regarded as supplementary to the one just quoted, although they preceded it. The first was :

“That provision should be made by Imperial Legislation enabling the dependencies of the Empire to enter into arrangements of commercial reciprocity, including power of making differential tariffs, with Great Britain, or with one another.”

The necessity for this action is found in the somewhat anomalous state of affairs now existing. Canada and the Cape of Good Hope may give preferential treatment to countries not affected by British Treaties in force, by simply securing Imperial assent to the legislation which they may enact in that regard ; but it is not at all clear that the Australasian Colonies may do this. It would seem that the Constitution Acts of those Colonies contain clauses which expressly prohibit them from discriminating against outside countries. Under an amendment passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1873 they may set up differential

tariffs as against one another; but they cannot go outside the group. It was argued by some of the Antipodean delegates that the Australasian Colonies might act with as much freedom as Canada, in merely submitting their legislation for Imperial approval. The preponderance of authority, however, was against that view. As has been said, there is in their Constitution Acts a specific denial of the right to enact differential tariffs applicable to other Colonies and countries, while no such bar exists in the British North America Act. To meet the difficulty in all its phases and bearings, it was deemed wise to ask for explicit legislation by the parent Parliament, giving freedom to adopt measures of commercial reciprocity among the Colonies. The Conference might not have been called but for this very obstacle to the Customs' agreement which Mr. Bowell had hoped to negotiate when he visited Australia. It lay directly across the pathway to an exchange of products on the basis of Customs' favour, and had to be removed before anything further could be done.

The second resolution went one step further in the plea for commercial freedom. It declared :

"That this Conference is of opinion that any provisions in existing treaties between Great Britain and any foreign power, which prevent the self-governing dependencies of the Empire from entering into agreements of commercial reciprocity with each other, or with Great Britain, should be removed."

It is known to all who have kept themselves posted on questions of trade that the most-favoured-nation clause in several of the important treaties between Great Britain and foreign Countries was held to bind also the British Colonies. No view to the contrary was urged until recently, chiefly because the occasion for controversy had not arisen in serious form. The Conference acted on the assumption that the matter was in doubt, with the doubt accentuated by more than thirty years of practice on the side of the affirmative view; and it was resolved to petition the Imperial

Government for relief. The treaties which came in for the sharpest criticism were those with Belgium and the German Zollverein, which were entered into anterior to the time when the Home Government adopted the salutary plan of asking the Colonies whether or not they desired to become parties to any particular trade arrangement under consideration. It is now declared by Sir E. Grey, who has quite recently given a direct and positive opinion, that these two treaties do not prevent the Colonies from adopting measures of reciprocal trade among themselves. It was the doubt in this respect, however, which led the Conference to take action, rather than a sense of injury from the application of those treaties to the individual Colonies in the past.

Acting still in the commercial spirit, the Conference passed very strong and pointed resolutions respecting the laying of a Cable under the Pacific to connect Canada with Australasia, and to afford an alternative route to the Antipodes from that now controlled by the Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Company. There was not a dissentient voice to the proposition, although the representative from South Australia put forward a vigorous claim for the consideration of his Colony's interest in the land line connecting Australia and the existing cable lines at Port Darwin, an interest which would be seriously depreciated by a rival system. Some spoke timidly of the difficulties in the way of a cable 7,000 miles long, the north-eastern span of which would under any circumstances be the longest in the world; but the voice of the Conference was loud and unmistakably clear in the demand for such steps as would make the Pacific Cable an accomplished thing at the earliest possible moment. The Conference of 1887 had contented itself with asking the British Government to make a survey of the route, and the British Government had contented itself with making a few soundings between Australia and Fiji. The work had been stopped within a year; and the Home Government did not so much as take the trouble to inform the Colonies of that fact, until inquiry was made

several years later. This display of feeble interest in the projected Pacific Cable was roundly condemned by nearly every delegate at the Conference, and it was boldly hinted that influences of a selfish character had been at work to prevent the survey being pushed forward. Convinced, however, that the cable was essential to the development of trade and would be of great Imperial value, the Conference agree to do four things :—

1. To have a submarine survey made, the Colonies to bear a fair proportion of the cost ;

2. To ask the Imperial Government to secure neutral landing-ground in the neighbourhood of Hawaii, in case it should be deemed advisable to adopt that route ;

3. To invite tenders for the work on certain bases clearly laid down ; and

4. To pave the way for the ultimate extension of the cable to the Cape of Good Hope.

More than this they felt it was impossible to do just now.

The last matter which engaged the attention of the Conference had relation to steamship service between Canada and the Australasian Colonies. It may be explained that a line of first-class steamers was established in May 1893 to ply between Vancouver in Canada and Sydney in Australia, the enterprise being carried on under subsidies from Canada and New South Wales. The object of this was to stimulate trade and to afford a new alternative route between England and the antipodes *via* Canada. Following the successful inauguration of that undertaking came the project for a fast service on the Atlantic, between Canada and Great Britain, that service to be connected by the Canadian Pacific Railway with the line of steamers on the Pacific. Over this route, with the aid of fast vessels on the Pacific, it was argued that London could be brought within 26 days of Sydney. Canada had already subsidized the Pacific line to the extent of £25,000 *per annum* ; and she now holds out a further subsidy of £150,000 *per annum*, for the establishment of a 20-knot service on the Atlantic. The Con-

ference, having all the facts in view, passed the following important resolution:—

1. "That this Conference expresses its cordial approval of the successful efforts put forth by Canada and New South Wales for the establishment of a regular monthly steamship service between Vancouver and Sydney, and affirms the advisability of the reasonable co-operation of all the Colonies interested in securing the improvement and permanence of the same.

2. "That the Conference learns with interest of the steps now being taken by Canada to secure a first-class fast mail and passenger service, with all the modern appliances for the storage and carrying of perishable goods, across the Atlantic, to Great Britain, and the large subsidy which she has offered to procure its establishment.

3. "That it regards such an uninterrupted through line of swift and superior communication between Australasia and Great Britain as is above contemplated, as of paramount importance to the development of Intercolonial trade and communication, and to the unity and stability of the Empire, as a whole.

4. "That as the Imperial Post Office contributes towards the cost of the mail service between England and Australia, *via* Brindisi or Naples, the sum of £95,000 *per annum*, while the sea-postage amounts only to £3,000; and to the mail service between Vancouver and Japan and China £45,000, less £7,300 charged against the Admiralty; this Conference deems it but reasonable to respectfully ask that assistance be given by the Imperial Government to the proposed fast Atlantic and Pacific service; more particularly as the British Post Office, whilst paying the large subsidy of £104,231 a year to the line from Liverpool to New York, has so far rendered no assistance in the maintenance of a direct postal line between Great Britain and Canada."

Looking back over the Acts of the Conference, so hurriedly and imperfectly outlined, it will be seen that much was done to prepare the way for the closer commercial

relations of the outlying parts of the Empire. That was the clear and sole mission of the meeting. The sentimental influences of such a gathering are cheering and helpful ; but the broader view reveals vast possibilities of union for business in the future. The Conference merely voiced and gave shape to the earnest desire of the great progressive Colonies of the Empire to get closer together. They want better and quicker means of communication ; they want to know more of each other ; and they want to favour each other in the struggle for trade. Considerations of abstract political economy will not be allowed to interfere with this living impulse to join hands and interests in a common effort for progress and growth. It was impossible within the time for the meetings of the Conference, to formulate a plan of Customs' union, or to agree upon any basis of exchange. It was not attempted. What was first wanted was the legal freedom to make such an arrangement, and the details were properly left to the future, pending Imperial Legislation. Once the obstacles are removed, it requires no great perspicacity to see that, in the present temper of the Colonies, they will quickly come to a rational and business-like bargain for the freer exchange of products and the building up of a vast commercial Union. The help of the Imperial Government will be needed in providing facilities for carrying out that union, and a prompter response is looked for than came to some of the reasonable petitions of the Colonies in the past. When that help has been given, and the way is open for broad schemes of Colonial Union, the Conference of 1894 will have shown its great usefulness and its right to be regarded as an important factor in shaping the destiny of the Empire.

• I do not desire to pose as a prophet ; yet I feel quite safe in ending this hastily prepared contribution with the same sentiment which was uttered at the outset : the Colonial Conference just ended marks the commencement of a new and very significant epoch in the history of the British People.

Ottawa, *August* 20, 1894.

IMPERIALISM AT THE INTER-COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

By J. CASTELL-HOPKINS.

IT has been the great mission of Canada to forge the chief links in that marvellous chain of union which is slowly but surely welding the interests and institutions of the British Empire into one harmonious whole. By the Confederation of its Provinces in 1867 the first impetus was given to the principle which now permeates the politics and fills the aspirations of the people of Australia and South Africa, and which will yet dominate the institutions of Great Britain and control the constitution of the Empire. By the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway it opened up vast territories to British settlement and cultivation; created cities and towns which are now reaching out for trade with the distant east; provided an Imperial highway for the transport of troops and munitions of war; and completed commercially that unity of Canada which in a national sense had been consummated at Confederation. By the creation of a steamship line from Vancouver to Sydney, and the voting of a large subsidy which practically ensures the completion of a fast line of steamers between Canada and England, the Dominion has formed a substantial basis for the closer commercial relations which should in the future exist between the different sections of the Empire.

Meantime the Mother-Country has not been idle, or indifferent to these important though not always clearly understood movements. By the formation of the Imperial Federation League in 1884, by the co-operation in its work of so many leading statesmen, and by the active labours of representative men such as Lord Rosebery, the old Manchester school of politicians and their opinions have been destroyed, and only the amusing gyrations of Mr. Labouchere or the impotent wailings of Mr. Goldwin Smith are left to mark the scene of its former activities. By the

Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, the resources of the external Empire were revealed to millions of people at home, and an impetus given to that growing desire for better relations and clearer knowledge of the Colonies which soon found expression, through the keen foresight and patriotic vigour of the Prince of Wales, in the foundation and completion of the Imperial Institute. And by the Colonial Conference held in London during 1887 the statesmen of the Empire met in genuine consultation for the first time, paving the way, as Lord Salisbury prophetically observed, for many similar and greater gatherings in the future.

Thus step by step the principle of union has grown until its magnificent application in the present year has been rendered possible. For it must be remembered that even if no immediate practical result were to follow from the gathering—and that is a supposition which it is hardly necessary to discuss—the mere meeting of representative men, without any Imperial initiative, from British America, British Africa, and British Australasia, to discuss mutual interests and plight the troth of Empire anew, would be an event of sufficient import to mark it as an epoch in British history. But the terms and conditions under which the Conference was called show that if commercial considerations were nominally paramount, yet Imperialism had a *great underlying influence*. *For years Canada while trying*, without any great success, to arrange trade relations with Brazil and the West Indies, France, Spain, and the United States, has also meanwhile been developing the internal conditions to which the completion of the Canadian-Australasian Steamship Line drew sudden attention.

Had it not been for the expansive projects of the Canadian Pacific and the success of Mr. Huddart's enterprise, combined with the local depression in the Australian Colonies which made them willingly turn the ear to the Canadian charmer when speaking of commercial development and better relations, we might have had to wait a little longer for what has just taken place. But the

Dominion Government is essentially British in policy and sentiment; its leaders belong to a party which infinitely prefers Imperial trade to American and foreign commerce; one of its chief supporters in this respect is Sir William Van-Horne, whose great ability and energy of character have made him a power in national as well as railway circles; and it was therefore to be expected that the railway, canal, and steamship policy of the past fifteen years, extending as it always did to the east and the west, would ultimately result in some effort at closer union with Australia and Britain. Such was the dream and the determination of Sir John Macdonald; such we may hope will be its realization in part at least, under the Premiership of Sir John Thompson.

The way for the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell's official and preliminary visit to Australia was paved by journeys through Canada on the part of Sir George Dibbs and the Hon. Edmund Barton of New South Wales and Sir T. McIlwraith of Queensland. All these returned home each with a strong perception of the possibilities of greater trade and unity. On the 17th of September following, Mr. Bowell sailed for Australia in order to confer with the several Governments there with a view to the promotion of trade between the Colonies and Canada. His position as Minister of Trade and Commerce, and his intimate acquaintance with Canadian requirements made him an ideal diplomatist, which advantages a personal enthusiasm in the mission served to further enhance. But—fortunately as we may now conclude—it was found impossible to negotiate satisfactorily with so many distinct Colonies in the short time at his disposal, and arrangements were therefore made for the Conference which met at Ottawa on the 28th of June last, and to which South Africa and the Imperial Government joined in sending representatives.

The Delegates were men in every way fitted to deal with the issues which they met to discuss. Most of them

were ministers or ex-ministers of their respective Colonies. Lord Jersey had distinguished himself as a popular and able Colonial Governor. Mr. Hoffmeyr is a Cape Colony leader whose name is known wherever South Africa is thought of, and Dutch loyalty to the British Crown appreciated. Mr. Sandford Fleming is the father of the cable scheme, and the engineer to whom the Canadian Pacific Railway owed so much in its constructive stages: their very names were a guarantee of the importance of the gathering.

After a formal opening ceremony in the Senate Chamber, distinguished by welcoming speeches of great eloquence from Lord Aberdeen as Governor-General and Sir John Thompson as Premier, the Conference settled down to business, first passing an address to the Queen in which assurances were given of earnest loyalty, and of the desire of those charged with administering affairs in the Colonies to vie with Her Majesty's Imperial advisers "in upholding the ancient monarchy under which it is our happiness to live and in doing our part to hand down, unimpaired, to later generations, this great symbol of our union and our strength." It was decided not to admit the press, because of the danger of discursiveness which might follow; and arrangements were made for voting by Colonies.

The Presidential address was then delivered. In it Mr. Bowell went over much preliminary ground, describing, in brief, the origin and purpose of the Conference as being an extension of trade between the Colonies by the removal of impediments and the improvement of facilities. Abstract questions, political arrangements and defence considerations—except indirectly—were beyond its domain. He referred at length to the difficulties which were thrown in the way of closer trade relations by the unfortunate British treaties with Belgium and the German Zollverein, under the terms of which those countries would have to be admitted to any fiscal privileges which one Colony might give to another. Later it was found that the Constitutions granted to the

Australasian Colonies absolutely forbade discrimination in favour of any external country, whether British or foreign. Mr. Bowell quoted the address to the Queen which unanimously passed the Canadian Parliament in 1892 asking for relief from these restrictions, and after giving the total trade of the British Empire as £426,300,112—exclusive of Great Britain—concluded that “a judicious adjustment of tariffs” might divert the great share of this commerce which was done with foreign countries, into British channels. He believed that this object could be attained by each Colony retaining perfect autonomy as regards its tariff rates, whether on a basis of free trade or protection, with the one and sole restriction, that on all articles on which duties are charged, uniform preferential rates on direct importations shall be accorded to all members of a Confederation to be founded for that purpose, and to the Mother-Country, as against the rest of the world.

As the first step in this policy all treaties should be abrogated which in any way opposed its consummation. Further steps suggested were the appointment of a joint commission to insure uniformity of practice in the assessment of duties and the classifications for statistical purposes ; a uniform statistical period ; an interchange of blue-books and commercial literature ; a general copyright system ; Inter-British cable connection ; and steamship subsidies in given directions. The first motion passed by the Conference was moved, on the day following Mr. Bowell's speech, by Sir Henry Wrixon and seconded by Mr. Thynne. It read as follows, and caused a most diversified discussion, but was finally carried unanimously :

“That provision should be made by Imperial legislation enabling the Dependencies of the Empire to enter into agreements of Commercial reciprocity, including the power of making differential tariffs with Great Britain or with one another.”

Sir Henry Wrixon in his speech showed how completely the Colonies now had their hands tied in making mutual arrangements, though under the beneficial treaty-making

system which Canada enjoyed she could, with the co-operation of the British ministry and the subsequent approval of the Imperial Parliament, practically arrange her own treaties with foreign powers. The same right was desired by all the Colonies in dealing with each other. The Australian Colonies could, for instance—under Federation—discriminate in favour of each other, but not in favour of external Colonies. Sir Henry de Villiers pointed out that in South Africa, the Colonies have been given the right to enter into a Customs' union among themselves or with other States in their vicinity, but that the relationship was limited to South Africa and the duties levied could apply only to goods imported over-land and not to those imported by sea. Mr. Fraser of Victoria looked forward to the day when all the Colonies would have one Customs' tariff.

Just here ensued a somewhat prolonged discussion of the treaty with France recently ratified by the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Playford expressed the belief that a preference was being given to French wines over those of Australia and South Africa. This brought a prompt denial from the Canadian Minister of Finance; who also stated that "we would not bind ourselves not to allow other wines to come in at the same rate." The question, however, of whether the treaty would prevent discrimination in favour of those Colonies and against France, continued to trouble the delegates until, on the following day, Mr. Foster categorically declared that it would not, basing his assertion upon the fact that the treaty only bound Canada not to admit the products of any "third power" at a lower rate—the word "power" in his opinion meaning a foreign country and not a Colony. It is of course likely that France will object to this interpretation, if it is ever put in practical operation; but there is no doubt that Mr. Foster is right in looking upon the British Empire as a unit in foreign negotiations, although the principle of including or excluding Colonies from treaties at their own sweet will, may logically somewhat mar his position. Apparently, too, Canada, has been very nearly doing what she is earnestly asking England to

undo—tying her own hands as regards the making of inter-imperial arrangements along certain lines.

Mr. Foster, in moving the resolutions that devolved on him, made an eloquent appeal for preferential trade relations and the formation of an Inter-colonial Trade Union. Great Britain was not yet prepared for the placing of duties upon any foreign products in return for a preference in Colonial markets; but he believed the time would come. Meanwhile they should unite among themselves and build up an Imperial trade upon a basis of Imperial favour. Future growth and development in the external empire would inevitably bring the Mother-Country into the trade arrangement, ensure the safety of her food supply, and enhance to an enormous extent production in the Colonies and their demand for British goods. Mr. Fitzgerald objected that the Victorian Parliament would never consent to any arrangement which would place British goods on a worse footing than those of any other part of the Empire. "Without Great Britain being included, I see no chance of getting its consent to any modification." Mr. Thynne, however, promptly pointed out that to await the favourable action of the Mother-Country in trade discrimination would postpone the matter indefinitely, whilst Mr. Foster spoke of the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with the United States, in which a number of American goods were admitted free without injury to Great Britain which did not export any of them. Even a suspicion of difficulty was averted, however, by an Act admitting them free from England also. Ultimately, and after some days' discussion, Mr. Foster's resolutions were adopted on division.*

Messrs. Thynne, Lee-Smith and Suttor spoke strongly against asking England to change her free-trade policy, believing the idea to be at present impracticable, and the vote by Colonies stood as follows:

YEAS.—Canada, Tasmania, Cape of Good Hope, South Australia, Victoria—5.

NOES.—New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland—3.

They are textually quoted in the previous article, p. 357.

It may be safely said, however, that the delegates did not altogether represent their respective Colonies in this vote. No one disputes Sir Thomas McIlwraith's being a representative Queensland statesman and his advocacy of preferential trade has been far more forcible than Mr. Thynne's vote will perhaps prove to be against it. Mr. Lee-Smith is a merchant and pronounced free-trader, who can hardly in this case prove in touch with the large protectionist party in New Zealand. However that may be, all the delegates were so devoted to the general idea of closer trade relations that it is not likely that theoretical considerations will prevail against their desire to carry out successfully the general aim of the Conference.

The Cable proposals came in for long and serious consideration. A resolution was moved by the Hon. Mr. Suttor, and a most exhaustive paper was read by Mr. Sandford Fleming. The former referred to the inception of the scheme in a definite shape through the resolution passed at the Colonial Conference of 1887, and to the delays which had followed in connection with the promised Imperial survey. The survey, he thought, would cost £36,000, and the total work about £2,000,000. He favoured a Company undertaking the enterprise with a joint Government guarantee against loss. Mr. Playford spoke of the Continental telegraph, 2,000 miles long, which South Australia had constructed, the trade of which would be most injuriously affected by the new cable. But, he added, in words which deserve to be remembered as embodying the most practical form of Imperial patriotism: "My Government wishes me to inform this Conference, that if this cable is required for Imperial and for public purposes, for the good of the Empire, South Australia is not going to stand in the way, and will support the cable."

Speaking on behalf of Queensland, Mr. Thynne estimated the cost at £1,800,000 and thought that "it would be worth the while of the Australasian Colonies alone to bear the cost, if they could be sure of the cable being served for a

week after a declaration of war by or against England." He denounced the "grasping monopoly" of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company. Sir Henry Wrixon was fully as patriotic as the two previous speakers. "What we are really anxious about is the Imperial and national point of view," he declared. He favoured England contributing one-third, Canada one-third, and Australasia one-third, of the cost. Mr. Bowell said he disagreed entirely with the fears expressed by some as to the difficulties of the undertaking. He "had often heard it stated that the Canadian Pacific Railway would not pay for the grease on its wheels. The other day it had declared a dividend of 5 per cent., with a large reserve." Sir Charles Mills urged that the cable should be ultimately extended to South Africa and spoke of the strategic and commercial reasons which strongly pointed to the desirability of doing so. Two motions regarding it passed unanimously.

This practically closed the Conference. A despatch had been received from Lord Rosebery speaking of the event as "a happy augury for the future of the Empire"; and banquets, with innumerable speeches and enthusiastic welcomes, were yet to follow at Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec. But the business ended with this resolution; and not long after, the Conference adjourned with a vote of thanks to Lord Jersey, who had filled his position of Imperial spokesman with tact and ability. There is no doubt that the occasional pointed questions asked, and the observations made by him were of considerable practical value; and whatever the immediate fate of the resolutions and opinions thus given to the Empire and the world may be, there can be no two opinions as to the ultimate importance of the gathering. It has set in motion a principle which will change the entire Imperial system, arrest the currents of separation which were arising in some quarters, and direct men's thoughts more and more towards Imperial Unity and co-operation, in trade, in defence, and in legislation. And out of thought comes action.

The proposed cable is now only a matter of a few years. It was left to the action of Canada ; and the first steps have already been taken. The advantages will be very great to all concerned. The heavy charges rendered necessary at present by the circuitous route and frequent repetition of messages make the present line of little use to business men on opposite sides of the Pacific, and ruinously handicap its young mercantile marine and the successful development of commerce. Mr. Sandford Fleming estimates the rate over the new cable at 2s. a word and claims that it would reduce charges between Australia and England from 4s. 9d. to 3s. 3d. He believes the earnings of the Pacific line in ten years, upon that basis, would at the very lowest figures amount to £153,000. His estimate of cost depends upon the route chosen and runs from £1,610,000 to £1,978,000. So much for an enterprise which will give the Empire an all-British cable and telegraphic communication between London, Australia, and ultimately Cape-Town.

Commercial development of some sort is almost certain to follow the Conference. Great Britain may not move at once in giving the desired opening for preferential trade ; but local industrial interests may be depended upon to make the start. It is obvious that what the United States have done in this connection, Canada can also do. The following table shows how their trade has developed, mainly through having a line of steamers, much inferior to those which the Dominion has put on the route, and despite having a tropical region within their own borders which produces very similar articles to those grown in Australia :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>U.S. Imports from Australasia.</i>				<i>U.S. Exports to Australasia.</i>	
1860	\$130,000	...	...	\$4,070,000
1870	280,000	...	...	2,830,000
1880	2,292,000	...	...	4,690,000
1890	4,280,000	...	...	11,170,000
1891	6,240,000	...	..	12,890,000
1892	8,490,000	...	...	11,250,000

*And the great bulk of this trade is in products which Canada excels in manufacturing, and in imports of a kind

which Canada now obtains largely from the United States. The Republic exports considerable quantities of agricultural implements, carriages, chemicals, fish, manufactures of iron, steel, leather and paper, petroleum, and manufactured tobacco and wood. Yet, although the Dominion can compete in nearly all of these products, it only sends Australia from \$300,000 to \$500,000 worth a year. Hence the very evident opening for a substantial interchange. During an informal discussion at the Conference, Mr. Suttor enumerated as the articles which Australia could sell to Canada: wool which is produced in immense quantities, frozen beef and mutton, which can be got in Sydney for 2 cents a pound and costs 12 cents in British Columbia, canned meats, raw hides and skins, hard woods for railway ties and street paving, fruits such as lemons, oranges and mandarins, and sugar. Amongst the things which could be taken from Canada would be paper, which is not made in Australia, cotton goods and frozen and canned salmon. Mr. Lee-Smith stated that the Massey-Harris Co. of Toronto have already shipped 4,000 cultivators to New Zealand. That colony could send woollen goods, superior gum and flax, and rabbit skins, and would purchase frozen salmon, hops and paper. Other articles mentioned by delegates were rough timber, matches, and petroleum, all of which could be obtained from the Dominion. Sir Henry de Villiers said that the Cape could offer wool, diamonds, wine and fruit, and would take lumber in large quantities, together with agricultural implements and paper.

To all those, therefore, who look at practical considerations alone the result of the gathering will probably be thought satisfactory. But to all who feel the pulse of Empire and realize something of the mission and place of British countries in the world, the success of the Conference will hardly be measured by the possible exchange of miscellaneous merchandise, in greater or less quantities. This is a most important matter; but the great central idea is that co-operation has now become an Imperial principle, and

that loyalty to the Crown is becoming crystallised into practice. When the Hon. T. B. Suttor declared, at the great banquet in Toronto, that "he felt sure that they in Canada as well as the Australians and the Cape Colonists would be always ready to fight to the very last man for the Empire," he illustrated a sentiment which is steadily growing. When Sir Henry De Villiers spoke at Montreal of the loyalty of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope his words were proven by the presence and the well-known views of Mr. Jan Hendrik Hoffmeyr, whilst his reference to the calumnies spread abroad concerning the loyalty of the French-Canadians was fittingly responded to by the Hon. J. A. Chapleau's description of himself as "a French-Canadian Governor and a life-long Britisher."

To Canadians the eloquent speech of Mr. Chapleau is a proverb, but it must have come as a revelation to the visitors. He is in this connection the legitimate successor of Sir George Cartier, who proclaimed himself "an Englishman speaking French," and of Sir E. P. Taché who declared that "the last shot fired in North America in defence of the Union Jack would be by a French-Canadian." At the Québec banquet to the delegates, Mr. Chapleau—who is Governor of the Province—welcomed them "in their mission of peace and British fraternity;" and he continued in words well worth remembering:

"Sir, the lofty tree of the British Empire bears on its limbs, courage, intelligence, power, public spirit and philanthropy, industry and wealth, all the productions of human skill and genius. And above all it bears union and peace, union of mind and peace of conscience. Kneeling beneath that admirable structure we should thank Providence for the great gift we have received."

With these words echoing in their minds the representatives of many States of a vast Empire finally dispersed. Their mission had been a noble one; the occasion, a unique and historic event; the visit to the Dominion, a pleasant, and, it may well be hoped, a profitable trip. The end is

not yet ; and as the Ottawa Conference recedes into the dim distance and is succeeded by other and seemingly greater gatherings, its importance may be somewhat overshadowed and its deliberations partly forgotten by the great mass of an Imperial people. But it is safe to say that history will do it justice ; and that down through all "the ringing grooves of change" it will be carried as the first public political plank in the re-construction of the British Empire, and the practical commencement of an Imperial Federation whose greatness and destiny no man can measure.

Toronto, *August 15, 1894.*

THE GENEVA ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

WE insert the following account of the recently held Oriental Congress at Geneva from a patriotic Scholar of that City. He echoes the general feeling of his fellow-citizens in hailing the advent of a number of distinguished Orientalists at Geneva as a source of legitimate satisfaction. As at Stockholm, the people were proud of entertaining their illustrious guests, though we only know of one, and he too a Swiss, who had to fly from Geneva exhausted by its hospitalities. As at Stockholm, no "Summaries of Oriental Research" were communicated in the various specialities, so as to mark the progress accomplished in each, and to serve as starting-points for future research without wasting time on ground that might already have been gone over by others. Yet it was a Geneva Scholar, Professor E. Montet, under whose general supervision a series of bibliographical and other summaries were prepared for the great London Oriental Congress of 1891, and whose example might well have been imitated by the promoters of an Oriental Congress in his own City. Yet his name, like those of a host of progressive Orientalists, is significantly absent from the proceedings of a Congress, that, unlike Stockholm, was highly respectable, unlike Stockholm, highly pacific, but that otherwise was a relapse into the narrow scholastic groove, from which the promoters of the London Congress of 1891 endeavoured to rescue it. In none of its Sections was an attempt made to introduce the outer world to the utility and to the practical side of Oriental studies. The consequence was that the great world ignored it. Instead of, as at the London Congress of 1891, Statesmen, Ambassadors, explorers, Chambers of Commerce, Students of Comparative Law, Literature, Religion and Science, and even Artists, flocking to its meetings to learn the use to themselves of "*Orientalia*," the Geneva Congress was scarcely reported, except in the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Athenæum*, *Academy*, etc. We are, of course, bound to do so and there are very many papers of great academical, and even general, interest, that we shall be glad to publish *in extenso* before they are consigned to immortality or oblivion in the Transactions of the Geneva Congress a year or more hence. The "Times," which during fifteen days gave several columns daily to the proceedings of the Congress of 1891 and for five days similarly showed the continued interest of the public in that of 1892, only gave, in September 1894, a few lines to a Reuter's Telegram about Geneva, chronicling its opening, when it has devoted columns to the International Medical and other Congresses that take place in that month in various parts of the world. The fact is that the professional Orientalists and the amateurs that hang on to them, are not yet ripe for the greater and more useful sphere for which the Founders of the Oriental Congress in Paris in 1873 and the promoters of the London Oriental Congress of 1891 intended to develop the institution, much to the advantage of the science, of the public, of international relations especially with Eastern countries and Scholars, and even of the personal benefit of Orientalists themselves who now often find it so difficult "to make both ends meet." However, we hope for better things

in the future and now that the Geneva Congress—no matter what its doubtful origin—has declared its conformity to the Statutes of 1873, though suggesting their modification (in accordance with articles 19 and 20 quoted below*) and as it has accepted Paris as the seat of the next Congress in 1897, thus reverting to the birthplace of the institution, we may hope that the dispute between the “statutory” Orientalists, the supporters of wider views as well as of legality, and the anti-Statutory, or the professional monopolists, who have little to sell and few to buy of their Oriental wares, may unite in developing the Statutes on the principles (which *principles* cannot be modified†) of the foundation of the “International Congress of Orientalists” in the direction of more stimuli, greater rewards and a more extended usefulness of the Learning which both parties profess to have at heart. Under the leadership of a French Committee, so largely composed of members of its practical *École des langues orientales vivantes*, we may hope for the desired improvement in connexion with the Paris Congress, that BOTH parties have decided on as the seat of the NEXT meeting and that *both* parties have named the ELEVENTH. If our anticipations should not be fulfilled, we hope that the Oriental University Institute as the authority and guardian of the “statutory” interests will continue the struggle on their behalf. The Institute has also been constituted the seat of a British Oriental Congress, which, from its origin, must be practical and free, but at which foreign Orientalists and native Eastern scholars will ever be welcome and honoured guests. We hope to publish further details regarding the past, present and future of “THE ORIENTAL QUESTION” in our next issue.—*Ed.*

M. TONY ANDRÉ'S REPORT.

“I feel much honoured by being allowed to give, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, an account of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva from the 4th to the 12th September; and as an impartial narrator, I shall do my best to give as exact an idea as possible of the work and character of this Congress.

I. THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS. On Monday, the 3d September, at 8 p.m. a goodly number of persons met, in spite of bad weather, at the *Hôtel National* where they had been invited to Tea by the City of Geneva; but the Congress itself did not open till the next day, the 4th September at 10 a.m. The meeting was held in the great Hall of the University. Colonel Frey, President of the Swiss Confederation and Honorary President of the Congress, made the first speech. After him came State-Counsellor Richard and Mr. E. Naville, the President of the

* Art. 19.—*Toute demande en modification des statuts devra être signée par un nombre de membres égal au moins à la moitié du nombre des nationalités différentes représentées effectivement au congrès.*

Art. 20.—*Si ce projet de modification est pris en considération par la majorité absolue des membres au Congrès, une Commission sera chargée de présenter, à ce sujet, des conclusions. A la session suivante, ces conclusions seront adoptées ou rejetées au scrutin secret par oui ou par non et sans discussion.*

† Art. 17 (speaking of the special regulations allowed, if desired, to the discretion of every future Congress) “CE RÈGLEMENT NE DEVRA PAS ÊTRE CONTRAIRE À L'ESPRIT

DES PRÉSENTS STATUTS.”

Congress. With great tact, he avoided every allusion to existing rivalries, and proclaimed his desire to be independent of them. "We wish to show you (said he) what we understand by the neutrality of science. There are no signboards on this route with the words : ' No thoroughfare ! ' Quite the contrary ; we say to you, ' Come in great numbers ; you will be welcome ; and bring your knowledge and learning in as great a quantity as you can.' . . . "

Other speakers followed : M. Maspéro as the representative of the French Government, Lord Reay in the name of his fellow-countrymen, Professor Windisch in the name of German scholars, the Count de Gubernatis for Italy and Ahmed Zeky for the Khedive.

The same afternoon the different Sections met for the appointment of their officers.

II. STATISTICS. The Geneva Congress was divided into 8 sections :

1a. INDIA. President : Lord Reay ; Vice Presidents : Profs. A. Weber of Berlin and G. Bühler of Vienna ; Secretaries : Messrs. L. Finot of Paris, G. de Blonay of Grandson, and A. W. Jackson of New York.

1b. ARYAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS : President : Senator Ascoli ; Vice-Presidents : Messrs. Bréal of Paris and J. Schmidt of Berlin ; Secretaries : Messrs. Duvau of Paris and Wackernagel of Basle.

2. SEMITIC LANGUAGES. President : Mr. E. Kautzsch ; Vice Presidents : Messrs. J. Oppert of Paris, C. P. Tiele of Leyden, and H. Almkvist of Upsala ; Secretaries, Messrs. A. Bevan of Cambridge and K. Marti of Basle.

3. MUSSULMAN LANGUAGES. President : M. Schefer ; Vice-Presidents : Messrs. Goeje of Leyden, Goldziher of Buda-Pest and Sachau of Berlin ; Secretaries : Messrs. Gottheil of New York and Spiro of Lausanne.

4. EGYPT AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES. President : M. Maspéro ; Vice-Presidents : Messrs. Le Page Renouf of London and Lieblein of Christiania ; Secretaries : Messrs. Hess of Freiburg and Jéquier of Neuchâtel.

5. THE FAR EAST. President : M. Schlegel ; Vice-Presidents : Messrs. Cordier of Paris and Valenziani of Rome ; Secretaries : Messrs. Grube of Berlin and Chavannes of Paris.

6. GREECE AND THE EAST. President : M. Merriam ; Vice Presidents : Messrs. G. Perrot of Paris and Bikélas ; Secretary : Mr. Decrue of Geneva.

7. ORIENTAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY. President : M. A. Vaméry ; Vice Presidents : Prince Roland Bonaparte and M. A. de Claparède of Geneva ; Secretaries : Messrs. H. Welter-Crot and Holban.

Of these 8 sections, four always held their sittings in the forenoon beginning at 9, and four in the afternoon beginning at 1.30, an arrangement allowing the members to be present at the more important transactions of sections to which they did not belong. The official Bulletin published on the 6th—two days after the opening—gave 216 members (exclusive of those resident at Geneva), and 43 ladies. There were about 150 from Geneva itself, both ladies and gentlemen. But several scholars mentioned in the first lists did not put in an appearance at the Congress, I know not why. There were official delegates from 12 countries:—Austria, Egypt, France, Hungary, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Persia, Russia,

Sweden, and Turkey;—38 Universities;—31 Societies;—15 learned Academies and Higher Institutes. The countries most represented among members were France, Germany, Great Britain, and Austria.*

III. THE WORK IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS. Section I. presented 23 papers. M. OLDENBERG† treating of the Vedic religion divided the Vedic elements into the mythologic, the popular, the Indo-European, the Indo-Iranian and the Indian; Varuna was primarily a lunar god. M. v. SCHROEDER‡ gave an important paper on the Kâthaka, and its MSS., its system of accenting, and its relations with the works of Indian grammarians and lexicographers. He mentioned especially the manuscript discovered in India by M. Stein, and another in the Berlin Library. M. LEUMANN§ dealt with the Jaina canon called *Avaṣṭaka* and specially its two first parts, the *Somāyika* or formula of confession in prose, and the *Caturvimśatistava* or hymn to the 24 prophets. He presented the *fac-simile* of a MS. which he is about to publish. Count PULLÉ presented a specimen of a Catalogue of the Jaina MSS. in the National Library of Florence, and explained the

* The Oriental Congress held in London in 1891, from the 1st to the 12th September, had 600 members, representing 37 Governments or nationalities, and sat from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., with the exception of the hours for meals, in the following (generally crowded) Sections, producing 192 papers or memoirs, that fill 6 volumes, of which 3 and a Supplement have already appeared. There were, besides, exhibitions of Oriental Archaeology, Ethnology and Art-Industry, and the communications of explorers just returned from the scenes of their discoveries. We consider that the classification of the 1891 Congress was not only more exhaustive but also more correct than that of Geneva.—*Ed.* :

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| (a) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886. | (l) Japanese. |
| (b) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic. | (m) Dravidian. |
| 2. Arabic and Islām. | (n) Malayan and Polynesian. |
| 3. Assyriology. | (o) Instructions to Explorers, etc. |
| 4. Palestinology. | (p) Ethnographical Philology, including the migrations of races. |
| (c) Aryan : 1. Sanscrit and Hinduism. | (q) Oriental Art, Art-Industry, Archaeology and Numismatics. |
| 2. Pali and Buddhism. | (r) Relations with Orientals. |
| 3. Iranian and Zoroastrianism. | (s) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages (Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Urdu, etc.). |
| (d) Africa, except Egypt. | (t) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East. |
| (e) Egyptology. | (u) Exhibition of objects illustrative of Sections (b 2) (b 3) (c 1) (c 2) (e) (f) (g) (q) and (t). |
| (f) Central Asia and Dardistan. | (v) Exhibition of Publications relating to Oriental Languages, Travel, etc. |
| (g) Comparative Religion (including Mythology and Folk-lore), Philosophy and Law, and Oriental Sciences and History. | |
| (h) Comparative Language. | |
| (i) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies. | |
| (j) Indo-Chinese. | |
| (k) Sinology. | |

Section (f), "Central Asia and Dardistan," was mainly geographical and ethnographical, though "Oriental Geography and Ethnography" were specially treated in Sections (o) and (p), whilst Sections (g) and (q) included "Greece and the East," and an entire day was devoted to the examination of and the hearing of papers on "Græco-buddhistic" sculptures. Among the exhibitions was one of Oriental Musical Instruments, and musical performances were given in illustration of the papers on Oriental Music.

† Eine neue Darstellung der Vedischen Religion.

‡ Ueber das Kâthaka, seine Handschriften, sein Accentuationssystem und seine Beziehung zu den Indischen Grammatiken und Lexicographen.

§ Ueber die Avaṣṭaka Literatur.

system adopted for that publication. Mr. BENDALL read a paper on some inscriptions lately discovered by Dr. L. C. Waddell in Behâr, which are remarkable as being in a peculiar arrow-headed character, and written in a kind of classical Pali, and containing extracts from the Tripataka: Mr. BENDALL thinks these inscriptions date from the VIII. to the Xth century, A.D. Count de GUBERNATIS read a Note on the "Indian Origin of the representation of the Lucifer of Dante," an interesting work in which he showed the analogies between the Indian legend and the Christian as it was held in the middle ages.

Section Ib. had only 8 papers. M. J. SCHMIDT ("Ueber die silbgebildenden *r, l, m, n*, im Indo-Germanischen") argues against the existence of *r, l, m, n* syllabics in the Indo-European languages. Against the theory of M. Brugmann he holds that the nature of the liquids and nasals is in no wise like that of the *i* and *u*; and especially that there was no vowel *r* either in Iranian or Sanskrit, in spite of appearances; and that the existence of the nasal syllabic cannot be proved directly. M. Michael BRÉAL in his paper on "Some Italic divinities," produced several arguments tending to prove that the names of the Latin deities, Mars and Minerva, are of Etruscan origin, and that others originally Greek, like Cocles and Proserpine, passed into Latin only after having been altered in Etruscan mouths. M. Ferd. de SAUSSURE ("Phonetic law explaining the accentuation of the *Lithuanian*") communicated his discovery of a law in that language, of which he gave a demonstration as sure as an algebraic sum. This discovery is important, for besides the Lithuanian it is capable of being applied to the whole group of Slavonic languages. I must mention also M. Grazia-dio ASCOLI's "Phonologic observations regarding the Celtic and Neo-Latin"; and M. WACKERNAGEL'S "Beimerkungen über die Stellung des Sanskrit in der neuern Sprach-wissenschaft."

Section II., the richest in work, with its 28 sittings and the most frequented, did not yield the greatest scientific results. This was due either to its wanderings amid details very learned but too specialistic, or to its drumming often on old theories which one might have thought safe from discussion in a Congress. We must note, however, the communication by Mrs. LEWIS who created a lively interest in the members of the Congress by exhibiting the photographs taken by her of the Syriac MSS. of two Lectionaries, discovered on Mount Sinai. M. SIMONSEN also excited much attention by his work, "Ein aus der rabbinischen Bibelausgabe des Joh. Buxtorf, Basil, 1619, verschwundenes Stück." I must mention also M. ROGERS' "A new MS. of the Pirke Aboth";—M. HAUPT'S "Die Sage des Paradieses";—several discourses of M. Oppert;—and a very fine address by M. REINACH on the Ruins of Jericho. The discussions were at times very lively, and the section was considered rather turbulent; but thanks to the tact and impartiality of the President, M. Kautzsch, all ended well.

Six papers were entered in Section III. M. GOLDZIEHER gave his "observations on the early history of poetry among the Arabs." Poetry (he said) had its origin in magical incantations; hence the Arab poet also was originally an enchanter: his very name of Shâir (he who knows) is identical

with the Hebrew *yid'oni*. The poet's chief office consisted in working evil on the enemies of his tribe, by magical *formulae*. The most ancient example of this office is found in the Old Testament, in the history of Balaam, upon which Mr. Goldziher then proceeds to reconstruct the ancient Arab *formulae*. In the course of centuries these magical *formulae* have given birth to satirical poetry. The old terminology of Arab poetry has preserved many traces of this origin. M. GRÜNERT (Ueber Ed. Glaser's jüngste arabische Handschriften Sammlung) related the last journey of Glaser in S. Arabia. The treasures he brought back consist of inscriptions and MSS., the latter numbering 252. Of these 14 date from the iv. to the vi. century of the Hijira, and count among the most curious that we possess : they are specially important for acquiring a knowledge of the sect called Seidites, as yet but little known. The other MSS. deal with all branches of Muhammadan science. M. SEYBOLD had a paper on "the Arab dialect spoken in Granada at the end of the xv. century," which he regretted was a study that had been too much neglected till now by Arabic scholars. He added that having succeeded in collecting a good deal of material, he was about to compile a dictionary of all the geographical words in the Iberian peninsula which were of Arabic derivation. M. CARDAHI gave a short discourse in Arabic on the Syrians and the Maronite writers. He showed that the Syrians were called Aramaeans before they had embraced Christianity ; that they were all at first under the Patriarch of Antioch ; but that since the iv. century they had split into four religious groups : Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites and Melchites. He supported his statements by unpublished passages from Maronite writings kept mostly in the library of the Maronite House in Rome.

In Section IV., with its 13 papers, the most interesting was that of M. de MORGAN, Director of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, who gave a detailed report of numerous excavations carried on by him in Egypt, and especially of those at Dapshur, where he was assisted by M. Jéquier,—which have yielded such important results. He then spoke of the work done at Ombos in clearing the Ptolemaic temple, and added that the Egyptian museums had been reorganized and increased during the last two years ; a Græco-Roman museum had been established at Alexandria ; and the Government of the Khedive had sanctioned £150,000 for the erection of a museum at Cairo. M. SCHIAPARELLI showed by an essay on the geographical names mentioned in certain Nubian inscriptions that the power of the Pharaohs extended further than is generally believed in the countries of Equatorial Africa. M. KRALL gave some curious details from a "New Demotic romance from the collection of the Archduke Rainer," dating from the viii. century B.C. Let me also mention as matters of curiosity M. WIDEMANN's essay on "the game of Draughts among the Egyptians," and that of M. LORET on "the Lettuce among the ancient Egyptians."

Section V. had only 12 papers, but most of them were of real interest. M. LORGEON had one on Siamese versification, which is founded on measure and assonance. Rhymes are not necessarily placed at the end of the lines ; and frequently they are nothing but alliterations or rather

assonances. The prosodic accent also plays a certain part in their poetry, which is remarkably sonorous. Dr. GRUBE dealt with the Jou-tchen language and writing, a subject till now almost unknown. Thanks to a work called *Hoa-i-i-yu*, presented by M. Hirth to the Berlin Library, Dr. GRUBE has studied it profoundly. In the Jou-tchen texts which it explains he has found 25 idiographic and 750 syllabic characters, the language presenting great analogies with the Manchu. M. RADLOFF gave a summary account of his journey in Mongolia in 1891, to the south of Lake Baikal and the banks of the Orkhon. His discoveries belonged to various epochs : (1) to the prehistoric ; (2) to the dynasty of the Tou-Kiue ; (3) the Ouigours ; (4) Sino-Mongol inscriptions. There are twelve inscriptions in the Tou-Kiue or Turki character. M. Radloff explained his method of deciphering them. The writing is read from right to left ; and the definite fixing of the alphabet is due to M. Thomsen of Copenhagen. The Turki characters are divided into two groups according to the guttural or palatal nature of the vowels ; a third group consists of the vowels in combination with all the consonants. The language is easy to understand. These people dwell in the regions lying between the Yenisei and the Orkhon. M. Radloff gives a detailed and very interesting analysis of some of the inscriptions. M. HUTH gave an address on the inscriptions, in the Tibetan and Mongol languages, of Tsaghan Baishing, discovered in 1891 by M. Radloff. The facts alluded to in these inscriptions are made clear by the history of Buddhism in Mongolia, written in Tibetan by *Jigs-med-num-mkä*, of which work M. Huth presented a printed edition with a translation. M. SCHLEGEL read before a large audience a very interesting paper on the social position of women in China. With a deep erudition, mixed with much wit and humour, he gave extracts from Chinese literature, introducing the principal heroines of the Far East. He showed that the position of women in China is not at all a servile one ; that many of them can make their husbands tremble ; and that a great number have made themselves famous by their talents. The woman of the middle class is nearly as happy as her European sister ; the authority under which she has most to suffer is that of her mother-in-law ; but when she has herself become a mother, she is treated with great consideration. M. GRAMATZKI in a paper styled "Zur Romaji Frage," dealt with different methods of trans-literating Japanese, and proposed, for the simplification of the writing, a reduction of the characters to 60 *Hivakana* and 40 Chinese characters for beginners. M. VALENZIANI gave an address on two passages from the Biographical Notes in the *Nippon hyak' kets' den*, showing that in the last years of the xvi. century, the Daimio of Aidzon, Gaman Udji-sato, secretly sent ambassadors to Rome, on four occasions, to secure the aid of the Pope and to make him separate himself from the Spaniards with whom the Japanese wished to fight on the Philippine islands. This strange incident in history had remained till now unknown in Europe.

Section VI. was the poorest in addresses, there being only 7.* It is yet

* M. Gennadios, the Minister of Greece, formally introduced the subject of the connection of Greece with Oriental Learning at the Congress of 1891, where there was an exhibition of "Græco-buddhistic" sculptures and several papers read thereon, as also on Greek influence in India and Greek tribes in Afghanistan.—*Ed.*

new, but it laboured hard to deserve the right of existence in a Congress of Orientalists. M. REINACH dealt with "the Matîènes, a forgotten people," to whom he attributed the monuments of Boghaz Keui and Enjouk, the honour for which has till now been given to the Hittites, who, according to M. Reinach, never crossed the Amanus. M. PERROT gave an address which was much applauded, "on Inhumation and Incineration in the Homeric age," explaining the changes in the customs. The Mycænian age knew only of burial, for the purpose of continuing to the dead, in their underground resting place, a life similar to that which they had led here. Hence the arrangements in Mycænian tombs and the custom of placing in the sepulchre the clothes and arms of the dead and even bringing them food. Experience having shown that, in spite of every care, the body ended in dissolution, the idea of the survival of a mere shade arose among the Greeks. To free the soul, therefore, from all ties with the body, they instituted the custom of entirely destroying the corpse by fire. Cremation is contemporaneous with the Homeric poems, yet it did not easily displace burial; and excavations in the tombs of the Dipylon prove that the idea of making the tomb a residence for the dead, as in the Mycænian epoch, continued side by side with the new practice. M. MERRIAM spoke on a Bas-relief found in Cyprus representing a type intermediate between Assyrian and Greek Art; and M. REINACH, speaking again, gave an interesting description of sarcophagi in human form executed in Phœnicia by Greek artists. M. NICOLE described a papyrus from El Fayoum, in the collection of the City of Geneva, containing a request addressed by an Association of Egyptian farmers to the Roman centurion Julius Julianus, A.D. 207. The Geneva collection holds much important material for learning the Roman administrative system in Egypt, and the history of its institutions; and gives interesting details on the manners and customs of the country. These *papyri* have not yet been completely deciphered, and they promise a rich harvest of revelations.

Section VII. first appears in this Geneva Congress; hence many communications could not be expected in it.* There were 10. We mention especially those of M. L. BENLOEW on "the Nationality of the ancient Trojans";—of the Chevalier de HOROWITZ on "the Mussulmans of Bosnia";—of M. A. de ROSTHORN on "the settled tribes on the frontier of Eastern Tibet," regarding whom many details still remain unpublished;—of M. CORDIER, who showed photographic proofs of two maps from a Korean-Chinese Atlas in the British Museum;—of Prince C. WIASEMSKY, who in a journey on horseback across Asia from Mongolia to Tonquin, from Siam to Russian Turkestan, and thence in Persia and the Caucasus, has collected numerous meteorological observations.

To complete my account, I must mention an unofficial meeting held under the auspices of the German and English societies for the Exploration of Palestine. The Rev. Father LAGRANGE of Jerusalem exhibited the photograph of a remarkable mosaic very recently discovered north of the Damascus gate.

IV. RESOLUTIONS AND WISHES EXPRESSED BY THE CONGRESS. 1. On

* "Oriental Geography and Ethnography" was specially strong at the London Congress of 1891, and was allotted to its proper Sections.—*Ed.*

the proposal made by Lord Reay on the behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, a Committee was named for the Transliteration of Oriental languages, Mr. BURGESS condemning the abuse of diacritical signs and the employment of other characters than those of the Latin alphabet.

2. M. BENEDITE asked that the Congress should protest against the threatened destruction of the monuments of Philæ. M. de MORGAN explained the various projects for damming the Nile, which threatened the most beautiful monuments of Egypt, and he said that the Department of Antiquities in Egypt would oppose with all its might such injurious measures.

3. Sir Raymond WEST presented the report of the Committee appointed to consider the letter of M. KAMA, regarding the teaching of [Zend and Pahlavi] in the Bombay University. On the basis of this report, the Indian Section, considering that it had no right to interfere with the internal arrangements of this Institution, confined itself to expressing the hope that the University might find some practical way of arranging for the teaching of Zend, for which it has all the necessary elements at hand.

4. M. DIOSY asked the members of the Section of "the Far East" to give a concordance of Korean Geographical names, taking note of Chinese, Korean and Japanese transliteration.

5. The Directors of the Indian Museum at Calcutta are to be thanked in the name of the Congress for their efforts in the preparation of casts from the inscriptions of Asoka; and a request is to be forwarded to the Government of India and the governments depending on it, to adopt measures for the preservation and reproduction of these monuments, as suggested by the said Directors.

6. M. GOLDZIHNER reminded the Congress of the proposal adopted at the London Congress in 1892, regarding the editing and publishing of an *Encyclopædia of Arabic and Mussalman Philology*. M. Goldziher was asked to undertake the organization of this publication.

7. M. PIEHL proposed that an *International Critical Journal of Egyptology* should be established. As M. Naville was unable, from his actual occupations, to assume the editorship, M. Piehl's proposal remains for further consideration.

8. Messrs. Diosy and Schlegel expressed in courteous terms the desire that the Japanese should modify their written characters so that their language might be more easily acquired.

9. Considering the modern discoveries which prove a link of union between Greece and the East, this Congress has decided to assign a position to Greece, in the hope that this Section may be maintained in future Congresses. In the sitting of the 10th September, the Section, after a discussion of its own field of research, proposed to adopt the title of "*Greece in its Relations with the East*."

10. Section VII. (Oriental Geography and Ethnography) expressed the hope that the example given by Geneva in creating this VIIth Section may be followed by other Congresses.

I omit, for want of space, the Resolutions expressed by the various Sections for the happy completion and publication of the different works announced by their authors.

V. RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONSULTING COMMITTEE. The Consulting Committee, the officers of the different sections and the Delegates of the various governments met, with closed doors, on Tuesday, the 21st September. Through M. Schefer, the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts of the French Republic begged the Congress to select Paris as the place for the next Session of the Congress, fixing the date for 1897. Messrs. Haupt, Gottheil and Jackson, on the other hand, presented an invitation from the American Oriental Society requesting that the Congress should hold its next Session in some city of the United States, the fixing of the date being left to the Geneva Congress. M. Naville pressed the reasons which, under actual circumstances, urged a decision in favour of the invitation from France; and the representatives of the American Oriental Society willingly agreed to the postponement of their invitation. The question regarding the Statutes was also raised; but the Geneva Congress did not wish to take on itself the task of changing anything.

The following resolution was then proposed and unanimously carried: "M. Schefer having proposed, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, that the next Congress of Orientalists should meet in Paris in 1897, this Congress accepts, with thanks, the invitation of France, and has much pleasure in seeing the Congress return once more to the city where it had its beginning in 1873.

"Consequently the organization of the future Congress, the composition of its Committee and the choice of a President are relegated to France, as represented by the delegates of its government.

"The Congress expresses its desire that on this occasion the Committee of the future Congress may make in the Statutes and in the constitution of the Congress such modifications as may seem to it to be required from the experience of the preceding Sessions.

"The Congress likewise thanks the delegates of the American Oriental Society for the invitation which they have presented to the Congress to meet in America, and for their kindly agreeing to the deferring of their invitation till after the Congress of Paris."

VI. CONCLUSION. I am aware of the discussions which have unhappily divided Orientalists into two bodies, and that the legality of the Geneva Congress has been questioned. I am not the judge in this matter; but I think that I can see in the resolutions just cited, a sincere desire to return to concord and good harmony. M. Naville the President, and M. Baumgartner one of the Vice-Presidents have assured me of this, by word of mouth, in the most conciliatory terms. The object of those who stood by the Statutes has been realized. They had maintained that the difficulty could only be solved at Paris and by the French Committee. Now it is precisely at Paris that the next Congress will be held; it is the French Committee which has to deal with the revision of the Statutes; and it is the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts which has proposed the date for 1897. M. Naville, as I have said, showed conclusive reasons for deciding, under the circumstances, in favour of the French invitation. These reasons have not been made public; for everything has been avoided that could mar the accord which continued all through to reign among the members of the Congress. The question of legality was not even raised:

so far as I know, there was not even a discussion on this subject among individuals. The neutrality of Switzerland seemed to all to be the best guarantee of peace. Mention, however, was made of the existing difficulties at the last secret sitting of which I have reported the decisions. I think I may say, without danger of contradiction, that it was precisely to restore harmony and a friendly understanding between the two parties, that the Geneva Congress did not hesitate at all to choose Paris as the meeting-place of the next Congress; and it was due to this reason that the Americans agreed willingly to the concession which was asked of them.

May the coming Congress of Paris realize, amid the general satisfaction, the secondary, but very precious, object for which it is from even this time destined.

I have reached the end of my task. I have no space available to mention the numerous and handsome receptions given to the Congress both by the City of Geneva and by private persons. The welcome was so kindly, cordial and brilliant that we cannot praise too highly this "truly oriental hospitality," as one of the speakers termed it, in his toast of thanks, which met an echo in all hearts. In a word, the Congress has been a great success. Everyone departed perfectly satisfied. There were no disputes, —at most a few rather lively words may have passed. It is true one might have expected a greater wealth of communications and above all something new in the papers; but what science has not acquired, friendliness has gained.

TONY ANDRÉ."

The following Circular Post Card has reached us from Geneva:

"Le dixième Congrès 'statutaire' des Orientalistes siégeant à Genève a, en se conformant aux règlements de Paris de 1873, donné pleins pouvoirs pour reviser ses statuts à la onzième session qui se tiendra à Paris en 1897."

We are glad to infer from this Circular that the logical, if not legal, representations of the Trustees of the "International Congress of Orientalists," as founded in 1873, have had their desired result. It was both morally and technically wrong for any body of men, however distinguished, to insist on taking a number in, or the title of, a series whilst repudiating its statutes. If they consider that these statutes require modification, they can bring their proposals forward at the next statutory meeting for consideration and discussion in the manner prescribed by the statutes themselves. The credit of the healing of the breach among Orientalists is not unconnected with the proposal made by the eminent Sinologist, Professor C. de Harlez. It was that London be taken to have had two Sessions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists—the first being that of 1891, of which 3 volumes of Transactions, out of 6, have already been published, and the second that of 1892, which is represented by two volumes. Lisbon (also of 1892) was to constitute the First Session of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists [it has published some 50 papers], whilst the Geneva Congress, just held, was accepted as its Second Session. To this proposal, we understand, both Professor Max Müller and Dr. Leitner, who may be said to represent the two parties, have agreed with the approval of those concerned. Professor Max Müller, it may be added, has taken no part in the Geneva Congress. That Session has a larger number of papers than Lisbon, some

of which are of great value and others of the faddist type, such as, e.g., relate to an ever-attempted and ever-unsuccessful international scheme for the transliteration of Oriental languages into the Roman characters. This, as also other suggestive points raised by the last Congress, we hope to discuss with the detail and exhaustiveness that the proposals or researches of Oriental scholars deserve. We are glad that the "Summaries of Research" in all Oriental specialities bringing them up to date as starting-points for future enquiries, that were one of the special features of the Oriental Congress of 1891, are likely to be followed by the Bibliographies which are issued at Munich by Profs. Kuhn, Scherman, and others, with the aid of the German Oriental Society, and we can only hope that other practical and theoretical developments of Oriental Science and its application in Education, Commerce, and even in political relations, to which the Congress of 1891 showed the way by its own successful example, will find advocates at future Oriental Congresses, for, after all, the spirit and object of the Statutes of the present institution is not merely the social gathering of teachers and students of Oriental Learning and the submission of their labours to professional criticism and encouragement, but also, and mainly, the promotion of Oriental studies, in the widest sense, among so-called "outsiders." and all those who, in any capacity, are interested in the East, the revival or preservation of Oriental Learning in the Oriental countries themselves being also an important function of the Oriental Congress.

After receiving its mandate from the London Congress of 1892, Geneva cared little for it. Her object had been to have a Congress at Geneva, and she took the mandate whence she was able to get it. This once effected, the giver of the mandate was, practically, repudiated. Of course, this was done very politely, but still quite unmistakably. Never was the Müller Congress mentioned by the Geneva Committee, though a few members of the Congress referred to it at one or two meetings. Count Landberg was so completely "effaced" that few knew of his arrival. One thing is positive, and that is that the Geneva Committee have a sincere desire for conciliation. The final Resolutions of the Congress are calculated to inspire confidence among the adherents of the Statutes. Indeed, it would seem that the desired solution has arrived, and we have no doubt that both parties will accept the invitation to Paris in 1897, since it is not Geneva, but Paris, that has issued it. The net result of the struggle that has been waged since the *bacchanalia* of the Stockholm Congress of 1889 is: (a) the liberty of Oriental studies and the independence of Orientalists is no longer subject, so far as the Oriental Congress is concerned, to any one set of Scholars, to any one Nationality, to a "Senioren-Convent," as proposed by Prof. A. Weber, to a Landberg Institute of 40 immortals or to Statutes prepared by him for his King; (b) the Geneva Congress, by conforming to the Statutes, has paved the way for any contemplated modification in them in accordance with the growing requirements of Oriental Science, and in these Statutes we hope to see their practical side not only laid down in principle, but specially and prominently included as at the London Congress of 1891.

The victory is complete, and all the more so that it must remain unavowed in order to be lasting. Those who in 1891 included folk-lore, a Central Asian Section, another of "Greece and the East," a third for the preparation of Encyclopædias or "Summaries" in every branch of Oriental Literature, etc., will be pleased to concede to Geneva even the credit of initiating these studies, provided they are only carried on, though they will still have to strive for the further application of Oriental learning in various Departments of knowledge and in practical life. The Sections of the 1891 Congress dealing with Commerce, Industry, Art, Linguistics, Education, and other branches of public utility or international relationship (over 20 in number) will still have to fight for their recognition by Professors, after they have been so cordially accepted by the Statesmen, Geographers, and others who honoured the 1891 Congress with their presence. Above all, the Congress must be thrown open to all, and among those who are welcome, are not only friends of Oriental studies, but also the Orientals themselves as living testimonies of the preservation of their Learning which is identified with their national existence, and with the acceptance of Oriental achievements in Science, whether ancient or modern.

There is a keen competition for the Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge which is vacant owing to the death of Professor Robertson. We find that at the recently held Congress at Geneva Dr. Goldziher obtained a Resolution in favour of his being put in charge of the Muhammadan Encyclopædia which was entrusted to Professor Robertson by the London Oriental Congress of 1892. We venture to consider that an English Scholar, well acquainted with Muhammadans both from study and long residence in the East, would be even a more fitting person to preside over such a task which, to be properly done, must be the work of several Arabic Scholars, acting under a competent committee. No one could fulfil such a condition better than Dr. M. S. Howell, a portion of whose *magnum opus* on Arabic Grammar we review elsewhere in this issue, and who, we believe, is a Candidate for the vacant Professorship, though this news would seem to imply his abandonment of the high post and prospects of the Judicial Commissionership of Oudh which he now holds. Among the Candidates are several Orientalists who have not been to the East and cannot speak Arabic; one or two Syrian Christians who are scarcely likely to be acquainted, or in sympathy, with the Muhammadan Literature on which Arabic has set its special stamp, and one or two on whom the mantle of Professor Robertson would worthily fall, but we do not know anyone whose Arabic learning is so monumental as well as practical as that of Dr. Howell, nor any one whose appointment would reflect greater credit on the University, as it would honour English and Anglo-Indian Scholarship, than that of the distinguished Civilian, Dr. M. S. Howell. We believe that the decision of the electors will be made by the end of the current month.

At the Geneva Oriental Congress, M. J. Oppert, as usual, did not hide his light under a bushel. He maintained in his "Pre-historic and most ancient chronology of Chaldea" that the Babylonian astronomers could not have known certain astronomical periods which, as a matter of fact, they did know, if they had not observed Sirius (Sothis) from the island of Zyllos in the Persian Gulf on *Thursday the 29th April of the year 11,542 before Christ!* This precise date having been received with smiles, M. Oppert cried out: "You laugh, gentlemen, well, a century hence people will not laugh!"

THE COINS OF THE MUGAL EMPERORS OF INDIA,*

BY W. IRVINE, B.C.S. (RET.).

FOR many years Mr. Rodgers has been a most enthusiastic coin collector, and in India he has long been known as one of the first of living authorities on the coins of the Mugal period. He has now crowned the labours of a lifetime by this excellent catalogue of his collection, which has been lately acquired by the Panjáb government. It is to be greatly regretted that the acquirers did not extend their liberality a little farther, and provide for this catalogue the indispensable addition of plates, reproducing each variety of coin. They have also issued the book in a shabby paper cover, instead of having it strongly bound.

As regards Mr. Rodgers' part of the work, there is nothing to be said that is not praise. The arrangement is primarily chronological, but the gold, silver, and copper coins are catalogued separately under each reign. The coins are also numbered separately for each reign and for each of the three classes above given. Opinions on this point may differ; we ourselves incline to prefer one series of numbers for the whole of one collection. That system has the advantage of making it easier to quote any particular entry.

The novel specimens, for which Mr. Rodgers ought to have the sole credit, are numerous. He gives us twenty-nine to thirty new specimens of Bábar (1525-30 A.D.), a unique coin of Humáyún, ten of Islám Sháh's coins struck at Shergarh Kanauj, one unique gold and twenty-three silver coins of Akbar, four unique gold and eight silver coins of Jahángír. Of Sháhjahán there are six fresh silver coins; while of Aurangzeb and later sovereigns there are at least eleven unique coins. The collection is more especially strong in the copper coinage, of which the British Museum possesses only a few specimens.

One of the most striking things about the Mugal coinage is the number of mint towns. Where the British government now finds two mints (Calcutta and Bombay) sufficient, the Mugal sovereigns had, at various times, some one hundred and thirteen places from which coinage was issued. From this total we exclude repetitions of the same place under different names, and the numerous mints in Rájputána, which sprang up in the second half of the 18th century. Of course, all these mints were not in activity at one time, some were only worked once or for a very short period, but there seems to have been at all times one active mint in everyone of the provinces into which the Empire was divided. At its greatest extent there were twenty-two provinces, each with its own mint. The table of mint marks given at the end is interesting, but would be more

* *The Coins of the Mogul Emperors of India*, collected by C. J. Rodgers. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press; 1894; 8vo.)

useful, if we were told the particular signs used by each mint, as is partly done by Prinsep in his "Useful Tables."

No single collection of coins can ever be absolutely complete; even if all collections were joined in one an ideal completeness is not likely to be secured; and in getting together each collection many circumstances influence the result. For instance, in Mr. Rodgers' case residence in the Panjáb has naturally produced a larger number than usual of coins from Láhor, Multán and Tattha, Kábul, Kashmír, and Kandahár.

Mr. Rodgers claims that coins are the safest guide to the varying boundaries of the Mugal empire. This would be so, if we could bring together an absolutely complete collection of them, where every year of every mint, and every kind of coin ever issued, should be represented. This is practically impossible, and for that reason the above assertion can only receive qualified assent. To a great extent it is true, as may be seen from the instances of Tattha, Multán and Kábul, from which the coins cease as soon as these provinces fell away from the empire. We do not agree that the positions of the mint towns have been so satisfactorily fixed as Mr. Rodgers thinks (Preface, p. xvii.). It seems to us that a good many of them are still very doubtful. The proposed assignment of Álamgírpur to a place now in the Montgomery district may be right, but we should like to hear more of the occasion, on which the name was given, and why coin was issued there.

It is perhaps better known to historians than Mr. Rodgers seems to think (Preface, p. i.), that Indian kings usually struck coin in a newly conquered town; nor can there be the slightest doubt (though Mr. Rodgers implies that there is some doubt); that a mint, with its tools and artisans, invariably formed part of the imperial camp, which was for the time being the only capital of the kingdom. The *Dár-uz-Zarb* (mint) was one of the recognised "workshops," some seventy in number, which followed in the emperor's train. With respect to identifications of coins and mints, we would suggest, for reasons which would easily convince Mr. Rodgers but cannot be conveniently entered on here, that No. 7 (silver) of Sháhjahán II. on p. 208 should be transferred to Sháhjahán III. on p. 223. And as a slight error in transliteration we would point out that on p. 227 Ali Gaur ought to be Ali Gohar.

On the whole the coinage of Jahángír is the most varied and interesting of an interesting series. The execution of many of the coins is most beautiful, though owing to the absence of plates this fact does not appear from Mr. Rodgers' work; the excellent reproductions in the British Museum catalogue are, however, sufficient proof of this assertion. The couplets placed on the coins during many reigns are a curious feature of the series, and many points about these are still obscure. On p. xiii., note, Mr. Rodgers mentions a case where a historian declares that "no verse was used," and then he produces, somewhat triumphantly, three different couplets used on coins of this particular emperor. We think the two things are far from irreconcilable. The two coins given in the catalogues are both of Sháh 'Álam's first year, and the one legible mint is Tattha, a place hundreds of miles from Agra, where the court then was,

while the superscription gives the sovereign's title as Prince (Sultan Mu'azzam) and not that as Emperor (Bahádur Sháh, Bádsháh). Therefore, these coins were a hurried local issue prepared before either title or inscription had been finally settled. Then came the order, as given by the historians, that no verse should appear on the coins, and for the rest of the reign we find this to be the case. As for the couplets for Muhammad Ibráhm (p. 217), we fancy that closer comparison of the two specimens, that in the Láhor and that in the British Museum, would show that the lines are the same on both, and in that case the reading given by Mr. Rodgers must be preferred.

Now that the catalogues of several large collections have been completed, the time seems to have come for the preparation of a monograph on the Mugal coinage; and who so well qualified for this further task as Mr. Rodgers? Let us hope that he may soon undertake it.

The September number of the "Sanskrit Critical Journal" published by the Oriental University Institute, Woking, is of more than usual interest. It contains some quaint "instructions of a preceptor to his pupil," "a satire on the king of death," "a discourse on the existence of the soul," "the ten sufferings of Buddha," "a mystic astrological Buddhistic Chart obtained from the Sun Temple at Peking," a monogram in which subdues the gods, and other matters which we hope to discuss in our next issue.

We regret that pressure on our space by articles of current interest has obliged us to postpone to our next issue papers of great literary value, among which we note: "The Prosody of the Syriac Hymns of St. Ephrem" by the Right Reverend Monseigneur Prof. T. J. Lamy; "St. Thomas the apostle and the Syrian church in India" by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S. (from the Notes of the late Sir Walter Elliot). "The Sacrifice of Isaac" by the Rev. Rabbi Hermann Gollancz, as given in Talmudic and Midrastic Literature; "The Kirghiz" by Mr. A. Gault.

Monseigneur Prof. C. de Harlez intends to publish in the four next numbers of our Review the translation from Chinese of the work "the Yíki," which, we hope, he will present to the Academy of Han-lin, as an instance of European scholarship in translating what is so mysterious even to the most learned Chinese.

FIFTH REVIEW ON THE
SACRED BOOKS OF "THE EAST" SERIES.
CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

I. — PERSIA.

THE ZEND-AVESTA ; PART I: THE VENDĪDĀD (VOL. IV, I.),
TRANSLATED BY JAMES DARMESTER.

BY GENERAL J. G. R. FORLONG.

ANY attempt to review the Persian Sacred Scriptures is as impossible as it is to review our own Bible: both must be read over repeatedly from beginning to end, then studied in detail, and digested at leisure. Even then, unless the reader be a specialist in languages and critical exegesis, he must trust the versions of translators, and the texts handed down through the lapse of ages. Difficult, if not impossible, will it be for him to decide the numerous critical questions which have been raised, and to judge between conflicting theories. In the case of the Zend-Avesta, he can at least console himself with the idea that he has here only the substance of what was produced by the original writers, who were neither better nor worse, more accurate or more competent than later emendators of the texts. On the contrary, it may be reasonably surmised that the last must be the best or wisest; and the oldest composers the most credulous and ignorant; though, *per contra*, the former were no doubt biased priests fighting for their order, and that power and position which a great sacrificial and ministering system gave them, backed by the *quasi* words of a God and his acknowledged Prophets.

We shall not, therefore, here attempt to review the great Bible of this faith, but confine our attention to the section of it translated in Vol. IV. of this series—“*The Vendīdād*.” The other two divisions of the Avestā are usually in the East called, for brevity, the *Visparad* and *Yasnas*; to which is subjoined the Zend, “Commentaries or Explanations” of the original text in Pāhlvi. In this Oxford series, however, of “the Zend-Avesta” they are given to us as follows: By Professor Darmesteter Vol. IV. *The Vendīdād*, and Vol. XXIII, *The Si-rōzahs*, *Yasts* and *Nyāyis*: and by Dr. the Rev. L. H. Mills Vol. XXXI. *The Yasna*, *Visparad*, *Āfrīnagān* *Gāhs* and *Fragments*.

These terms need a brief explanation. The *Si-rōzahs* (“30 days”) are invocations or Collects suitable for each day of the month, and are addressed to its special *Ized* or tutelary Spirit. *Gāhs* are short *Gāthas* (hymnal prayers) suitable for the five divisions of each day of 24 hours. *Nyāyis* are prayers of entreaty, as opposed to *Sitāyis* or prayers of praise.

Âfrinagâns are "Graces" or Blessings recited before rites and meals for the dead, and addressed to them and their guardian spirits. *Visparads* are invocatory prayers and rituals addressed to "All Lords" or to each deity. *Yasts* and *Yasnas* are too often identified; but *Yast* or rather *Yēsti* signifies simply an "Act of Worship" as by reading or using the *Yasnas* of which there are 20 and a fragment, full of most valuable historical and mythological matter—poetical and epical, prayers, praises, liturgies and, precious above all, the ever revered ancient *Gâthas* universally attributed to the Prophet himself. Two of them are headed: "Words revealed to Zoroaster, when in an ecstatic state, by angels whispering in his ear."

This complete Bible is usually headed in Pahlvi: "The whole Law and its Traditional Revealed Explanations": meaning as it was found in Original MSS. in the Zend language. Each book is separate as in the Hebrew Bible, and is translated into Pahlvi.

For general use, Zoroastrians prefer two books—the *Vendidad Sâdah* or "Pure Vendidad" and the *Khord* (Small) "*Avasta*," the last being their short summarized collection of all necessary daily prayers and recitations, most of which the pious learn by heart. The *Vendidad Sâdah* is similarly known to all priests and combines, suitably for daily services, the parts of this Bible read in litanies and liturgies, arranged for the Sacrificial and other rites and special holy days.

The term *Vendidad* is a contraction of *Vi-daêvo-datem* or "Law concerning daêvas," that is against all manner of sins and evils held to be created by *Ahriman*, a word contracted from *Angra Mainyu* or "Spirit of Evil," the ruler of *Druj* or hell and its hosts, often called *Drujes*.

It was no difficult task to commit the *Vendidad* to heart. Our translator shows that it has only about 40,000 words, nearly half of which are repetitions in questions and answers, and in long-set phrases, such as: "O Ahura Mazda, Beneficent Spirit, Maker of the Material World! Thou holy one," etc., with a similar preface: "O Holy Spitama Zarathustra," etc. Then follows a full repetition of the questions, two or three of which sometimes cover a whole page.

In the *Asiatic Quarterly* of October, 1893, I showed in my review of Prof. West's *Pahlvi Texts* (vol. xxxvii. of this series), that the *Vendidad* is the only part of the Avestan Bible which Zoroastrians hold never to have been either lost or manipulated. I there lightly sketched the chronology of this great faith, especially from its domination of Western Asia, which began with the rise of the Pârsio-Pâsâr-gâdian Achæmenian Empire of the 9th Cent. B.C.

These Iranians had then descended from their cradle lands—the Georgian Alps—"the high and holy Airyano-Vaēgō by the good river Dāitya" or Araxes with its "ten months of Winter, and two of Summer," regarding which Ahura Mazda might well say, as here: "I have made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it has no charms whatever, . . . otherwise all would have invaded Airyana Vaēgō." See Farg. V. where, too, are specified the other fifteen Northern homes of the Faith, extending E. to *Sughdha* or Samarkand, and S.E. to *Heptu-Hindu* or India, but which centred principally in Atropatine or Âdarbaijân and South Kaspiana.

We can identify nine of the sixteen lands described in the first chapter of the work, and can well believe in all the evils, diseases and famines which the wicked Angra Mainyu is said to have there created. He visited Ahura Mazda's goodly creation with venomous flies, plagues and epidemics as well as moral and doctrinal death, till fair "Bakh-dhi, beautiful Haroyu and holy Ragha of the three Races" (Balk, Hari-rud or Herat, and Rai—the birthplace of the good Prophet,) fell an easy prey to wild Tatar hordes, which have through all ages, ever and again swooped down W. and S. from their desert steppes. "Into these lands which I made bright and glorious," says Ahura Mazda to "his holy Zarathustra," "the evil one counter-created unbelief, witchcraft, wizards howling forth their spells, abnormal lusts, the burying and burning of the dead (for which there is no atonement), and the dire winters of the accursed Daêvas."

Our translator does not spare the faith and its prophet, either in his long and excellent Introduction or his copious annotations. He shows us, as in duty bound, all its historical and other weak points. Historical difficulties, however, occur in the case of other prophets and heroes, called variously "sons and friends of God," and believed to have been in daily converse with him as Zoroaster is here said to be with his "Most High Ahura." Many lives of great ones have been, as here, accepted from writings and legends of unknown times and sources, though mixed up with the wildest and most palpable fictions, on which are built wondrous structures of faith.

"Mazdeism," says Prof. Darmesteter, I. xxvi, *et seq.*, "has often been called Zoroaster's religion in the same sense as Islâm is called Muhammed's religion, that is, as being the work of a man named Zoroaster, a view which was favoured not only by the Parsi and Greek accounts, but by the strong unity and symmetry of the whole system. . . . When he lived no one knows, and everyone agrees that what the Parsis and the Greeks tell of him is mere legend, through which no solid historical facts can be arrived at. The question is whether Zoroaster was a man converted into a god, or a god converted into a man. No one who reads . . . the Avesta itself, will have any doubt that Zoroaster is no less an essential part of Mazdean mythology than the son (Saosh-Yant) expected to be born of him, at the end of time, to destroy Ahriman. . . . Zoroaster is not described as one who brings new truth and drives away error, but as one who overthrows the demons."

But the latter is only old world phraseology for the former.

Many figures of speech occur, which to us seem wild; as that Zoroaster chiefly repels the Devils (Ahriman and his hosts) not as others do "with material weapons, but with a spiritual one—the word or Prayer." Occasionally he is said, metaphorically, to hurl stones and thunderbolts as do Indra, Agni and the Maruts (Rig *Veda* II. 30, 4), and as does the Norse Thor, where "the stone signifies the flame wherewith, as with a stone, the storm-god aims at the fiend." Zarathustra's "birth . . . is hailed with joy . . . by the whole living creation, because it is the end of the dark and arid reign of the Demon; in his growth did the floods and trees rejoice . . ."—hence the strange metaphor of Pliny and others that he alone of mortals "laughed while being born," analogous to the Vedic metaphor, that the Maruts or storm-genii were born of the laughter of the Lightning. Compare, says Prof. Darmesteter, "the Persian *Khandah-i-*

barq, 'the laughter of the Lightning.' . . . Zoroaster's great weapon is, however, neither the thunderstones which he hurls, nor the glory with which he is surrounded; it is the Word." lxxviii.

The Greeks recognized the idea in their Ὅσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος—the Word, Messenger of Zeus; the Goddess *Fama* of the Romans, and the *Vach Ambhrini* or "cloud voice" of India. "The word from above is either a weapon that kills, or a revelation that teaches." Thus the pious one "smites down Angra Mainyu . . . burns him up with the *Ashem Vohu* (a prayer or 'praise of righteousness'), as with melted brass." This is the *Mathra Spenta* or HOLY WORK, which is "the soul of Ahura Mazda." (Farg. xix. 14.)

In this, and much else, we detect the after growth of a solar myth which encrustated Zoroaster's religion as it did others. The Prophet is the Summer Sun which smites the arid wintry fiends, and the faith has, therefore, not without reason, been called a war of "Light and Darkness"—an ideograph like to the *Yin* and *Yang* of China, and the western idea of Mithras and the Titans. The Greeks failed to understand the Magi or "Great ones," and thought they were pious spiritists and clever "Magicians," with a religion of Magic and second-sight!; as some Theosophists have said in regard to the religion of Buddha! Than Buddha, there could be no more earnest or better Agnostic, nor one further removed from all things occult, as Prof. Max Müller showed in a late *Contemporary Review*. Buddha never knew or spoke of Spirits, or of anything of which he was not cognisant, and which he could not substantiate; and he advised all to do the same, as shown in my summary of his views in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1893.

I need not here discuss the first parts of Prof. Darmesteter's Introduction as to the age and authenticity of the Avestan Scriptures, having done so in my review of Professor West's *Pahlvi Texts* (*A. Q. R.* Oct. 1893). This was fully supported, from a philological standpoint, by Prof. Max Müller in the December *Contemporary Review*; and again historically and generally, by the Rev. Dr. Mills (author of vol. 31 of *Sacred Books of the East* series) in the *Nineteenth Century* of January 1894. These points may, therefore, be considered settled, at least so far as history, and scholarly research by specialists at present permit, and with the result, that these Scriptures are quite as well authenticated as those of other faiths,—as the Vedas, Tripitakas, the Sutras of the Jains, the Chinese, Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

A close study of all these Scriptures raises very much the same doubts and difficulties, regarding the dates and authorship of the different books,—discrepancies and contradictions in details,—additions, interpolations and omissions. In regard to this much revered old Avestan Bible, it may be likened to the site of some ancient city where the excavator finds tier upon tier belonging to different ages, marking the rise and decay of divers peoples. The original citadel has been built and rebuilt upon, as fire and war levelled it, or earthquakes shook its old foundations. Nevertheless we can still see these plainly as well as much of the superstructure, and its form and symmetry, though often buried deep under the many subsequent structures of later times and peoples.

In the Avesta, as we dig down to the oldest foundations, however, and clear away the evident priestly additions, we find at the base, the handwriting of a master mind, of a good and strong theistical philosopher ; one who out of an upright and pious spirit founded the citadel of a spiritual state, within which for some 2,000 years busy, weary multitudes had a sufficient resting-place, begrimed though it ever and again became, through royal or priestly manipulations and the overlapping of many and divers later builders,—would-be reformers, but more often destroyers.

It is evident that the wise old Prophet never taught as here, said of Ahura Mazda, that : “Gods, like men, need drink and food to be strong, and praise and encouragement to be of good cheer !”

The Kosmological parts especially of the *Vendidad* are probably not by Zoroaster himself. According to this, The world springs from an Edenic Paradise—a *Var*, Ark, or *Gān-Eden* constructed under God’s command by “the fair Yima”—a kind of Noah and the first King and founder of civilization. He is called “the son of Vivanghat,” and corresponds to the Indo-Aryan Adam or “Yama son of Vivasvat, first of the dead and therefore King of the dead.” Yima is here told by Ahura Mazda to

“bring the *seeds* of sheep, oxen, men and women, dogs and birds and red blazing fires ; and of every kind of tree and fruits . . . two of every kind . . . of the greatest and best, into the (ark or) *vara*, and to seal it up with a golden ring, and make to it a door and a window.”

Thus the difficulty of want of room in the Hebrew ark is here got over, though others equally serious arise, as to the collection and incubation of the various seeds ! Yima’s *vargard* is, however, said to be a mile square with rivers, meadows and gardens which he had cultivated to the utmost, and with full warning that fatal winters of frost and snow, storm and flood were to befall the world—then so little known. The *vara* was evidently a charmed enclosure in the Highlands of “Ariyana Vaêgō, where, by the good river Dāitya” or Araxes, the young colony were able to escape a long succession of severe months or perhaps winters, and where Spenta Armaita, “the holy Earth-Mother,” kindly yielded most unusual favours. Farg. II.

A word here as to this oft-repeated name *Daitya*. As this is still a common term of reproach in India, signifying a Pagan, infidel and stranger, I am inclined to think that it arose at the crossing of the river Dāitya. Such a move would be, no doubt, hotly canvassed, as it has for ever separated the Aryan brethren. One large body (the Iranians) then determined to push straight south over the Kākasés and across the Dāitya, and so occupy Georgia and Armenia, whilst others feared to attempt this invasion of strong settled Pagan (*Dāsya*) and *Daitya* Kingdoms. The others who became Indo-Aryans, then separated and struck East, over or around the Kāspian Sea, and finally settled among the great Turano-Dravidian races then ruling the Upper Panjāb, where some still exist. This last has, for the first time, been learnedly established by Mr. Hewitt in R. As. Journals of 1888-90 ; by Mr. Chas. Johnston’s excellent papers in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and Professor Oppert’s “*Original Inhabitants of India*.” •

But to resume. After Yima’s civilization we find in the third and

fourth *Fargard* of the *Vendidad*, its *raison d'être*, and the first code of social and moral laws which the Iranian Prophet introduces with: "Thus saith the Lord." Very quaintly, the Sage is made to ask the Lord, "Which is the first place where the Earth feels most happy?" that is, "What is good for man?" and the reply is to the effect, "Where there is set apart a holy place, holy wood, and holy meat," so that all may "fulfil the law with love and pray to Mithra, Lord of wide pastures and good flocks." (III. 1):—"Secondly; Whereon is erected a house with a priest within, with cattle and a wife; . . . and thirdly where the ground is cultivated." Great care is to be taken by all not to defile the earth or themselves with *Nāsās*, or "dead bodies," for "this gives strength to the Druj" and all the subordinate fiends—that is, it induces the deadly epidemics that scourged these lands, then as now. *

The rest of this chapter, and indeed of *Farg.* v to xii, is devoted to precautions thought necessary by a priestly sanitary body to arrest infection and so drive away, or modify the terrible fevers, black death, diarrhoeas and all manner of zymotic diseases. These are said to be "sent by Angra Maīnyu to destroy Ahura's goodly creation." And Ahura here tells us through his Prophet how to avoid these and other ills.

The arid places of the earth should be irrigated and cultivated, and "he who does not work, neither shall he eat." The husbandman must give "piously and kindly to the faithful or evil will befall him and his, and eventually land him in the house of hell" (35).

There is "no atonement for those who know the *Asha Vahista* or holy Law and Order, of the universe—the Path of Righteousness and of Mazda—and follow it not, unless by confession of error, and resolutions not to sin again." This "law of the Lord" enacts (as say some among ourselves) that the true believer cannot sin. Ahura Mazda "takes away from him who confesses it, the bond of sin . . . even for deeds for which there is no atonement . . . cleansing the faithful from every evil thought, word and deed" (*Farg.* viii. 28, 30, 40, 42). Thus this faith has no need of a Saviour. Man's hope of salvation rests with himself. All future reward, said Zoroaster, depends on our good thoughts, words and deeds.

In *Farg.* iv we have an excellent code of justice which, though devoted chiefly to the laws and practice of contracts, oaths and agreements, "by hand, word, and writing," and treating also of penalties for menace, assault, and all violence, yet has a far wider range. It touches upon incentives to evil, the thoughts and intentions, and righteousness before God and men.

The strange mode and phraseology in which all this is here put is rather repellent to us; but it was no doubt clear, graphic and pleasant reading to the ancient Easterns. Ahura Mazda is made to ask his prophet in a free and familiar manner "What are the various kinds of contracts men make?" evidently with the object of clearly defining them, of giving divine guidance and authority in each case, and of cultivating the moral characters of his people. The deity then lays down how we ought to act in all the affairs of daily life; not selfishly, but on the principle of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us,—of being diligent in business and thus

serving God and man :—a realization of the old adage "*Ora et Labora*," in the sense that all true work is worship.

Nothing is so base, as to lie and to deny or break our word when once given, especially in the absence of witnesses, and when ratified by striking hand in hand. An unwritten bond, it is said, should hold from father to son, and some bonds, though unwritten, should hold to the ninth degree of kinship. The penalties are public scourgings, and are often absurdly violent, like some of our own old laws ; but confession and penitence greatly modify the punishments, especially if there has been no pre-meditation. The contract between pupil and teacher is classed with those for goods, for a wife, etc.

The good Lawgiver says : "There are those who abstain from food, but better are those who abstain from sin in thought word and deed. . . . In other religions men fast from bread, but the religion of Mazda requires us to fast from sin." It is better "he ne'er was born who takes a false oath," for the punishment for such is awful, alike in this world and the next (Saddar, 83 ; Vend. iv. 48, Note).

It is repeatedly said that religion, exoterically considered, consists mainly in keeping pure the elements, as earth, fire, air, water, etc. Hence

"They can hurt no one ; it is only the *Druj* which flies there that defiles the air, and swims in the waters. . . . Nothing that I created does harm," says Ahura Mazda ; "it is the bad *vāi* or *vaya* (Drujes) that kills man. . . . Fate may drown by floods, and birds feed upon the *nasā*, or 'dead matter' ; that is one's destiny and the way men depart" (v. i.—iii). "Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good ; and this purity," says Ahura Mazda, "is procured by the law of Mazda to him who cleanses his own self by good thoughts, words and deeds" (v. 21).

Yet purificatory rites are here innumerable ; showing that we have other builders on Zoroaster's older and better foundations.

Almost every rite is connected with the droppings, and water of cattle and even of humanity, in a manner here unmentionable. Yet from the land of the Arctic Eskimo to the Torrid Zone the water is used as a disinfectant and purifier (viii. 12, 13). By the soapless Eskimo it is preserved and used for its ammoniacal qualities especially for all *thorough* washings of bodies and very filthy garments. Amongst these Iranians it is held to purify the soul as well. The student will find much on this strange subject in the valuable work of Captain Bourke "*Scatalogic Rites*" ; and in the Smithsonian *Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887-88 : Washington, U.S.

Prof. Darmesteter remarks (Introd. xcvi.) upon the (to us) absurd ancient purification rites, fear of burials, etc. :

"No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demonsthenes' Neaera ; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos, or than the conquerors at Arginousae ; nor would the Athenians who put to death Atarbes, have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the Vendîdâd, however odd, and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart, or its explanation in other Aryan legislations : if we had a Latin or a Greek Vendîdâd, I doubt whether it would look more rational."

The Professor adds : "The very absurdity of the Mazdean law is a proof of its authenticity," but "it may be doubted whether it could ever

have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts." See especially the many and severe scourgings inflicted for what we regard as foolish puerilities, though we must remember that similar ones were among ourselves inflicted for the like follies and shortcomings.

Dogs in early days were specially sacred, as the guardians of homes and flocks, public scavengers who kept off disease and death, and thus aided in the purifications these Easterns so intently sought after; and therefore dogs usually take precedence of mankind in these early laws. Cf. Fargs. xiii. and xiv., devoted to dog legislation. "Without dogs," says the Preacher, "no house could exist on earth . . . they are the good spirits which kill the evil ones which surround us especially from midnight to sunrise" (xiii. 49). The lives of dogs and in some cases of hedgehogs were protected by penalties five times as severe as those exacted for homicide; while the death of a tortoise or serpent—historical religious symbols—expiated all the sins of the killer, "for these creatures had become emissaries of Satan." "E'en gods must yield, religions take their turn."

Disease was thought due to the serpent as a poisoner, whom "Thrita the first Healer invented medicine to overcome" (Farg. xx.). The Greeks have evidently borrowed hence their mythological Asklepios and his serpents, which became with Indo-Aryans the celestial symbols of storm and destruction, this under the names of Thraëtaona, Thrita, and Āptya, "Son of the waters who destroys the evil powers and storms" (Rig Veda viii. 47, 13 seq.).

The above foolish penalties for injury to these creatures and for other ceremonial faults are classed by Zoroaster as of equal or even greater importance than moral turpitude, and probably these very ancient rulings are to blame for the absurd and severe treatment of like frailties and faults in Hebrew and other legislations.

The earthly tenement of the soul is of no value in the eyes of Zoroastrians; no expense is permissible on a corpse; no pious person may approach it, nor bestow thereon any good garment: "Not an asperena (pennyworth) of thread or any clothing is allowed . . . let the dead body be clothed only with the light of Heaven, or old, worn out but well washed garments" (v. 60).

Gods and fiends are said to struggle three days and three nights for our souls at death. The arch fiends of Ahriman strive to drag the soul to hell, but Solar Mithra, the "friend of God" and man, aided by three other archangels and the prayers and sacrifices of the pious, and of deceased relatives, withstand the hosts of hell. This continued warfare at the *Daḥmas* or places where the dead are laid, make these localities very dangerous, it is believed, to the living—not exactly on the same grounds, however, as timid people fear burial grounds, especially after dark; but for the excellent sanitary reasons, that "here various infectious diseases, hot fevers, etc., prevail, and death has most power when the sun is down." Farg. vii. 58.

Doctors and their art are not forgotten among all this divine legislation as is seen in our remarks on Farg. xx. on the invention of an Asklepios or Thrita. The doctors are directed in Farg. vii. to show first a suc-

cessful practice upon unbelievers, and are excused if they kill a few of these; but if death follows their treatment of a Mazdean "with the knife," they must die; nor may they practise among the faithful until they can point to at least three successful pagan cases. Their fees, gifts from the flocks, are graduated according to the rank of the patient; but Ahura adds: "he who heals with the holy word will best drive away sickness"; which brings us to Fargs. x. and xi. on the important subject of curative spells, repetition of texts, and prayers for the sick, etc.: on which account Mazdeism has been unjustly thought to be a religion of magic.

"Vain repetitions" of sacred names and texts, and the hanging of these in dwellings, dates back to the spiritualistic Akkadians of Babylonia, of about 3000 B.C. and is still in practice. Words and verses from the beautiful *Gāthas* by far the oldest and holiest part of the Avesta, were evidently so used by pious Mazdeans from very ancient times. These are "the words of the Lord" so constantly referred to, with which to drive away all visible, and invisible spirits and all evils and miseries,—"The word" with which the prophet resisted the temptations of the Devil, on "Mount Darega in Iran Vêg," as related in Farg. xix. (Cf. also Intro. III. 15), and more fully elsewhere. See also the Revd. Dr. Mills' valuable paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1894, where he shows parallelism between the narrative of Christ's Temptation and this old Mazdean text.

In Farg. xix. the legend is briefly this: Satan "rushes forth from hell on holy Zarathustra" and directs his arch "Druj of hell-born unseen death to smite him down." Zarathustra confronts him calmly chanting aloud the *Ahuna Vairya*: "The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," and the talismanic *Ashem Vohu*:

"The riches of *Vohu-Manō* ('the Good Mind, or Holy Spirit') shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda and wields, according to Ahura's will, the power he gave him to relieve the poor: . . . offer up prayers . . . profess the laws of Mazda," etc.

On hearing these holy texts the "Druj fled back to hell" and confessed that the prophet was invulnerable. Zarathustra then in turn "assailed Satan with mighty (spiritual) weapons obtained from the Lord," until Satan prayed Zarathustra to no more attack him and his, crying, "I know thee, who thou art—the son of Pourusaspa. . . . Renounce Mazda, and thou shalt rule the world for 1000 years." "No, never," says the Holy One, "shall I renounce the law—though I lost body, life and soul." Satan then asks: "How, and by what weapons hopest thou to resist?" And Zarathustra replies:

"By the word, and all holy rites taught by Spenta Mainya (God's Holy Spirit); by the word which was given of old by Boundless Time, the all ruling and beneficent one, I will smite and repel thee."

After which the prophet chanted texts from his Bible as: "Teach me thy truth, O Lord," etc.; and then besought "the holy Ahura to aid him, not only in this difficulty, but in freeing the whole world from Satan's continual machinations."

Ahura replied that "only by the holy word, good law, and all that is most intelligent, best and holiest, can evil be overcome." The prophet

pleads that "owing to Satan's Daēvas, God's holy spirit (the *Vohu-Manō*) gets indirectly defiled."

"Then recite," says the Lord, "such texts as, '*Ashem Vohu* is the best of all good; happy the man who is perfect in all holiness; . . . God's will is the law of holiness; the riches of the holy spirit shall be given to him who executes his will, and *Vohu Manō* and man shall then be kept pure. . . .' Cry, 'Glory be to God; glory to the immortal Spirits; glory to all holy beings,' etc.

Here, too, we are told how "the noose of sins falls off the neck of the righteous at death, else would fiends drag him by it to hell": and how

"*Vohu Manō* welcomes him to a golden seat in heaven, saying, 'Come, thou holy one, to us, from that decaying world to this undecaying one, . . . gladly do the righteous pass to the golden seat of God in "the house of Songs" and sit for ever with the bright spirits of knowledge and holiness.'"

The spiritual attributes of Ahura Mazda grew, with the faith, getting more and more defined, and the materialistic fell farther into the background as Mazdeism slowly struggled towards unity. Ormazd became supreme and other powers faded away and became his creatures, before the 4th century B.C., when Ezraite scribes were editing the Old Testament Books. Among the parallelisms between these Zend Scriptures and the Old Testament, we see that God delights not "in the blood of bullocks . . . in vain oblations, incense, new moons or sabbaths." . . . It is more and more taught that "men must cease to do evil, and learn to do well; love justice and mercy and walk humbly before God."

I conclude by summarizing much of the religious and ethical teaching as gleaned from the Zend Avesta and other strictly authoritative Mazdean Scriptures, during many years of study, and when in free intercourse with Indo-Zoroastrians and Perso-Armenian students.

Give to Thy Prophet and people, O Ahura, goodness and happiness
And preserve us against all assaults of evil.
Sing the praises with me, of The One, The Living God,
Who speaketh with us in the flames of the altar.
He is Light, and its source, and shines on all alike,
The One Great Ruler from Everlasting to Everlasting.
Pray to Him without ceasing, and He will keep thee,
For He loveth the devout, and "the living wise ones."
Let all His Commandments be dear to thee,
And seek after no God but Ahura the Mazdāo.
Hell is the portion of the unbeliever and wicked.
Ahura alone can confound the Evil doer
And give peace and joy to true believers.
He requireth good deeds, and piety doubles their value.
He giveth to the needy, as a friend to his friend.
Art thou helpless and in sorrow? Trust in Him
And aspire to live with Him for ever hereafter.
He is the Father of Truth, the God of all Goodness,
And abideth no evil thoughts, words or deeds;
With Him dwell wisdom and piety, attended by truth;
And no evil one can abide in His presence.
He is the fire of the mind by which all things are created.
Therefore bow to the Altar Fire, as His holy symbol;
Revere also the orbs of Heaven, for He shines in all.
He created them—the Heavens, Earth and Waters.

His holy fire, or "Word" lived, ere our life was,
And moved before there was any day on the waters.
Then came "The Beginning" with Good and Evil, twin spirits.
Choose thou between these: thou can'st not serve both—
Ahura Mazdā, the holy, and the evil Daēvas;
The spirit of holiness; and the originator of impurities.

Ahura requires thee to help forward the life of the Future
By wise thoughts, words and deeds. As the tree is known
By its fruits, so is the good man by deeds and friends:
Associate with the Righteous, and shun sinners' ways;
Let no hypocrisy or untruth find in thee a friend.

Search for wisdom as more valuable than all riches;
She alone is a shelter from lies and a fount of joy,
And the prudent make their home with her.
She confounds the wicked, giveth peace, and loveth Righteousness.
She can clothe the individual with piety and all virtue,
And the state, with public and social happiness.

Seek after holiness of spirit and purity of mind and body,
Exhibiting these by conduct as well as by words.
Thou wilt find thy reward in thy heart, and mayhap
Of some who love the Righteous; but hereafter thou
Wilt dwell with "the Spirits of the Perfected Just Ones,"
And with Ahura, "The Infinite Spirit" of the Universe.

In prayer we rejoice; in spirit we seek Thee, O God,
And pray that Thy Kingdom may come quickly.
Let every sin which men have committed because of us,
And every sin we have committed because of men,
Be pardoned and forgotten by Thy mercy and grace.

Remember Thy promises, that, in Thine own time,
Thou wouldest send thy Son, Holy SAÔSH-YANT,
The Unborn and Eternal One, the Judge and Lawgiver,
Who is to guide and lead us into all truth.
Then will this earth quake, and the dead arise;
Hell be destroyed, and the age of happiness be inaugurated.
The reign of *Angra Mainyu* and darkness will cease
And light and goodness triumph forever.

Ever and again will our lips repeat and hearts rejoice
In the *Ashem Vohu* or "Praise of Righteousness";
And reiterate the holy HURMAT, HUKHT, and HURVARST—
GOOD THOUGHTS, GOOD WORDS, and GOOD DEEDS.
By these only is thy true Religion known,
Not by prayers, worship, rites, and sacrifices.

Whoso looketh for salvation here and hereafter
Must wage continual warfare with evil,
Have a pure mind, and a body free from defilement,
And feed the Spirit on words of truth and holiness.

Seek aids thereto in ordinances, and make e'en the simple
Daily offices of Life remind thee of duties and works of piety.
Thus in changing thy *Kusti* five times a day,
Be reminded of the five prayers, duties and acts of grace.
When seeing fire, Sun and Sea, think of the Creator of these;
But look not on them, or aught else in Earth or Skies,
When thou addressest AHURA the MAZDA.

Who loveth Him careth kindly for all his Creation,
Treating justly and tenderly man and beast ; nay all
Sentient creatures ; nor by hasty word or deed paineth he any.

Commit to memory and ponder ever on Heaven's “Divine Law,”
And pray to Ahura for an understanding heart.
He spoke unto Zarathustra the words of Eternal Life.
And from Him and no Priest came our *Dēn* or “Revelation.”
He is rich in love ; Heavenly amongst the Heavenly ;
And has pardoned the sins of some even in hell,
How much more of those who excel in good works ?

Be sincere ; for Ahura abhorreth hypocrites ;—
Those who make long prayers but harbour evil thoughts ;
Who practise evil ways and are the associates of sinners.

Ahura loveth to reward the Righteous
And to give peace to him who renounces sin :
His motto is that “Perfect Excellence is Righteousness.”

And in the *Ahun Vairya* we learn of “His ever abiding presence” ; that
Yatka Ahu Vairyo is His “Law of Holiness,”—the Alpha and Omega of
the Faith. (Yast. vi. 5, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxiii., 85.)

II.—INDIA.

BUDDHIST MAHĀYĀNA TEXTS (VOL. XLIX).

PART I.—THE BUDDHA CHARITA. BY AŚVAGHOSHA.

TRANSLATED FROM SANSKRIT BY E. B. COWELL.

PART II.—THE SUKHĀVATĪ VYŪHA AND MINOR TEXTS.

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

THE AMITĀYUR-DHYĀNASŪTRA.

TRANSLATED BY J. TAKAKUSU.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.)

THE texts translated in this volume have this feature in common, that they exhibit the dogmas of the later Mahāyāna school of Buddhist teaching. The first-named work occupies about half the volume, and consists of a poem written in Sanskrit probably about the first century of our era, which, when complete, contained apparently seventeen books. Of these only thirteen are extant, the remaining four being “an attempt, by a modern Nepalese author, to supply the loss of the original.” They were composed, in A.D. 1830, by Paṇḍit Amṛitānand, an historian and writer of some note in his day. The Sanskrit text, like most of those which reach

us from Nepal, is carelessly transcribed, and contains many obscure and corrupt passages; there exist, however, translations into Chinese and Tibetan, dating from the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. These versions have been used by Prof. Cowell with excellent results in elucidating obscure passages in the Sanskrit original.

Asvaghosha's poem appears to have enjoyed much popularity in ancient India, being quoted and alluded to in several Sanskrit classics. The style is florid and abounds in rhetorical flourishes. The story of Buddha's birth, life and teaching follows the lines now so familiar and, as usual with Mahâyâna writings, indulges in excessive and grotesque legendary inventions. The learned translator claims for it that it “contains much that is of interest for the history of Buddhism, besides its special importance as illustrating the early history of Sanskrit literature.”

Still more interesting, however, are the short texts contained in the second part, the Sanskrit texts of which were discovered in Japan where they had been preserved in Buddhist monasteries. They are also of the Mahâyâna school in which, as Prof. Max Müller observes, the doctrine of salvation by faith is engrafted upon and to some extent substituted for the older doctrine of salvation by works. This, however, is only one aspect of the question. The Mahâyâna, as Dr. Waddell has clearly seen,* is “an attempt to remedy the agnosticism of Buddha's idealism”—an attempt which in a characteristically Indian way resulted in polytheism, with all its extravagances of miraculous beings and actions. It is, in fact, a natural consequence of the vulgarization of a too philosophical creed. The rewards secured, according to the Lesser Sukhâvati vyûha, by the mere repetition of the name of Buddha Amitâbha have a strikingly suspicious likeness to the value attached by certain modern Hindu sects to endless repetitions of the name of Hari or Ram. That extravagant legend should grow up around this kind of fétish-worship is only an ordinary feature of Hindu cults. The Bodhi tree is “a hundred yojanas in height.” Numbers far exceeding anything that the human mind can conceive are lavished in every page. Few things in any literature could even approach the overwhelming hyperbole of the following passage relating to the number of hearers of the Tathâgata Amitâbha :

“Now, for instance, O Ânanda, the Bhikshu Maudgalyâyana having obtained miraculous power, might, if he wished, count in one day and night how many kinds of stars there are in the universal world. Then let there be a hundred thousand *niyutas of kotis* of such men” (= in English reckoning, 100,000 billions !) “endowed with miraculous powers and let them do nothing else but count the first company (only) of the hearers of the Tathâgata Amitâbha during a hundred thousand *niyutas of kotis* of years, and yet by them thus counting even the hundredth part would not be counted, even the thousandth, even the hundred thousandth; nay not even so far as the minutest part or likeness or approach towards it would have been counted.”

* “The Cult of Avalokita and its Genesis,” by Dr. Waddell, *Journal R.A.S.* January, 1894.

Writing of this kind obviously defeats its own object, and is a sure indication of mental decay. In place of moral grandeur mere physical bigness or enormous quantities are presented. The charms of the Land of Bliss are as material as those of Muhammad's Paradise and scarcely less sensuous, though the description of them is rendered so vague by piling up impossible quantities of everything that it is far less striking to the imagination. The Lesser Sukhâvatî vyûha follows in the same strain though owing to its comparative shortness it is less extravagant than the Greater.

It was only natural that this hyperbolical style should find its way into the secondary development of Buddhism, for the Buddhists are as Prof. Müller points out “the debtors of the Brahmans in almost all their metaphysical speculations” and appear to have borrowed their conception of Sukhâvatî the Land of Bliss from Paurânic legends. It is the old story of “*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*” over again. Hinduism, conquered for a time and driven into holes and corners by the teaching of Buddha, recovered itself at length, and before expelling Buddhism from Indian soil infected it with some of the lower features of its own popular superstitions. The Hinayâna gradually became Mahâyâna and the distinctive merit, such as it was, of Buddha's original teaching, was lost in a maze of childish and incredible legends.

The next treatise is the Vajracchedika or diamond-cutter,—a metaphysical work much read and studied in Japan. It gives expression to the doctrine of the unreality of phenomena, and its style is extremely trying to read. The same remark applies to the Prajñâ-pâramitâ hridaya sûtras both of which have, however, the negative merit of being short. The volume is closed by another work popular in Japan and translated by a Japanese scholar from a Chinese version of a still missing Sanskrit original—the Amitâyur-dhyâna-Sutra or Meditation on Buddha Amitâyus—which again like the Sukhâvatî indulges in much extravagance of illustration, and inordinately vast aggregations of numbers; and places the mere mention of the name of Buddha Amitâyus on the same high pinnacle of merit.

All these texts will doubtless be valued by those who care to pursue the misty study of the later Buddhistic speculations. It is hardly necessary to add that the translations are models of clearness and elegance of style—probably far superior in that respect to their originals.

CENTRAL ASIAN MATERIAL.—II.

COLLECTED BY THE EDITOR.

(Continued from last issue.)

BACTRIANA, BALKH, KUNDUZ AND BADAKHSHAN.

THE Badakhshan Manuscript, quoted in our last issue, continues as follows :

“Balkh, Persians say, was founded by Kiomurs Gilshah Peshdádi which means : ‘living speaker, earthen king, first dispenser of justice.’”

The Arabs say that it was founded by Cain and that Abel’s grave is in the plain of Gushtásp ; there is also a tradition that “Balkh” was a great grandson of Noah.

The “Rozat-us-safá” however mentions Gushtásp as the founder of Balkh.

Firdusi gives that honour to Lohrásp and says that Balkh was improved by Gushtásp and that after the advent of Zoroaster a fine temple was erected there. In reality, however, Balkh was destroyed by Lohrásp. Balkh or “Bakhtar” in Persian means “the East.” “Bakhtar” no doubt is the origin of the word “Bactria.” Mutawakkil, son of Amrán, Kazi of Balkh, says that when Balkh will be established for the 24th time, the world will be destroyed. [It is called “Um-ul-belád,” the mother of cities ; “Jannat-ul-arz,” the Paradise of the Earth ; “Kubbat-ul-Islam,” the Dome of Islám :—the best of soil “Khair ul turab” and “Bactriana,” according to Curtius, is derived from the river Bactarius. Strabo and Pliny identify it with Zariáspa, on the river Baktár. Arrian states that they are different.]

The present Balkh is 24 miles away from hills, and has no river. The Koh-ul-Alburz is S. of B., between it and Sarpul and Sang Chárik. Arrian states that Ariana or Khorasan was subject to “Bactar,” a great Eastern Asian emporium. The boundaries of the Persian “Bakhtar” were on the N. : the Amu Daria from Sogdiana—on the S., the Hindu-Kush—on the W., the Dasht or desert of Margalána.

[Wilson thinks that the boundaries of Bactria extended to Khulam on the W. Arrian calls it the 9th Satrapy of Darius ; the Hindu-Kush its principal mountain, and Karshásp its principal plain.]

Now the city of Balkh is uninhabited and in ruins ; Muhammadans have a shrine at Zyarat Khana by Ishán Oráq where a market is held on Wednesdays. The Amir Afzal Khan transported the débris of Balkh to Takhtapul. There are the Mounds of Moorcroft, Gushtásp, Rustam and other “Koshák-i-Moghán” or retreats of Magi and a stone-throne in the city of Kiomurz. Tradition says that Jews were brought there by Bakht-un-Nasar or Nebucadnezzar in the reign of Lohrásp from Jerusalem (? ! !)

Balkh is 1,800 feet above the sea. Its wheat and cotton are excellent. West of Balkh, in the Hazarijat, is the lake Barbar or Band-i-Amír at Yak Olang ; from it flows a stream towards Balkh in 18 branches. Another stream flows towards Kálmard, and uniting with the Kunduz river, falls into the Oxus. The main stream flows through the village Balkháh

(Bactrium ?), then *N.* through Andráb, Haláchú, Panjáb, Darahgaz (a pass) past the city of Balkh—thence divides into 18 branches, viz.:

Nahr-i-Sháhi.

„ „ Kadar.

Siahgard.

Balkh or Nahr-i-Das still washes the walls of the city of Balkh.

Dastjard (?), or Dastgard.

Nahr-i-Chamtal.

The streams comprising this group separate above Pul Imam Bakri, also bridge of Haidar Buzurg or Elahi Khoja.

The head of the following four are below the bridge :

Nahr-i-Mushtáq.

„ „ Ispahán.

„ „ Abdulla.

„ „ Bághshúr.

Below this head is the head of the three following streams above Band-i-Sokhta :

Arghándáb.

Faizabád.

Aliabád or Ailabad.

At Sarpanja 5 streams ramify and carry their superfluous waters to Akeha :

Adina Masjid.

Karácha

Borilik.

Kúwat.

Shárák after Shek Shárák.

To the *East* of Balkh flow :

Shahi, Kádar, Siáhgard, Balkh, Mushtáq.

The remaining, including the small Nahr-i-Khoja or Kizil Rabát, to the *West*.

On these streams are 360 villages.

1. On the Nahr-i-Sháhi :

Mazár-i-Sharif

Khána Abad

Al Taimur Daulat Imam

Chughdak

Besh Yughásh

Deh Chakúr

Abd ul Waqf

Deh Arbab

Bába Sháhu

Deh Náu Abad Jazim bi

Atálik

2. On the Nahr-i-Kadar :

Rabát, Bába Kohna, Toghárbogha, Khush hálábád, Deh i Dadi Takhtapul, Chihal Gazi, Aljik, Tásh Taimúr Yasákchi, Deh-i-Míri Chanekhtú, Langarkhana, Garmlik, Dekash-Abd-ul-Khalil Tash Taimúri Vaqf-i-Shahi, Kul Taimuri Fauládi.

3. On the Kizil Rabát :

Noubahár, Kizil Rabát, Karya-i-o-i-ghor.

4. On the Siahgard :

Tokhta, Khásapaz, Máshi, Nigárin, Zad Makán, Deh-i-Kazi Ayut,

Arghún, Kam Perák, Safahán, Amrokán, Deh-i-Sawár Gulkhár, Muhammadabad, Shahrak, Nekbi, Shahgard.

5. On the Balkh :

Shádiwala, Deh-i-Kela, Samarkandián, Hisárah, Deh-i-Imám Fakhr-ii Rázi, Khoja Noh Gumbadán, Wafa Malik Palás Posh, Koshkáh, Sará-Zard, Khoja Shohoda, Khowája Sanglais, Koshaki-Aghai-Rumi or Asiá-i-Konak, Kafir Shaikh, Och Bogha, Bazárcha, Deh-i-Bibi, Torghamchi Gumbadak, Deh-i-Baha-ud-din, Amboh.

6. On the Mushtág :

Deh i Kazi Dumbak, Dehi Loli or Dehi Vali, Sarái Sultán, Deh i Nou Haji Gáo, Mominabád.

7. On the Isfáhán :

Khoja Kambar, Tuktamish, Yakka, Tút, Deh Abul Khair, Barmazid Haidari, Senwanehabad Khoja Roshnáí, Senwanehabad, Orta Shák, Shakhi Maghúlán, Khairabad.

8. On the Abdulla :

Bachcha Langari, Karya Nomán, Taimúr Sarai, Char Kappa Kadu Khána, Charbagh-i-Gulshan, Asiá Regak, Jú-i-Khurram, Máshak, Dehishtán, Surkh i Gumbad, Shangalabád, Daihrabád, Nakhjerabád, Hashimabád, Deh Kalta, Deh Jorján, Karah Ghuchla, Chagal, Deh Váli, Saidán Maidán, Zadián, Chár Gumbad, Wazirabád, Wakf-i-Khója Zemán.

9. On the Baghshúr :

Shekh Hasan Basri, Kártuk, Shaháb, Tal-i-Akka, Karshi Yak, Sardah, Daulatabad, Kila Doulatabad, Baghshúr Deh-i-Rahim Kali Bey, Káilik.

10. On the Arghandáb :

Boka, Durj, Shekh Tast Tasmúr, Musa Tarhán or Mistar Khah Haidarabad, Kishlák, Sahr Sabzi, Khayábán, Togh Búgha, Khala-i-Bachagán, Abi Tába, Oras, Fakkrabad, Sung Khoja, Togi (Pir Begi ?) Moghal, Kum Karchi, Subhán-Kolábád.

11. On the Adina Masjid :

Kara Kesak, Gusthamchi, Gulbogha, Koshchi, Korachi, Báwarchi, Haji Malik, Alanchi, Adina Masjid, Chirághchi Deh Mandár, Sandúkchi, Mard-i-Rawán.

12. On the Karácha :

Deh Emanali, Shah Mokím, Karácha, Rafi-ud-dín Khoja Deh Háji Ali, Mir Shikarán, Vairána, Mirabád.

13. On the Borilik :

Jù-i-uryan, Sálbúrún, Khowaja Roshnáí, Charík Sarái Borilik.

14. On the Kú-wat :

Soryán, Ak Tippa, Karán Taimúr, Deh Yásawari, Yangarigh Mínglik, Kuch Kárchí, Yuzlik, Kátib Sarái Atágha, Yalmán Shádi Yúzi, Choba Yúzi, Dádrak. Koshkak, Kipchák, Elchi Gadái.

15. On the Shárah :

Shek Shárah	|	Deh Daráz
Khána-abád	|	Akhtachi
Kishlák Khoja Gháyab	|	Tughlák Tippa
Deh-i-Ashiqán	• | •	Deh Khatái
Rahatabad, Deh As	|	Deh Bakhtúsha

16. On the Faizabad (called before Sultan Husain Mirza 'Mardkash') : Faizabad, Yándarak, Kishlák Mehtar Safi, Chárbagh, Darweshabad, Abdullabad, Sár Siz, Shekhabad; Almánábád Nusratabad, Taribalabád, Fatahabad, Karakchitippa.

17. On the Aliabad : Aliabad, Ilnák, Shabbokent, Shishakhána Kurjak, Núrábád, Torajeváchi, Deh Sagazi or Sajazi.

18. On the Dastgard : Haidar Baroghi, Koshchi, Darwesh Khowája, Deh Baba Alem Yakka Linga, Sayyadán, Deh-i-Noukár, Kirmáni, Deh-i-Nakkásh, Khowája Ahangárán.

19. On the Chamtal : Mushak Tippa, Bába Kázim Khushkint, Shekh-i-Foulád Kambar dín Mughúl, Karya Ashraf, Kábul Kinti, Kosh Chini, Nimdángi, Chimtil Ulia (upper), Chimtil Sifi (lower), Deh-i-Rabát, Pusht-i-júí.

On the stream towards Akhcha : Deh-i-Abbás, Deh-i-Aral Kafsh Garán, Deh i Safri, Charbágh, Barant, Deh i Kázi, Haji Khowája, Rahim Sayyad, Khulam Sayyad, Sherak, Kul Nabát, Khánkah, Jangêz or Changêz, Deh i Mama Chuchak, Yakka linga Kákdán, Besh Arigh, Nouabád, Deh-i-Nou, Deh-i-Noubad 2nd, Saksan Korak, Saksan Kappa, Mardbán, Sharak i Degar, Sultan Arigh, Sayyád.

These 18 streams and villages belong to BALKH as also : Khurram Sarbágh, Haibak, Tashkurghán, Mazár, Takhtapul Akhcha, Shibarghán, Andko, Maimana, Sarpul, Sang Chárik — Kunduz and Badakhshan are also dependencies of BALKH.

PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF KUNDUZ.

Khanaabad, Hazrat Imám, Tálakán, Táláh, Ghóri, Baklán, Khinján, Indráb, Khost, Nárin, Khoja Jirán, Chál, Ishkamish, Khoja Ghar.

PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF BADAKHSHÁN.

Faizábád, Rágh, Yaftal, Pasákoh, Dáwang, Chiáb, Yangkila, Rusták, Kisham, Teshkán, Darah Aim, Argu, Sara Bahár, Jirm, Ashkán, Karán, Munján Anjmanj, Paryán, Varsach, Shahr-i-Buzúrg, Mashad Kalafgán, Khairabad, Zardeo, Sarghalán, Ghárán SHIGHNÁN, ROSHÁN, Pá-in-Sháhr, Varduj, Zaibák, Ishkasham, Sad I Ishtarágh, VAKHÁN.

Ibn Haukal divides Tikharistan into Badakhshán, Jirm, Tálakán, Samangán, etc., as far as Tirmiz. At present Samangán is included in Kuláb, Tálakán in Kunduz, and Jirm in Badakhshan. He mentions B—— as part of Khorasan.

Abu Omar Osman in Sifát-i-Nasiri gives the following boundaries of Tikharistan : *E.*, Kashmir ; *W.*, Tirmiz and Balkh ; *N.*, Káshghar ; *S.*, Ghor (latter is true politically, not physically). The book was dedicated to the son of Altamsh Ghorí of Ghor in Tikharistan, country of snow, a name that is obsolete.

Political Boundaries of Badakhshán :

W., Dasht-i-Chol abutting on Char-Jui, Seráb, Murgháb, Merv and Saraksh ; *E.*, country of Siah Posh, Upper and Lower Chitrál, Sarkul

and Pámer (mountain ! ?) between Yarkand and Badakhshan ; S., Hindu-kush and Koh-i-Baba ; N., Oxus separates B. from Sogdiana, from Kuláb to Charjui ferry, dependency of *Bokhara* !! whose principal cities are :

Masár-i-Sharif, formerly, Karya Khoja Khairán, Mausoleum of Ali destroyed by Changêz, rebuilt by Sultan Mirza Hassain, adjacent tombs of Akbar and Akram, sons of Dost Muhammad, on the Nahr-i-Shahi, produces silk, almonds, horses, grapes—great annual fair, 6,000 families (also Jews and Arabs) and Prince Khoda Bakhsh, a painter, is there. There is a large “Deg” there ; the Mujáwir is Sayid Suleyman and the walls of the shrine (replaced in 1469) are inscribed with verses from Jámi.

Táshkurghán (3 kôs N.W. is ancient Khulam “jungle of deer” which still abound), was founded in this century by Mír Kilich Ali Beg, a Karáma Uzbek, built lengthwise, watered by stream, formed at Do-áos Shah Pasand by junction of 2 streams from Ab Khorak and Ghár Yár Malik and flows on to Tashkurghan after irrigating Khurran, Sarbagh and Haibak, has 8,000 families. Origines are Mui Tanikaráma Uzbeks in 7 sections : Som, Chochman, Ak Shik, Teli, Garmseli, Karama Kiziyághli and Chaghir. Founder was a Som. Great centre of trade between E. and C. Asia. 3 Merchants’ houses by Mulla Ismail, Zarif Bai and Mir Vali. 3 School houses by Mir Vali, Kilich Ali Beg and Ghulam Beg. 4 bazaars : copper, iron, drapers—2 market days. 6 gates : Cabul, Khulam, Yang Arigh, Nimázgah, Akhcha. Pomegranates, figs, grapes and baked bread famous. Near Tangi Tashkurghan unworked copper and iron mines, ruins of fort from Uzbek times. Beyond the Kotal of Abdu, between Tashkurghan and Mazár, fort by Afzal Khan, called Noubahar and Afzalabad, water-supply from Nahr-i-Shahi near Mazar-i-Sharif.

Takhtapul, capital at present of B., built from ruins of B. 1858 by Afzal. 44 bastions of 3 guns. Bokhariş live here. Barracks on English plan, also garden outside the Mazar gate. 6,000 families on the Kadar.

Akhcha, 18 farsakhs (54 kôs) from Takhtapul. 4,000 families of Sarukh Turcomans. Strong fortress and Amir’s cantonment. Water partly from stream from

Shibarghán, 9 kôs distant, fort with ditch ; 2,000 Sarukh Turcoman families, watered by stream from

Andkhú, 9 farsakh distant, once very populous, now only 3,000 families of Uzbek and Sarukh Turkomans. Camels famous. Water from

Mamianna, 13 farsakh distant ; population Uzbek, Tajik and Karáma Turk. Watered by streams, draining mountains on South Mamianna, strategical point between Herat and Balkh.

Kunduz, dependency of B. from ancient times, was subject to Persia till dissolved by Muhammadans (?). “Koh andaz = old fortress” built by Afrasiab or Rustam or Kuldaz, slave of Cyrus. Old fort destroyed by Changez. 3,000 families Uzbek Katághán.

Khojaghar fort subordinate to Kunduz. 300 settled families and 400 nomad Uzbek of Arigh section. The Kokcha or Badakhshan river joins the Oxus here. Distant from Kunduz 6 farsakh to N.E. surrounded by hills. 3 farsakh from Kunduz S.E. is

Khanaabad 1,000 settlers, 4,000 nomads. 2 streams from Farkhar and Chál. From Koh-i-Paryan and Arjmanj in Badakhshán, through Farkhár to Kila Bangi, joining Chál stream to Khanabad, thence to Kunduz and past the Kila Zal joins Ak Sarái, falling in Oxus below Kunda ferry.

Chal rises in 2 streams in Mándra and Khailao, which join at Doáb two other streams descending from Farhang and Khost.

The Farhang stream rises in the Hindukush and divides, one flowing to Warsach the other to Khanabad, after joining Chal at Dóab. The villages subordinate to Khanabad, viz.: Kirghiz, Eshantop and Jangalbáshi abut on *E.* on Tálakán; on *S.* on Darah-i-Chal, Shoráb and Ishkimish; on *N.* on the Ambarkoh or mountain between Kand. and Hazrat Imám.

Khost, subdivision of Kunduz, thence 12 farsakh distant to *S.*, abuts *E.* on Koh-i-Ichání which separates from Siah Posh; on *W.* boundary adjoins Khoja Jirán; on *S.* Panjsher Kotal; on *N.* Kishlak and Khailáb 4,000 families of Tajiks and Hazaras. 4 forts: Doabi, Jangalik, Hákimí and Dahána. 2 hill passes opposite Doabi and 2 opposite Hakimi. Streams run down all four gorges, arms of Hindukush, viz.: 2 from Koh-i-Ichání which unite at Doábi and 2 from Mount Phárzu and Koh-i-Sheikhan and unite at Hákimí. The united stream flows on from Hakimi to Khailáo, thence to Mándrah, and running on to Chál which it joins at Kila Bangi falls into Oxus some distance from Khanabad.

Tálakán, "hill of blood"; *E.*, Kotal Lata Band and plain Ak Bulak; *W.*, Khanabad and Akchál; *S.*, Khost and Namak Ab; *N.*, Koh-i-Ambar and territory of Hazrat Imám. 9 farsakh from Khanabad. Turks, Tajiks and Hazaras. Fort 500 families. Entire territory 6,000 families.

Hazrat Imám, subdivision of Kunduz, *N.E.* to river Amoya; *W.*, Kila Zal and plain which stretches from Kotal Abdu to Balkh; *S.*, Ambar Koh; *N.*, river Amoya, across which Fort Syát and others in Kuláb territory. 4 farsakh from Kunduz. Watered by Amu. Turks and Tajiks. 500 families in fort. Whole territory 4,000 families.

Nárín villages: Baj Kila, Khoja Jiran, Doábi, Buzdarah Jú-i-Kalán, Chinakai. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Koh-i-Bahárák Khost; *W.*, Buklán; *S.*, Koh-i-Gurgán; *N.*, Koh-i-Ishkimish. People are Uzbeks and Tajiks. *Narín* 30 houses; territory 2,000 farsakh which is watered by a stream descending from the Kohi Bahárák flows on to Buklán and Hassan Tal and uniting with Buklán river falls with the Kunduz river into Oxus.

Buklán, subdivision of Kunduz, composed of villages: Hasan Tal Beloch, Kokchinár, Seh Tút. Uzbeks and Tanjiks 3,000 families of whom 100 in Buklán itself which is 9 farsakh *S.W.* of Kunduz. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Koh-i-Shoráb; *W.*, Dasht-i Gabr; *N.*, Koh-i-Rabát; *S.*, Koh-i-Narín, Mazar Shekh Jalál. Territory watered by stream formed at Doshi by 2 streams from Andráb and Doáb joining. This stream falls into Kunduz river. The stream at Doáb is composed of the Káhmard and Surkh Rod streams which unite at Doáo Mekhzari and fall into the Kunduz river.

Ghóri villages: Kelachi, Doshi, Baladari, Alchin, Dahána Yamchi, Gurgurah. Ancient seat of Kihgs. of Ghor. Fort, 4 bastions and ditch, houses 100 families. Destroyed by Moguls under Changez, rebuilt by

Taimur, redestroyed in the time of Md. Khan Shambani, during Uzbek disturbances, but again rebuilt by Kattá Khan Katághan with the materials of Rabat Abdulla Khan Uzbek, between Haibak and Ghorí, which he destroyed. Again destroyed by Affghan conquest. Azim Khan restored it 1276 A.H. 5,000 families, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Affghans and Hazaras; surrounded by hills: *E.*, Koh-i-Beshgazah, between Ghóri and Nárin; *W.*, Koh-i-Gurgurah, between Ghóri and Haibak; *S.*, Tála; *N.*, Dasht-i-Gabr.

Ishkimish, valley surrounded by hills. Fort, about 40 families. Villages Samandán, Khoja Bandkusha, Chashma-i-Mahian, Falúl Jabardák, Pahlwántash. 5,000 families, Burka and Temás sections of Katághan Uzbeks. *S.E.* of Kunduz. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Khost; *W.*, Aliabad and Kunduz; *S.*, Nárin; *N.*, Tangi Khislák and Chál. Shrine of Shah Mashrab Diwána, whose odes are universally sung in Turkistan, and who was wantonly murdered by Mahmúd Bi Atalik Katághan, during Subhan Kuli Khan's time.

Chal, subdivision of Kunduz, composed of villages: Kishlak Bangi, Mándrah and Khan Káh. 700 families, Turks and Tajiks. Salt-mine in territory *S.E.* of Kunduz. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Kotal-i-Latta Band and Ak Bulák Pass and Koh-i-Varsach; *W.*, Ishkimish; *S.*, Khost; *N.*, Kila Bangi and Koh-i-Ambar.

Khoja Jirán, from shrine of K. J. buried here. Population "Tázík" denoting Arab origin, as Persians called them "Tázik," contemptuously. It is a dependency of Nárin. Situated at mouth of gorge. Watered by stream descending from Koh-i-baharak in Khost and falls into Kunduz river. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Koh-i-Varsach and Khost; *W.*, Nárin; *N.*, Koh-i-Falúl and Jabar Dah; *S.*, Andráb.

Andráb, 50 houses. Villages: Sang-i-Parán, Noubahár, Bunnóo, Khayábán, Tal-i-Mir Gházi, Kásán, Kishanabad Khushdarah, Darah-i-Kilát, Dezak, Deh Yak. Population 4,000 families, Tajiks and Hazaras. At Kishanabad 4 streams unite. One descends from Kásán, 2nd from Deh Yak, 3rd from Kotal Arzu, 4th from Kotal Salehang. They then flow on to Khinjan Doshi through Andrab, where they are joined by Surkh Rod stream which descends from Do-ao Shah Pasand. The whole then flow on to Ghorí. Andrab 13 farsakh *S.E.* from Kunduz; surrounded by hills. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Darah Khost, called Koh-i-Shekhan; on the other side Siah Posh; *W.*, Khinján; *S.*, the Salehang, Arzú and Gul Bahar Kotals of the Hindukush; *N.*, Khoja.

Andrab is Ptolemy's Darapsa 1st city occupied by Alexander after emerging from the hills.

Khinján, 5 marches *S.* from Kunduz. Villages: Bázgáh, Wálián, and Gazrán. Population, 1,000 families. Fort has 20 houses. Hazaras and Tajiks. Watered by stream descending from Hindukush, and uniting with Andrab stream flows to Ghorí. *Boundaries*: *E.*, Andrab; *W.*, Doshi and Deh Ghorí; *N.*, the Narin Hills; *S.*, Hindukush, opposite to the Fort of Shêr, in Kabul territory.

Táláh, 21 farsakh *S.W.* from Kunduz; bounded, *N.*, Ghorí territory; *S.*, Sheikh Ali Hazára; *W.*, Dashti Sufaid; *E.*, Ghorband or Kotal, or

peak of Hindukush. Fort has 10 houses. Population of the 3 villages, Askár, Merv, and Ashraf, amounts to 2,000 families; Hazaraks and Tajiks. Watered by stream from Hindukush, and flows on to Ghorí. No measurement of land. Each plough is 5 to 8 jowals of seed, of which ruler takes one = 30 seers; each = $6\frac{1}{2}$ Indian seers. A tenth, as U'shr, one sheep out of 40, or 2 in 100. On merchandise 2 rupees per load. Heinous cases decided by Kazi in concurrence with ruler. Every 20 families furnish one man for military service, and feed him; weapons—matchlock, sword, and spear. The Hazaras, Tajiks, Uzbaks, and Katághán of Kunduz, are bigoted Sunnis, speaking Turkish and Persian. Fruits not abundant, except marsh- and water-melons. Wheat, barley, másh, rice, cotton, and pistachio nut. Pistachio camel-load, ten tangas; provide India, Central Asia, and Russia. Magnificent Katághán horses sent to Hindustan. Lamb, fox-skins, and other skins, to Russia, and sheep to Bokhara. The country abounds with deer.

Climate of Kunduz and Tálakán unhealthy. Rice abundant; soil marshy. Mosquito venomous, like that of Calcutta (?). Heat intense. Thermometer 60° in July—"Margh me khahi, Kunduz bero": "If you wish death, go to Kunduz."

Route.—From Táshkurghán to Yang Arigh, 1 farsakh; thence, *viâ* Chol and across the Kotal, Shibághli, and Irganak, to Ak Sarai and Kunduz. Caravan marches, 60 Kôs day and night. No habitation, and only rain water in plain of Abdulla Khan. Route subject to depredations of Uzbeks of Hisár and Kuláb. From Kabul to Kunduz, 8 marches, *viâ* Chárikár, Parwán, Salehang; thence across Hindu Kush, Ghorí; thence Kunduz. Gori borders infested with Gávi Hazara robbers.

[Bactriana included Balkh, Kunduz, and Badakhshán.

Arrian says Bactria was the 9th Satrapy of Darius, Herodotus the 12th, and that it paid 360 talents to Persia.]

328 B.C. Alexander wintered there on return from Sogdiana. In spring he went on by Andráb to the Panjab, leaving a deputy there (Amyntas, Satrap, according to Justin).

Then Seleucus and descendants, who were driven out by Scythians 90 B.C. Greeks fled S. of Badakhshan; now the Siah Posh Kafirs (?).

Meanwhile Romans and Persians fought. Ashkání dynasty subverted by Ardasher Babakan (Artáxerxes) and Bactria remained Persian to the time of Yezdegerd, overthrown by Arab Muslims and assassinated at Merv.

Hindus call Balkh "Bálhík." The tribes Kumári are Raj Kumars. Tukhari are Thakhur. Varni are Varnas. Gouri from Ghor. The idols at Bamian are Bhim and Arjan. [We do not endorse these conjectures.—*Ed.*]

(See the "Rozat-ul-Safa" and "Zein ul Tawarikh.") Kumaris are from Kumar, grandson of Noah, who settled Dasht-i-Kiptehak, within limits of Bulghar. Tukharis are inhabitants of Tikharistan.

Bactria, as the country of Bacchus, reminds one that Jamshéd and Gushtarp were also fond of wine. The Varnis come from Varsúch, on the border of Almah.

The following is a short CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY of BACTRIA.

603 A.D. Omar conquered Persia.

614. Omar conquered Persia to Khorasan.

Abdulla Bin Amir, Governor of Khorasan, subdued B., Tálakán, and Badakhshan, whose King, *Bahram Shah*, descendant of Alexander, became Muhammadan, and people ditto on compulsion.

Later on the *Türk Turkhan* apostatized, reconverted by Katiba, again lapsed, fled, and was killed at Ishkimish. 4,000 Arab families then settled in Balkh, where Muhammadanism took root.

B. was repeopled, and (707) was splendid, especially during Khalifa Mansur. His daughter lived at Jo'uzgún. Kunduz was made brilliant by Jafir.

Khalifa Abu Jufar Mansur, worked Badakhshan mines (gold coin). *Násir Shah* was tributary Mir of Badakhshan.

741. Makna at Karshi made moon of mercury (?). *Nakshab*, name of Karshi.

Fazal under Harun built Naubahar Gate of Balkh. *Ismail Shah* was tributary of Balkh.

769. Harun gave Khorasan to Mamun, who resided at Merv.

Musa bin Amran was Governor of Balkh and Badakhshan. Founded Tippa; was murdered because a Shiah; was succeeded in Khorasan by Tahir, who invaded Kabul, whence he carried elephant to Balkh.

816. Daud, Governor of Khorasan; his tributary was *Raihan Shah*, of Badakhshan. Daud erected Naushad in B.

870. *Muhammad Shah*, son of Raihan Shah, carried off by Yakub bin Lais as hostage to Balkh. The Sejestanis expelled by Samanis, (900) who occupied Khorasan, Balkh, and Badakhshan. Capital, *Bokhara*.

The 5th Samáni overthrown by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Then came the Seljuks. During reign of Sultan Sanjar, the Khatai (Chinese) came. Mausoleum of Mazar-i-Sharif erected by Sultan Sanjar.

Khowaresm Shah vanquished Ardan Shah, and took possession of Balkh, Bokhara, and Badakhshan.

Muhammad Khowaresm Shah was the last of that line, who possessed above.

Changéz conquering him, levied contributions on Badakhshan mines, destroyed Balkh for 23rd time, and both B.'s* were in his son's, Chaghattai Khan's hands up to 1211. Last King of that dynasty, Amir Hussain (whose General was Timur), fought with *Amir Bayan Saldóz*, who occupied Badakhshán, expelling *Baha-ud-din*, restored by Timur, rebelled against Husain in 1340, submitted, rebelled again, and again submitted.

1391. *Naki Shah*, son of *Shah Bahauddin*, produced 4th invasion by Timúr. His son, *Shah Shekhali*, on father's death, rebelled, and was conquered after desperate resistance at Kargaz Kotal, Jirm Kotal, Arhang Dara, Kungharaling.

Timúr, rebelling also, was crowned at Balkh. *Shah Shekhali* was succeeded by *Shah Shekh Muhammad*. In 1383 Timur entrusted Kunduz,

* Balkh and Badakhshán.

Kabul, Badakhshan to his son, to whom the rulers of Badakhshán (*Lashkar Khan and Babauddin*) paid tribute.

1396. *Lashkar Khan was murdered by Shah Baha-ud-din ; Naki Shah*, his brother, solicited help from Shah Rukh Mirza at Herat. After some campaigning *Bahauddin* was deposed, and his brother, *Shah Mahmud*, appointed.

In 1402 native Chiefs were deposed, and Mirza Sarjurightamish appointed Governor; Bahauddin was taken hostage to Herat, and Mahmud made his submission.

1438. S. Abusaid Mirza conquered Alauddaula, who took *Badakhshán*, but was deposed by the Sultan's son. The ruler, *Shah Sultan Muhammad*, and his son were killed. He was a poet, and left 6 daughters.

1457. Amir Jelaluddin, local Governor under Mirza Abu Bakr. He was assassinated, and *Badakhshán* occupied by Sultan Mahmud Mirza of Balkh and Khatlán. Then Sultan *Hussain Mirza* fought him, and in 1462 annexed both B.'s and Kunduz, ruling in Herat, re-erecting Mazar-i-Sharif.

1482. In 902 A.H. the rebel Khusro Shah, having heard of the intention of Sultán Hosain Mirza to restore Sultán Mas-úd Mirza, son of Sultan Muhammad, to his paternal territory, invited Sultán Mas-úd, and deprived him of eyesight. Sultán Mas-úd then proceeded to Samarkand, shortly afterwards killed by Muhammad Khan, Shíbaní Uzbek, at Sarakhs. Baisanghar Mirza, who fled from Samarkand to seek protection of Khusro Shah, also put to death by latter. Khusro Shah then rebelled against Badi-ul-Zamán, and invaded Balkh. Ibráhím Hosain, brother and deputy of Badi-ul-Zamán, shut himself up in fort which was besieged by Khusro Shah ; latter failed, and returned to his country.

1489. In 906 A.H. Badi-ul-Zamán removed to Balkh. Ibráhím Hosain returned to Hírat. Then Khurso Shah acknowledged allegiance to Sultán Hosain Mirza of Hirat, caused Khútbá to be read, and coin struck in Badakhshán, Kunduz, Hisár, and Khatlán, in name of that monarch.

1489. In 908 A.H. Sultán Sa-íd Chaghhattaí, Ruler of Káshghar, leaving Rashíd Sultán at Káshghar, invaded Badakhshán, and took possession of half country as far as Bartang Dara, boundary of Pámer. He transported people of Badakhshán to Káshghar and Yárkand, and Badakhshán families now settled in E. Turkistan are descended from original colony established by Sultán Sa-íd.

Same year Muhammad Khan, Shíbaní Uzbek, having overthrown dynasty of Taimur, invaded E. Turkistán, carried away Shah Begam, daughter of Yúnas Khan, prisoner to Samarkand. Invaded afterwards Hisár, Shádmán, Kuláb, Badákhshán, Kunduz, and Buklán. At Ferry of Tirmiz was opposed by Badi-ul-Zamán, ruler of Balkh. But Khusro Shah, on whose co-operation Badi-ul-Zamán had relied, secretly combined with Muhammad Khan, and held back. Badi-ul-Zamán was compelled to return to Balkh.

1490. In 909 A.H. the predominance of Muhammad Khan, Shíbaní, drove Zahir-ud-din Báber from native country of Farghana. He retired to Hisár, secured alliance of Khusro Shah. Latter afterwards went over to Badi-ul-Zamán to Balkh, was slain by Uzbaks on bank of Murgháb stream,

formerly known as Merv-Rod. Thus end came of man who during reign of Sultán Muhammad Mírza, held for 15 years high rank of Viceroy of Hisár, Kunduz, and Badakhshán, but was a traitor and tyrant. Next year Báber took possession of Badakhshan. Also Muhammad Khan, Shíbání, invaded Khorasán, and Sultan Hosain Mirza marched from Herat to repel invasion. He died at Bába Háhi, in Bádghís. Khorasan and Balkh fell into hands of invader.

1494. Báber left brother, Násir Mirza, in Badakhshán, crossed Hindu-Kush, and descended on Cabul, from whence he expelled Muhammad Mukím Beg, Governor of Sultán Hosain Mirza, and seized country. In 913 A.H. Nasir Mirza, brother of Báber, was expelled by Abíd-ulla Khan, Uzbek, from Badakhshán, and retired to Kabul. Was placed in charge of Zamíndáwar and Kandhár. Government of Kunduz and Badakhshán was entrusted by Abíd-ulla Khan to one of Uzbek officers named Kamarbi. People of Badakhshán refused Uzbek rule. Kamarbi was driven out, and a native of Rágh replaced him.

Next year Shah Begam, daughter of Sultan Muhammad, descended from old royal family of Badakhshán, escaped from Muhammad Khan, Shíbání, and proceeded to Hirat, from whence she repaired to Kabul to meet her grandson (daughter's son, Mirza Khan, who lived at Court of Báber). Báber's authority was not yet established in provinces of Hazárajat. Hazáras rebelling against him, he advanced to chastise them. During his absence Shah Begam put her grandson on throne of Kabul, and caused Khutba to be read in his name. Her misconduct gave offence to Báber; but that forbearing monarch spared them, and on his return to Kabul, both remained at Court. Mirza Khan for a time was removed to Kandahár.

Shah Begam was a clever lady. Bewailing to Báber of Badakhshán loss of ancestor's country, she induced him to aid her grandson to recover it. Shah Begam and grandson crossed the Hindu Kush. Mirza Khan advanced to Badakhshán, without his grandmother, and she fell into hands of Mirza Aba Bakar Choghatta, who advanced from Káshghar to seize country. She was taken to Káshghar. Meanwhile, Mirza Khan seized the peasant of Rágh, named Zabir, who ruled in Badakhshán, and his foster brother killed Zabir with 17 of his followers. Accession of Mirza Khan was acknowledged next day by people, who retracted the same day. This was caused by Shah Razi-ud-dín, Chirágh Kush, "lamp extinguisher," founder of a new sect in Badakhshán, who taught that

1. The world was not created, but is self-existing.
2. After death there is no resurrection of body on doomsday.
3. The orders of the Shara', or Mahomedan law, were binding only during the lifetime of the prophet, but are not obligatory now.
4. In the present age it is obligatory only to read the 'Kalima, and' to understand its true import. The Laws of Shara' are not obligatory any longer.
5. Carnal intercourse is lawful with one's own daughter.
6. Lawful to shed blood or appropriate property of member of one's own sect.

Suláiman Mirza, who had joined Humáyún, pardon, which was granted. He retired to Kuláb, and lived on bounty of Uzbek Chief.

1539. In 956 Kamrán renewed his attempts on Badakhshán, and the aid of Pir Muhammad Khan with Kamrán resulted in invasion of Balkh by Humáyún. But Humáyún returned to Kabul without success.

1581. In 998 Badakhshán was occupied by Abd-ullah Khan, Uzbek, and the Hindu Kush was acknowledged by Akbar to mark boundary between his country and that of Abd-ullah Khan. Shah Rukh Mirza, son of Ibrahím Mirza, shortly had to fly from Badakhshán, and went to Akbar in India. The Emperor declined to meddle, and granted fugitive a jagir in Málwa. Meanwhile Muhammad Zamán, son of Shah Rukh Mirza, assumed Chieftdomship of Badakhshán, with support of people. But son of Abd-ullah Khan, Uzbek, drove him out of country. Muhammad Zamán fled to Kabul, where he slew Kásim Khan, Governor of Akbar. His son avenged his father same day, and slew Muhammad Zamán.

1589. In 1006 Abdul Momin Khan, son of Abd-ullah Khan Uzbek, succeeded to throne of Bokhara on death of his father. Both Balkh and Badakhshán were included in dominion of Abd-ullah Momin Khan, and his successors Jáni Beg Khan and Dín Mahomed Khan.

1593. But in 1010 the ruler of Bokhara, having placed Khowája Hasan, a nephew (sister's son) of Akbar, in charge of Badakhshán, he rebelled against his sovereign, and caused Khutba to be read and coin struck in name of Akbar. He was punished by ruler of Bokhára, who slew him in battle. Balkh and Badakhshán were given in charge of Wali Muhammad Khan, brother of chief of Bokhara. But latter dying, Wali Muhammad Khan took Bokhara, and gave other two to his nephew Nazar Muhammad Khan. Soon Wali Muhammad Khan was slain by another nephew, Imám Kuli Khan, who usurped Bokhara. This success was short. His eyesight failed, and he went a pilgrimage to Mecca. The vacant throne was occupied by Nazar Muhammad Khan.

1638. In 1055 Nazar Muhammad Khan was deposed by his ministers and degraded to Government of Badakhshán, and his son Abd-ul-Aziz Khan was elevated to throne of Bokhara. The deposed chief, angry at defection of his sons, begged aid of Emperor Shah Jáhan to form a kingdom in Transoxiana, including Badakhshán and Balkh.

(To be continued.)

INDIGENOUS ORIENTAL EDUCATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO THE PANJAB.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.*

KORÁN SCHOOLS.

READ, in the name of thy Lord !
Who created man from congéaled blood !
READ, for thy Lord is most generous !
Who taught the pen !
Taught man what he did not know !

“READ” was the very first word which the Angel Gabriel told to the Arabian prophet. It is the first word of the Korán, though the order of its chapters is now changed. The above five verses, taken from what is now the 96th Sûra delivered at Mecca, are generally allowed to have been the first that were revealed. It is the key-stone of the “Korán,”=the *book* that “pre-eminently deserves to be *read*,” a word that may indeed be synonymous with “reading” generally, as in the 55th Sûra: “The All-merciful has taught man reading (or the Korán); He created man; He taught him discriminating speech (or Exegesis, “Beyán,” interpretation). The sun and moon with their orbits, plants and trees, worship Him; He raised the heavens and appointed their balance, in order that you may not transgress in measure; therefore weigh justly and stint not the balance.”

When a child, whether a boy or girl, is four years four months and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in its best clothes, which, as well as the board, books, writing material and the distributed sweetmeat, are provided by its maternal grandmother or maternal grandfather or uncle. The child is then seated on a cushion, and the Arabic alphabet (sometimes also the Arabic numerals), the present Introduction to the Korán (the Fātiha or opening chapter), the whole of the 96th Sûra, and the quoted verses of the 55th Sûra, are placed before it, and it is taught to repeat them after some relative or the respected tutor. Sometimes, also, the 87th Sûra is pronounced, which extols the teaching of the books of Abraham and Moses. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to repeat, it is made to pronounce the “Bismilla,”—“In the name of God, the All-compassionate, the Specially Merciful,” which is accepted instead of the above *desiderata*, and from that day its education is deemed to have commenced. Among the lower classes this ceremony is dispensed with, and the child is sent straight to the Mulla with some sweetmeats. Sometimes the child sits in state for a day or two before the ceremony,

* Extract (with notes) from a “History of Indigenous Oriental Education” and its vicissitudes under European rule, by Dr. G. W. Leitner.

during which also the tutor coaxes it to repeat the above series by putting sweetmeats, "laddus" in India, into its hands. Indeed, everything is done to make the initiation of the child as impressive as possible on its mind, as also as to celebrate the event, wherever circumstances allow it, by invitations and presents to friends and relatives.

At school, which is generally attached to a mosque, or held in the Portico or one of the rooms in its quadrangle, the child is taught those Sûras of the Korán, beginning with the 78th, to the end of the volume, which were probably all given at Mecca, thus following the proper chronological order, which makes the Sûras delivered at Mecca precede those of Medina. The former Sûras are also much shorter, and are couched in the inspired language of a poet-prophet or teacher, whilst the lengthy Medina Sûras are more the production of a Legislator, dealing with more advanced subjects than the easy and eloquent admonitions to be impressed on a child's mind.

It is perfectly true that the teachers of these Korán schools are not good Arabic scholars; indeed, many of them have only a hazy understanding of what they teach the children (boys and girls up to a certain age read together; see my account of the "Races of Turkey, with special reference to Muhammadan Education," from which a passage is quoted in reply to Question 43 of the Indian Education Commission, on the subject of mixed schools). At the same time, I cannot admit that "any of them are unable to sign their names," unless, indeed, he be a blind Háfiz (or one who has committed the whole Korán by heart), a member of a scholastic and priestly fraternity, among whom I have met men of the most astounding memory, which sometimes quite supplied the place of a very extensive reading of Arabic literature. For instance, an officiating 2nd Maulvi of the Oriental College, Lahore, began his career by standing first in an examination in the Arabic language, Law and Literature, among a considerable number of competing Maulvis. As for the statement that the humble teachers of the Korán schools disclaim altogether the ability to understand what they read or teach, they may, indeed, with the dignitary of Queen Candace, who was reading Isaias, the Prophet, reply to Philip's query—"Understandest thou what thou readest?" "How can I, except some man should guide me." But, like the Ethiopian in question, they generally do possess a very fair conception of the meaning of the Korán; for what Muhammadan, except the greatest scholar, can fully understand, or altogether misunderstand, that most remarkable of productions? Were a bishop to ask a village schoolmaster whether he understood the Bible, he might, perhaps, get a similar answer. Indeed, it is difficult for the teacher to be altogether ignorant of what he teaches, for the prayers and recitations are in daily practice, and everything, if not everybody, around him tells him, at one time or the other, what they mean.

Moreover, these Mullahs, who are in some places called "Kat-Mullahs or Ním-Mullahs," = half-Mullahs by their betters, besides teaching their pupils the formal reading of the Korán, perform marriage and funeral services, as well as other ceremonies in which readings from the Korán and certain prayers are necessary. Even the mere reading of the Korán accurately is

no mean accomplishment, as it involves the greatest care in giving the correct vowel-points—a matter of the utmost importance, not only in disputed passages, but also in the general interpretation of the Korán. If all Englishmen could “merely” read their Bible in Hebrew, Latin or Greek, not to speak of their knowing their Sacred Scriptures by heart in these languages, and could apply suitable passages to every daily occurrence of their lives, they would, I submit, possess an accomplishment of which they might reasonably be proud. “MEMORY IS THE MOTHER OF THE MUSES,” and I, for one, rejoice that in all native systems the soil is so well prepared for the ready reception of studies of every kind by the preliminary training of a faculty which is rather the healthy development of all faculties. There can be little doubt that the shallowness and self-complacency of modern students is largely due to the want of the sufficient cultivation of the memory in our schools; and it is probable that, with their further extension, the gift of memory, in which the Oriental native still stands first in the world, will also disappear along with his language, morals and religion.

Again, although the teachers may not explain the religious books in the elementary Korán schools, the parents to whom the boy repeats his lesson often do, and this they are enabled to do, even if they cannot write and read themselves, from their recollections and experiences of life and of religious exercises, so that there are scarcely many Muhammadans who do not understand the general drift of a passage from the Korán or many Hindus that of a Sanscrit devotional book in ordinary use. The consequence of the permeation of the Muhammadan population by Arabic words and phrases is that Arabic legal and other scientific words in Urdu translations are understood, to a certain extent, even by the vulgar. This is *less* the case with Persian words which are confined to the educated class and only filter to the classes below, whilst this is scarcely at all the case with newly-coined words, from English or even pure Hindi, unless, indeed, the latter are chosen or invented with more discrimination than has been displayed in departmental and other publications.

Even were the “Korán schools” as “educationally worthless” as they are described to be in our Official Reports, they would still deserve respect and tender treatment as the nurseries in which the bulk of our Muhammadan fellow-subjects derive, if only, the Shibboleths of their religion, but they do more, they give hope and comfort and resignation to millions of human beings, whom the irritation, false views of life and discontent taught by our system would render unhappy and drive into disaffection.

It should also be borne in mind that the Korán schools answer a double purpose, *first*, that of giving that amount of religious knowledge which is essential to a good Muhammadan and which was more intelligible, when Arabic was more spoken than it is now (a remark which also applies to Sanscrit among Hindus as regards those Schools in which only Sanscrit religious books are taught) and, *secondly*, that of preparation for higher Korán schools or Arabic Schools, in which the Korán is explained with conscientious and scholarly minuteness. In their present humble and neglected condition, they surely must incidentally also teach the *two* “r’s,” “reading and writing,” and I can, therefore, not understand the remarks

of Mr. Arnold, which other Directors have since repeated, in one form or another, that "attendance at Korán school does *not* necessarily involve a knowledge of *reading* and writing." Does this apply to the *blind* boys only, who learn the Korán from memory? If not, what *can* the statement mean? I quote one of the passages in which it occurs from the first Educational Report :—

"18. The number of Korán schools is given as 1,755; but I have no doubt that the number is *much greater*. In several districts *no such schools* are mentioned, *the fact being that probably every mosque is the site of what is elsewhere called a Korán school*. As attendance at these school does *not necessarily involve a knowledge of reading* and writing, I have omitted the pupils of the Korán schools from my calculation of boys under instruction. Of course, strictly Korán schools are attended only by Muhammadans."

However, not to leave the matter of reading (and, *through* it, of writing) in Korán schools in doubt, it is impossible to learn to read the Korán with all the attention which its vowel-points and accentuation require, without that this *should necessarily* involve a knowledge of reading. The boy first learns the alphabet in the "Káida Baghdádi," said to have been compiled first for the son of a Baghdád Khalífa; then, as stated before, the last chapters of the Korán, as also the five "kálimas," in which the principal tenets of Islam are contained and which *are* explained to the pupils, whilst the *brochures* of these kálimas have also interlinear translations into Urdu or Perso-Panjabi. The boys also learn the Muhammadan profession of creed, beginning with "amantu billahi wa bil maláikati, wa kutubihi wa rasúlihi" = I believe in God, his angels, his (revealed) books, *viz.*, the Korán, the Tóra (Old Testament), the Psalms, the Sahífa of the Jewish prophets and the New Testament, his apostles, the resurrection of the dead and the day of judgment, the existence of Paradise and Hell, etc. He is taught the practice of prayers, many of which were contained in his Korán reading. In most Korán schools also the following elementary religious books in Urdu, Persian or Panjabi are taught :—

Kanz-ul-Musalli (a book of prayers) in verse.

Rah-i-Niját (the road to salvation, containing religious tenets, in prose).

Risala Bey-namázan (threats to those who do not pray, chiefly compiled from the Korán) in verse.

Nasihát-náma (admonitions in verse, which, *inter alia*, contain the following advice :—

"Always remember God; make your heart glad with his name; cultivate (abád kar) this earth which is your temporary and desert-home, if you wish happiness in the next world." Also such practical, prudential advice as "Do not be a security, even for your father, or allow any one to be security for you, for such a course only encourages sin, etc.)

Masáil Hindi (religious precepts regarding faith, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage).

Subha-ka-sitára, the morning star (of a similar character as above).

Masáil Subhání (the same as above; very popular in the Punjab).

Kissas-ul-Arabia,—stories of prophets, both in prose and verse.

Many of these schools add Persian to their course, after the pupil has mastered his religious duties. The pupil may then take up the study of Arabic, to which Persian is always considered to be an introduction, when he will acquire a knowledge of the meaning of the Korán and of other books, of which more hereafter.

The Korán schools, which are very numerous, may be found almost in every mosque, even if they should only contain one or two pupils. They are also held in private houses, and it is not usual to have a large number of pupils in these schools, as each is supposed to require special attention, excepting in such large establishments as the "Bara Mian-ka Dars," the "lesson-house of Bara Mian," near "Mian Mir," where there are more than 200 boys preparing for the office of *Háfiz* by learning the Korán by heart. It will be remembered that the services of *Hafizes* are preferentially sought for in filling vacancies of priests and guides of prayer at mosques, and that they are essential to lead prayer at the "Terawih," supplications during the nights of *Ramázán*.

There are also innumerable Korán schools in the private houses of *Moulvis* and religious patrons, among whom widows hold an honoured place. The latter often teach the Korán themselves to boys and little girls.

The discipline in these schools is maintained more easily than in the more numerous Persian schools, but is otherwise much the same.* In the Korán, as also in the Persian schools, the senior boy or a special monitor (generally the teacher's son, if he is competent) assists in the instruction and supervision of the school, and takes the place of the head-teacher during his absence, thus qualifying to become his successor, or "Khalifah"—by which name, indeed, he is known, and which, as it were, puts the teacher in the seat of "the prophet," with his loyal assistant as the "Coming Khalifah." The income of the teacher of a school attached to a mosque is derived either from its landed or other endowment, or from a share in the offerings of the faithful. Some of the pupils may even pay fees, though this is not usually considered to be acceptable, as the instruction is given for the "sake of God," "*Lillah*," "*fi sabil illah*," "*i'nd illah*." On important occasions, however, in the pupil's family, a present may be offered to the teachers, and it is a gratifying circumstance that pupils who have left the school ever remember their religious teacher by sending him, say, a rupee on the 25th of *Ramazan*, or when a marriage or a male child's birth takes place in their family; such presents may be accepted as signs of the pupil's gratitude; but payment for instruction is not considered "the thing." Personal service, however, to the master, whilst in a state of pupilage (and even afterwards), is general, in order to relieve the teacher of petty household or other troubles. They bring his water, make his purchases in the bazar, look after his little children, and so

* As stated in my cross-examination by the Education Commission, "discipline, so far as obedience and reverence are concerned, is superior in these schools to our own; and though the sight of little boys swaying backwards and forwards seems confusing to the English eye, it is, in fact, an accompaniment to the rhythm of the Korán. It also gives them some physical exercise."

forth. Food is also usually supplied to the teacher either by his pupils or his neighbours or fellow-villagers. The teacher of the Korán school is often the *Imám* of the mosque in which his school is held, when he derives his income from other sources, and, as a rule, teaches altogether gratuitously. It may, however, be mentioned that when a pupil finishes his reading of the Korán, a present, sometimes amounting to 100 rupees, a house, cattle, &c., according to the means of his parents, is not unusually given to the teacher. A holiday is given to the school when a pupil has finished the Korán; the boys, with the master and their relatives, assemble in the house of the "passed" student, when the present is given and the "*Amín*" is sung, which really means adding "Amens" to the blessings invoked by the master on the head of his little graduate. These "amíns" are varied, and are in both Arabic and Urdu—at any rate, the *refrains* taken up by the audience are in Arabic, such as "*Subhán man yaráni*," "Praise be to Him who sees me," or *Chorus*, "*Amin, ilahi, Amin*," = "Amen, oh God, amen." The scene is one of great interest.

I have before me one of the excellent little books written for children in indigenous schools, of which the Curator's returns make no mention, as, indeed, of numerous original productions in which the Punjab is so prolific, and which still make this province of 19 millions the first in literary activity, and not *second* to Lower Bengal, in spite of its 68 millions, as has been stated.

This little book is "the present of the Amen on the completion of the sacred Korán." Indeed, it is one of the treatises which serve as a basis to the inauguration of the "passed" boy into practical life, and is varied according to circumstances. It narrates the birth of the child, the joys and hopes of the parents, his going to school, his first success in finishing the first quarter of the last section of the Korán, and the final triumph in completing that volume; the friendly teasing of the boys, the grand holiday, the necessity now for other secular studies, arts and sciences, which can all be acquired by *knowing their meaning*; the reaching of puberty and celebration of marriage, and the discharge of its responsibilities; the weeping of the bride's relatives on her leaving her home; the fellow-pupils invoke the blessings of the Almighty on the union, and wait not to be forgotten in the general rejoicings, in which a present to the tutor should have its place. Now comes one of the most touching incidents in the recitation, namely, the

CONTRACT BETWEEN THE CHILD AND ITS CREATOR,

the practice of which is first justified by reference to authorities, and which runs thus:—

"Oh God, Creator of the heavens and of earth; Thou who knowest all that is secret or manifest; Thou, who art all compassionate and specially merciful: I contract myself unto thee in this sublunary life, with that I testify that there is no God but Thou, who art ONE, and there is no partner with Thee. And I testify that Muhammad is your servant and prophet. Do not give me over to my own sinful self, for if thou abandon me to myself, I shall be caused to be near evil and be made far from

good; for, indeed, I do not trust in aught but Thy mercy. Then place Thou to me a contract from before Thee, which Thou wilt fulfil unto the day of judgment, because Thou never ignorest Thy promise!

"Now may God, whose name be exalted, bless the best of his creatures, Muhammad and his posterity and companions, and all Muhammadan men and women, all of them! This I supplicate from Thy mercy, Thou who art the most merciful of those who have mercy."

This consecration of the child to the Creator, the objects of which had been explained in the preamble, is followed by the "Amen of birth," and the "Amen of marriage," and thus the past and the future are combined in a ceremony which must leave a lasting impression for good on the mind of the "passed" pupil.

I may also mention that even the payment of a fee or present in Persian or Korán schools is accompanied by some act which raises it above vulgarity. For instance, before the *I'di* festival presents are offered, as explained elsewhere, the master gives the pupil a few original or borrowed verses, formerly in Persian and now generally in the vernacular, on red paper sprinkled with gold-dust, the contents of which vary according to the season or festival. I will quote a verse from one of them:—

"What flowers has Spring caused to bloom in the garden!

Every branch waves in the zephyr of Spring;

The nightingale whispers in the ear of the rose;

The joyful tidings of the advent of '*I'd*,' &c., &c.

(This refers to the alleged habit of the nightingale pressing his bill against the petals of the rose, which is neither the kiss of the lover nor the desire to inhale its fragrance, but a message of approaching joy in one of the *I'd* festivals.)

It is idle to assert, after such specimens as the above, which form a constant source of occupation to certain Maulvis and others of a poetic turn of mind, that Native poetry is exclusively erotic, and that it required the interposition of any Director to eliminate the element of love in the "*Musháa'ras*" alleged to have been originated in 1874-75.* They are as

* The late Earl Lytton, than whom no Viceroy of India better understood the dangers of our system of Indian Education, which he lamented was turning "good natives into bad Englishmen," remarked as follows on these "gatherings of poets" at a Convocation of the Panjab University College in 1879, the funds of which, subscribed for Oriental and comparative Studies by the chiefs and gentry of the Panjab, were soon after Lord Lytton's departure misapplied to so-called "English" purposes in the Panjab University:

"And I would especially congratulate the College on the fact that those interesting and periodical gatherings of native poets which were first instituted by the Anjuman, have already been developed into a Society of increasing importance, for the encouragement of original compositions in Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and other Oriental languages.

"Well, Gentlemen, such being the main objects and the general character of this College, objects which *always* seem to me singularly sound and judicious, I cannot notice without lively satisfaction the very encouraging results already achieved in the prosecution of them. Gentlemen, I referred just now to that ancient custom, the origin of which perhaps is lost in the flight of Time—a custom which we know, at least, to be common to Teutonic Society, and which has been revived in Lahore by a felicitous combination of Teutonic influence and Oriental aptitude; I mean those '*Battles of the Bards*' which long ago the old German minnesingers may, perhaps, have derived unconsciously from

old as the period when the beauties of nature, the heroism of man, the loveliness of woman, first inspired the native poets. I go so far as to allege that the bulk of poetry in the Panjab never was, and is not, more erotic than in any country in Europe. It is chiefly religious, provincial, narrative, and descriptive. I have already explained to what element the prominence of amorous poetry is now due,—indeed, it was the unfortunate assumption, which characterises European interference in so many matters, that they have all to teach and nothing to learn from natives, that led to the collapse of the Musháa'ras in 1875. The "irritable genus" of poets did not want to be told by any one that they had, hitherto, debased their genius by celebrating love and they declined dictation in poetic inspiration, if, indeed, "*poeta fit, non nascitur*." In 1865, weekly vernacular scientific lectures were organised by the Anjuman-i-Panjab, under Mr. H. D. Staines, at the conclusion of which disputations in Sanscrit took place among the Pandits, discussions on the lecture in the vernacular, and recitations of original poems on all subjects, in Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Arabic, and other Oriental languages. The effect of the mistake in 1874-75 lasted till 1879 when *public* Musháa'ras could again be revived at Lahore, which still continue; but they had never ceased in native society itself, as there is scarcely a gathering of friends or a family or popular rejoicing that is not accompanied by cataracts of poems. That they should now generally celebrate love is not only natural to youth and poetry, but is almost the only theme which we have left to the native Muse. What "patriotism" are they to sing whose country, religion, and old associations have been broken up? Perhaps, if the new scheme of "self-government" is honestly carried out, and the people are made to feel the dignity and responsibility of state-citizenship; if the ancient landmarks of language and literature are again set up, and if religion is again honored, the Panjabi poets may be more readily inspired to other strains than those of love and panegyrics in praise of officials, which are distasteful to Europeans, because they are either *admittedly* professional, conventional and insincere, or because they are felt to be undeserved. In the meanwhile, provided no European or native presumes to dictate to poets, or "attempts to promote a natural style of poetry and to discourage the artificial use of similes and expressions borrowed from Persian poets and imitations of Persian writings" (alleged to be) "unsuited to this country" (when they are the very source from which poetic genius is fed in the East), except by his own example, there will be ample scope for the celebration in poetry, of all subjects, left to the

their unknown Aryan Ancestors in this country, but for which Lahore, at least, is now indebted to the learned Dr. Leitner, who has lately been representing India at the European Congress of Oriental Scholars. Well, is it not satisfactory to know that these assemblies are now increasingly attended by the native literati not only of all parts of this great Province but of many provinces and states beyond the borders of the Empire itself? Is it not a still more satisfactory reflection that this College—one of the youngest born of our educational institutions—this local, provincial college—if so it must be called—has already attracted to itself scholars and students from Kabul, from Hunza, from Gilgit, from Badakshan and other parts of Central Asia? No University in any other part of India could have done this."

choice of the poets, in the Musháa'ras of Lahore or other places. (See Director's No. 4 S., dated 22nd September 1887, paragraph 22.)

When it is remembered how prosaic, far from God and the Muse, is the life of the bulk of the lower classes in Europe, one would fain express a hope that "Bible schools," really interwoven with the daily life and associations of the people, and rendered glorious by festivals and a consecration to duty, God, and country, might become as great an agency of real education in Europe as the Korán schools, however humble their appearance, are in the Panjab, and wherever there are Muhammadans.

I have just received a letter from one of the lowliest of lowly teachers of a Korán village school, written in Perso-Panjabi and in the Urdu character, which may give some indication of the nature of the difficulties that these institutions have to contend with:—"Great sir! Read this petition with attention. Your worship desires that instruction be given in indigenous schools. How can this ever be, considering that the chief muharrirs (Educational officers), tahsildars, zaildars, lumberdars have rooted up their very foundations? If any one should go to an indigenous school, the chief muharrir, tahsildar, zaildar, lumberdar bully him and say: "Hear, thou wilt get no credit by going to this school." Indeed, the zaildars, lumberdars and Government schoolmasters say to the indigenous teacher: "You are giving us a bad name; don't you stir." The schoolmaster then gets the boys away from the indigenous school, whether they go to his school or not. This is why the boys and *girls* of the unhappy Muhammadans have given up *even* reading their Korán. But God is in the whole Panjab. If the chief muharrir or zaildar sees a boy read in an indigenous school, he gets a burning in his body; and when the Government schoolmaster sees the boy, he abuses the teacher and tells the lumberdar: "*Will* you not obey the order of Government? Bring the teacher to his senses, or else I will complain against you." When the zaildar comes, he tells him—"The chief muharrir is coming round; what glory will there be in my school if the *Mian* (teacher of the indigenous school) has again got the boys to go to him." Then let us suppose that the chief muharrir really comes; he will certainly abuse and put down the indigenous teacher, and tell him "What do *you* know? Tell me where is God, and how do the heavens and the earth go round?" When the teacher *can* make some suitable reply, then the chief muharrir turns on the lumberdar and says: "You are not fit to be a lumberdar. I will report you." Then the chief muharrir speaks to the tahsildar. The result is that no indigenous school can continue to exist.

Hear; in D —, there was a Madrasa. The chief muharrir told the zaildar and wrote in all the visitors' books of the Government schools of the Zail that the indigenous schools in it were not flourishing. The helpless zaildar at once abolished the Madrasa of his village. In the same way, the Madrasas in other villages were also abolished, Sir! If indigenous schools are to be started, then let an order be issued to every lumberdar and zaildar, not to prevent any one who may wish to do so from reading in an indigenous school, and allow those who are already reading to go on doing so. Then, perhaps, will the Madrasas, the founda-

tions of which have been rooted up by chief muharrirs, tahsildars and zaildars, be again re-established ; but if such an order is not published, they will not continue."

The statements in this letter are far from being overdrawn. I have heard, on unquestionable authority, that worse persecutions than are here referred to were put in motion against those who ventured to maintain an indigenous or unaided school in competition, or even in the same place, with a Government school. Some indigenous teachers were driven out from villages in which their ancestors had taught for a century, if not longer. In other places, the jaghirdár, who wanted to restore a muáfi to an indigenous school, was prevented from doing so. In all places where the indigenous teacher left no heir, his muáfi, if any, was resumed, instead of maintaining it for the purpose of a school. In *all* cases where lands or other endowments were attached to mosques or other sacred edifices, there was an understanding that a school would form part of it ; but the opportunity was not taken to insist on the fulfilment of self-understood religious obligation on the part of the managers of these establishments, which would have maintained a network of schools in every town and village in the Panjab, capable of being developed up to the practical requirements of the community and in the truest interests of the State. That any indigenous education should continue to exist at all in the province, in spite of our steady efforts to discourage, if not to suppress it, and in the face of much official opposition, if not persecution, which those who know Indian life will understand to be easily practicable against what does not appear to enjoy the favour of the authorities, is a living protest of the people against our educational system, as well as its strongest condemnation.

ARABIC SCHOOLS.

"Science is the knowledge of Arabic; Persian is sugar; Turkish (owing to its grammatical complications) is an art; Hindi (as non-Indian Muhammadans call the language of India or Hind) is salt" (owing to the pungency of its poetry).

This quotation from memory, the literalness of which I have no means of checking, seems to me to describe, not unhappily, the pre-eminence of Arabic among eastern languages and literature. The logic of its formations is unparalleled ; its etymology is, in itself, a study of Arabian history and customs ; the applications of its inexhaustible treasure of words, in their numerous forms, are graduated to the various domains of human thought and experience, and are simplicity itself when the key to them is found. What Europe owes to the labours of the Arabs in scientific research can never be sufficiently acknowledged. It is only in "Drama," and the appreciation of sculpture and music, that its puritanism repels the heathen mind. Taking almost everything in Greek philosophy and science, they rejected its worship of the human form, and its delineation of human passion on the stage. But in the rigid studies of history, philosophy, logic, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, including botany and zoology, the Arabs are masters of exactness, and it is to them that a sixth of the

human race owes its civilization. No European can aspire to influence among any of the nations that Muhammadanism has strongly imbued without knowing Arabic. Unlike the Indo-Germanic group, it has not been materially affected by climatic and ethnic influences; but it stands forth, complete in itself, the perfection alike of power, profundity, and wealth, allied to a severe simplicity. Arabic, or its cognate Hebrew, is the fitting language of a creed that has ever held aloft the standard of the ONE and Jealous God.

The Panjab has ever been proverbial for the thoroughness with which Arabic grammar (etymology) was studied in it. This is alone a task of considerable magnitude, but it was worthy of a province which sent out conquerors, reformers and teachers to the south. My surprise can, therefore, be imagined when I heard an Inspector depose to the absence or poverty of grammatical studies in Panjab indigenous schools. He could not have referred to Urdu or Hindi, for these languages are not studied as such; he did not allude to Persian, which has scarcely a grammar; he could not have meant Sanscrit, for he professed to know a little of it, and would thus have ascertained that grammar is studied in Panjab Sanscrit schools in a manner which perhaps the greatest Sanscritist of this age has declared to be unrivalled; so he could only have referred to Arabic grammar, in which the Panjab has ever been pre-eminent, as acknowledged even by the jealous North-West. The productions on "Sarf" in the Panjab in one year exceed those of the North-West in ten, as, indeed, they also do in other branches, for the Panjabi is only stupid in the arts of intrigue, to which, when exercised by his other Indian fellow-countrymen, he falls an easy victim; but in anything that requires steady and hard mental work, he yields to no race in India, whilst in bravery and physical strength he is the master of most.

As stated in my cross-examination by the Education Commission, "The ARABIC SCHOOLS go from the most elementary knowledge of reading Arabic, up to the highest standard of Arabic Law and Literature, and the sciences contained in that literature, such as Medicine. They vary much, according to their grade. Grammar, Syntax and Rhetoric in the middle and higher schools are taught on a method which is considered by the highest European Arabic scholars to be far superior to our own. The exegesis of religion is taught in a most admirable way. *Aristotle* is taught in the higher *Arabic* indigenous schools, and his system and that of *Plato* are understood. In some, *Persian* is added and in some *Urdu*. The system of a 'running commentary' between Professors and students is of considerable advantage. In some higher Arabic schools mathematics and astronomy are taught." Before, however, giving the time table and list of subjects studied at a model school like that of DEORBAND, I would briefly refer to the ordinary elementary course which is adopted in numerous schools and by private teachers, Maulvis and others.

The pupil begins his Arabic studies through the medium of Persian books or Arabic grammar, such as the "MIZAN-US-SARF" on Etymology, "MUNSHÁIB" on the same; followed by the well-known "SARF MIR," "PANJ-GANJ," "ZUBDA" (on permutations), "DASTUR-UL-MUBTADI"—all

works on different branches of Arabic grammar—and, finally, so far as this portion of the course is concerned, the “NAHV-MIR” (a book on Syntax) and the “MIAT AMIL” of the famous poet Jámí in Persian verse, a hundred rules of Syntax originally in Arabic prose; then the pupil leaves the medium of Persian and addresses himself solely to the study of the Arabic language, Literature, Law and Science, as contained in the works of Arabian authors.

I cannot do better than refer to the scheme of studies at Deoband as a general indication of the course followed in the Arabic schools or colleges of various grades in the Panjab, with this difference that, whereas, at an institution like that of Deoband, all the grades are in one locality, in the majority of Arabic seminaries, the student has to travel to one place for logic, to another for mathematics, to a third for medicine, though, as a rule, in the better schools the following subjects are taught in one place, *viz.*, RHETORIC, LOGIC (Aristotle's), PHILOSOPHY (as in Avicenna's work on the subject—the *Shifáa*); Tusi's *Shera isharát*; Ghazál's *Ahya-ul-ulúm* or Vivification of learning—all more or less on an Aristotelian basis, though the Platonic system is understood, if insufficiently appreciated, and Ghazali attacks Aristotle himself with his Arabian school in the interests of orthodoxy (in his book called “*Taháfat-ul-Filásifa*”); LAW (including the “*Usúl*” or “*Principles*”); some books of literature, such as HARIRI and “*Theology*” or “*Scholastic Philosophy*” reconciling orthodoxy with reason. A polite Arabic letter-writer, the “*Ajab-ul-Ajáib*,” is also commonly read, and a study of MEDICINE is the most accessible scientific subject in a considerable number of schools, as it is considered both in the light of a general accomplishment as also in that of a professional study, so that we find Nawábs, Maulvis and others, as well as Hakíms, acquiring a knowledge of Medicine in ordinary Arabic schools or from a private Maulvi. For this reason, a school like that of Deoband, would be deficient in a purely professional subject, when its literary and scientific course is sufficiently extensive; in other words, when it adds Mensuration and the Arabian works on Euclid, Algebra, the higher mathematics, including Astronomy, instead. (It is rather curious to find Europeans doubt the possibility of rendering mathematical and other scientific signs into Arabic, when our very numerals and the word “Algebra” itself are of Arabic origin.) It will, therefore, be necessary to subjoin the “medical course” of an Arabic school that makes this subject a speciality, of which the Yunáni class of the Lahore Oriental College (the members of which also used to go through a four years' course in European medicine) may be considered a model.

1. The *Qanúncha* (which also includes anatomy).
2. *Mujáz*.
3. *Mizán-ut-tib*, including treatises on the crises of diseases.
4. *Kifáya Mansúri*.
5. *Mizán-ut-tib* (use and doses of single and compound medicines).

The student of the Yunáni system then proceeds to the well-known works—

6. The *Aqsarai*.
7. *Sadídi*.

8. Mufarah-ul-qulûb.

9. Tashrîh-ul-aflâk.

And he concludes his medical studies with—

10. The Sharah Asbab ;

11. The Nafisi ;

12. Avicenna's incomparable Kuliât-i-Qanûni ;

13. The same author's Hummyat-i-Shaikh ; and

14. The Jami-ush-Sharhîn ;

altogether, about a six years' course, varied by attendance with his teacher on patients or, as is more usual, assisting him whilst dispensing medicine and medical advice, often gratuitously, equivalent to our out-door relief,—the practice and place, generally the tutor's house, being both called "Matabb," "place and act of dispensing medicine and medical advice."

It is unnecessary to add that many of the Arabic schools add Persian and some Urdu, arithmetic, and even, rarely, history and geography to their course, when, in proportion to the standards, the scheme of studies laid down under the head of "Persian schools" is more or less followed, to which I, therefore, must beg leave to refer the reader. As a rule, Arabic schools are chiefly, though not exclusively, attended by Muhammadans and their Persian or other departments indiscriminately by pupils from all communities, fees in cash or kind being generally obligatory in the latter case, whilst gratuitous instruction, as a religious duty, is often given, in the case of purely Arabic students, who are generally supported by the Muhammadan community when they are poor or come from a distance. Yet it is on such schools that the first Educational Report passes the following verdict :

"*Para. 15. An Arabic school can hardly with propriety be called a school at all, the students being almost exclusively adults.*"—Well, then, we will, with greater propriety, call these schools, *Colleges*.

It must also be understood that the student of advanced Arabic learning is supposed to read everything bearing on the subject of his speciality, which only requires study, and not the master's interpretation, at his own house. A "*curriculum vitæ*" of a Panjabi Maulvi which I annex will give a very fair idea of the career of a Muhammadan who wishes to devote himself to learning or to become a Maulvi. Some of the highest works on Scholastic Theology, such as Ar-Razi's Great Commentary, the Tafsîri Kabîr, are not read at all in any Arabic College that I know of, and the same practice obtains with regard to other subjects also.

I need not add that all the professions, including that of priest, are open to the humblest Mussulman, though, as a rule, the hereditary professionals, priests, physicians and professors, take the lead or the larger share in emoluments and public consideration. Our educational system, by ignoring the native professions, has impoverished them, whilst it has closed the avenue to these professions by the introduction of "new men," from whom technical aptitude, rather than learning, is required. But India still resembles in many respects the middle ages, in which scholastic learning was the road to preferment or culture, and it is a very serious proceeding

to have thrown out the hereditary guides of the people from professions which enabled them to live and to render learning honoured by the community. In the restoration of the highly-gifted Maulvi class to their hereditary dignity, I see a solution of the educational difficulty among Muhammadans, whether male or female, because it is their wives, as also widows, who are the most congenial material from which to supply female teachers, just as the utilization of the Pandit class would place at our disposal the educational services both of the Pandits and of their wives among Hindus, and the similar employment of Bhaïs and their spouses would restore that teaching, under civilized auspices and more in accordance with the spirit of the age, which is so emphatically the characteristic of "Sikhism."

With regard to fees and discipline, the previous remarks on the subject of Persian or Korán schools will suffice, it being borne in mind that the teachers and students are of a higher calibre, and that the relations between them are those of friends, of whom the senior imparts his knowledge to the junior, generally for the love of God, or out of devotion to Arabic learning.

If we wish to influence the many through the few, we should identify ourselves more closely with the Muhammadans, a once ruling race, than we have done hitherto. It is also time that the unnecessary antagonism, at any rate in India, between Christianity and Muhammadanism should cease. As a student of both systems of theology, I have been struck rather with their similarities, than with their differences, and it is the former, rather than the latter, that we should accentuate in our relations. As for Muhammadan fanaticism, this was chiefly stimulated and maintained in self-defence by the wanton expulsion and pauperization of hundreds of thousands of the industrious Moors from Spain; by the crusades waged by Christians and by the domination of the Ottomans who accepted the sterner "Suras" of Madína, when Muhammad was under the pressure of his followers, in preference to the all-loving, if fiery, utterances of Mecca (see my pamphlet on Muhammadan education). My own long residence in Muhammadan countries has convinced me that it is earnestness in the few, rather than fanaticism, which characterizes them, whilst the bulk of the people are too dreamy or apathetic to be bigoted. The Christians of various sects, as also the Jews, were allowed complete autonomy under Turkish rule, when all were a happy family, with occasional dissensions, till European interference, "constitutions" with the Code Napoleon and "foreign" education, which taught the "advanced" Turks the small-talk of infidelity, revolutionized the country. It is in various European countries that I have seen real bigotry, of sect against sect, class against class, and nation against nation, often fanned by those religious leaders whose fervour is a substitute for their real *raison d'être*, learning. Indeed, I consider that the East is, and has ever been, characterized by tolerance, though European spies, emissaries, and unscrupulous merchants have often taxed its patience and roused an inevitable hostility. It is an encouraging sign of the liberality and far-sightedness of several of our Punjab missionaries that they would infinitely prefer instruction being given to, say, Muhammadans in their own

[illegible]

religion than that the present "secular" system, which is destructive of the religious sense, should continue. The large-heartedness also of those missionaries who would pledge themselves not to make attendance at the Bible-class compulsory, wherever a Government institution is handed over to them, is deserving of the warmest appreciation and of the success with which it will certainly meet, though it is no more than what Maulvis and Mianjis in India have done for ages, *as a matter of course*, namely, allow Hindus who were desirous of studying Arabic or Persian, to attend only the purely literary classes of Muhammadan institutions, whilst positively discouraging their attendance at the religious or legal classes.

The following is a list of books taught in the Arabic indigenous schools :

I.—ARABIC GRAMMAR.

Mizan ussarf, Munshaib, Sarf Mir, Sarf Bahái, Panj Gunj, Zubdá, Dasturulmubtadi, Zarradi, Zariri, Sháfya, Marah-ul-arwah, Nahv Mir, Mete-Ámil, Sharah Meite Amil, Mete Amil (in verse) by Jami, Hidayetunnahv, Káfya, Sharah Mullá, Alfia of Ibni Hajib, Razi, Abdulhafúr.

II.—LITERATURE.

Alif Laila, Akhwánussafá, Nafatulyaman, Muqamat-i-Hariri, Mutnabbi, Tarikh Yamini, Tarikh Timúri by Arabshah, Tarikh Khulafá by Sayúti, Qaliúbi, Saba' mua'llaqa, Diwan-i-Hamásá, Diwan Hassán, Diwani Hazrat Ali, Ajab-ul-Ajayeby (Letter-writer), Munabbehah-i-Ibn Hajar.

III.—LOGIC AND PHILOSOPHY.

Isagoge of Porphyry, Qála Agúlo, Mizan-i-Mantiq, Tahzib, Sharah Tahzib, Qutbi, Mir Qutbi, Sullam, Mulla Hasan, Mulla Jalál, Mir Zahid, Hamdullá, Qazi Mubarak, Hidayetulhikmat, Maibazi, Rashidia (rules of argument), Sadra, Shams-i-Bazighá, Sharah Isharát, Amúri Ammá, Shifa of Avicenna.

IV.—MUHAMMADAN LAW (FIKAH).

Muñyatul-musalli, Kadúri, Kanzuddaqayeq, Sharah Waqáyá, Hidáya, Sharifá, Sirájia, Fatawa Alamgiri, Fatavi Kazi Khan, Durre Mukhtár, Mukhtasir Vaqáyá, Multaq-ul-abhár, Tanvir-ul-absár, Ashbah wan-Nazáyer.

V.—JURISPRUDENCE.

Asul-i-Shashi, Núr ulanwár, Husami, Tauzih Talwih, Musallam.

VI.—RHETORIC.

Mukhtasar Maani, Mutawwal.

VII.—THEOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY.

Sharah Aqáyed, Khayáli, Sharah Muaqif.

VIII.—HADÍS (TRADITIONS OF THE PROPHET, FOR SUNNIS).

Mishkat, Tirmazi, Sahih Muslim, Sahih Bukhári, Nisáí, Abú Dáúd, Ibn-i-Mája, Muwatta.

IX.—EXEGESIS AND COMMENTARIES OF THE KORÁN.

Jalálain, Baidáwi.

X.—ASTRONOMY.

Tashrihulafák, Sabá Shidád, Sharah Chaghmini.

XI.—ARITHMETIC.

Khulasatul hisáb.

XII.—GEOMETRY.

Euclid, Almajesta.

XIII.—ALGEBRA, by Ibn Musa.

XIV.—The text-books on MEDICINE have already been mentioned elsewhere.

The above list does not profess to be complete, but it is sufficient to show both the range and depth of the studies carried on in the Arabic schools and colleges of the Panjáb and Upper India.

CURRICULUM VITÆ OF A PANJABI MAULVI (DESCRIBED IN HIS OWN WORDS).

“Up to the age of 20 years I studied grammar, logic, literature, arithmetic, and jurisprudence in my native town (Batala), and in different cities of the Panjáb, as Lahore, Hoshiarpur, etc., and finished the ordinary text-books in the above branches of learning, such as Mulla Hasan, a commentary on Sullum, Mirzahid, Maibuzi, Sadra, Mukhtasar Maani, Mutawwal, Hasami, Kanunchá, Khulasatulhisab, Kheyáli, Sharah Aqayef, Sharah Waqaya.

“Then, as now, the natives of the Panjáb laid much stress on the study of Arabic grammar, and several commentaries on the Káfya, Sharah Mulla, Shafya and Mutawwal were generally taught in the Madrasas of the Panjáb. Khulasatulhisab and logarithms were also taught.

“Afterwards I travelled in India. On my way to Delhi, which was a seat of Arabic learning, I passed through Ludhiana, Malerkotla, Panipat, and Karnál, where I found regular and well-conducted Arabic schools.

“I stayed at Delhi, and completed there the Hamdulla, Kazi, Tafsir Jalalain, Tauzih, Talvih, Hidáya, and the six books of *Hadís* (Bukhari, Muslim, Abú Daúd, Nisái and Ibn Maja) with Mishkat and Mawatta.

“Then I went to *Aligarh*, and there I read the Sadra, Sharah Hedayet-ul-hikmat in philosophy and Sadidi, Nafisi and Kanún of Buali Sina (Avicenna) in medicine.

“The next place where I went was *Kandhla* (a town in the district of Muzaffarnagar), and there I studied the most advanced books in philosophy and theological philosophy, such as Amur Amma of Mirzahid, Shams Bazgha, Sharah Mussalam and Sharah Mawaqif, and the first two books of Euclid in Arabic.

“At Benares, which was my next halting-place, lived Maulvi Muhammad Hasan, son of the far-famed Maulvi Gulshan Ali, who was famous all over India for his proficiency in mathematics. Then I joined an immense class of Arabic scholars who had crowded there from all parts of India to study advanced astronomical and mathematical books, such as *Sharah Chaghmini*, *Bist báb Asturláb* (20 chapters of the Astrolabe), Almajesta, and Euclid, and finished all these books. Then I went to Calcutta, passing through Jaunpur and Patna, and with the Maulvis of that metropolis I studied advanced books in Arabic literature, such as Diwani Hamasah, Diwan Mutanabbi, Sabá Muállaga, and Hariri. At Jaunpur and Patna there were very well conducted and crowded Arabic schools, and these places were noted for philosophy and Arabic literature respectively. On my way to Benares I had stayed for a short period at Lakhnau also, and there one Maulvi Ni'matulla was famous for his proficiency in mathematics and philosophy, and there were some Maulvis in the Farangi Mahal (a quarter where the Sunni Maulvis

lived, and which has become proverbial for a learned centre in Upper India), who did justly claim high proficiency in every branch of learning. Two of them, Maulvi Abdul Hai (now in the service of the Nizám) and Maulvi Abul Halim, father and son, held the first place among all of them.

"On my way back home I found good schools in Saharanpur, Deoband and Rampur, and in Deoband I was struck by seeing the blind students learning mathematics and drawing geometrical drawings on boards.

"Rampur and Murádábád also were, as they are now, seats of good Arabic schools in which literature, logic, mathematics, and philosophy were taught.

"After completing my course of studies, I came back to the Panjáb and fixed my residence at Lahore, where I have been engaged since then in teaching students in different branches of learning. I made a journey to Arabia also, and in several towns of Arabia I had an opportunity to see schools.

"Though the indigenous schools, whether Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit or Mahajani, have suffered very much by the improper competition and indirect repression of the Educational Departments in India, yet they are able to send out specialists in Persian, Arabic, mathematics, logic, and other branches of learning far better than the graduates of the Departments.

"These indigenous schools have been deprived of a great part of students on account of Government's ousting them from taking a share in the State patronage. These schools supplied at one time the majority of Sadr-ul-sudurs, Sadar Amins, and the Ministers to the Native States. Even the first Deputy Inspector of Schools, the district visitors and professors in the Government colleges, were graduates of these schools, and many of them are still remarkable for their learning, honesty, uprightness, and the efficient discharge of their duties."

ON SYMBOLISM, AND SYMBOLIC CEREMONIES OF THE JAPANESE.

BY MRS. C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

I.—SYMBOLISMS OF THE JAPANESE.

THE more ancient the races and their religions, the more generally were emblems adopted by them. The origin of many of these outward signs cannot be traced to any particular nation, and it is difficult for the antiquary to fix the date of their first appearance and reception. In many instances Egyptian and Japanese symbols are analogous, and this unity of thought worked out by the artist and the artificer of such opposite nationalities has still to be elucidated.

Dr. Dresser remarks that "Perhaps the earliest religion of man consisted in the worship of those things that he feared," such as fire, wind or rain, in exaggerated forms.

Symbols, or representations of things moral, by the images or properties of things natural, were the means adopted by the people of the extreme East for establishing their religious sentiments. In the earliest idols is embodied a ferocity and force, almost grotesque in its faithful setting forth of a wrathful and avenging power. To-day, travellers are much struck with the careless manner in which the dwellers of Dai Nippon appear to pass their lives. Japan is regarded as a land of light laughter and mirth—an Eden of flowers—a Paradise of children—the labourer toils with placid countenance, the *Musume* trips along with gentle footsteps, the work of every day life goes on with the greatest ease.

In the midst of the Capital oases of flowers and forestry still exist. Each workman has his garden tended with the utmost care, although his home is his only workshop; but everything visible is emblematic, and reminds him in moments of rest, of the stern realities of life and death. Underlying polite observances, laughter and fun, kindly words and simple manners, runs the ever inevitable warning

Memento vitæ! memento mori!

As soon as a Japanese is able to understand anything, the uncertainty of life is forced upon him. Living as they do in a land where earthquakes and eruptive mountains in a few moments lay waste whole territories and villages, and entirely alter the aspect of nature, death is always *en évidence*, perhaps more vividly so than in calmer regions of the world. For this and other reasons which comprise the laws of their country, they are schooled from their earliest days to look upon death without fear. There is an ancient custom which has led to the belief that death by self-destruction is under certain circumstances a glorious end, and for this they

will turn aside from the pleasant and festive paths of life—to revenge a wrong or to set right some slight disagreement. For these or such causes they will seek and suffer death in the calmest manner, so everywhere signs are set up to remind them of the ever-ready dissolution of the body; also to impress upon them how life must be striven for, honour won, and death endured.

The Japanese are the greatest symbolists in the world; and there is hardly a representation worked out upon their wonderful art treasures, and even now upon the commonest object of daily use that does not bear a hidden significance. These appeal so forcibly that we may truthfully point to symbolism as a definite part of their religion.

The earliest temples dedicated to the Shinto faith, or worship of ancestors, were emphasized by extreme simplicity, but this was no mark of meanness. The rafters and panels of valuable wood were left as Nature designed them; architects never dreamed of covering a beam with a coating of paint; the veins and knots, even the fantastic patterns wrought by the worm and the weevil had more beauty in their sight, than any applied superficial decoration. The symbols found in these temples matched their surroundings. At the entrance one or more gates, each composed of two upright posts across which two beams were laid, the upper section projecting some way beyond the side supports—were emblematical of Peace, Rest, and the end of life. They were called *Tori-i* or bird rests, for here the birds were encouraged to alight and dwell near the temples. These gates were also placed so that the sun as it sank might appear to linger upon them (Fig. 1).

Gohai, or strips of paper, usually pure white but sometimes edged with gold, were hung up on ropes of straw to remind votaries of the existence of the ancestral spirits. *Gohai* means "august presence." They are offerings, originally supposed to be the medium for attracting the gods, during worship; afterwards they were regarded as seats for the gods, or as gods themselves. The *Gohai* signify Purity, and were displayed on all special occasions, including naming day, wedding and other festivals, at the ceremony of the forging of a sword, and so forth.

Kagumi; mirrors, or burnished plates of metal, are nearly always found in temples. There is a belief that as the outward semblance of the face is reflected thereon so the deified *Kami* or spirits of ancestors can penetrate into the human heart, and find out all its sins. This mirror is often called the "accusing mirror," and devotees may be seen kneeling or standing before it in fixed contemplation, examining their hearts, and renewing their vows. In the collection of Chinese and Japanese drawings in the British Museum there is a representative picture of the Court of Yama or Hades. "The King is seated upon his Throne, surrounded by his ministers, glaring upon an unhappy victim just brought to judgment. The delinquent, in the grasp of a demon is confronted with the mirror whose accusing surface reflects the image of himself in the act of perpetrating the blackest of crimes enumerated in the Buddhist code—the murder of a holy priest."

Mirrors were formerly carried by Japanese ladies. The brightness of

the metal surface portrayed the pureness of mind and virtue of the possessor. Small mirrors were sometimes attached to their fan frames ; fans being an indispensable adjunct of their costume.

In the 13th century, *Kusonoki Masashige*, the most beloved hero of Japanese History, by his devotion to his Emperor, and life of self-sacrifice, won for himself, through all successive generations the title of "the Mirror of Stainless Loyalty."

Hojiu-no-tama, the sacred jewel, a ball of crystal, or disc,* is typical of the soul ; and a group of sacred balls on a stand denotes Eternity.

The two colossal red and green figures known as *Yoi* and *Ye*, are often seen at the entrance of temples ; they are appropriated to typify, the two elements of life, male and female, and are also emblems of perfect strength.

In a Buddhist temple visited by Sir Edwin Arnold he describes how "on the outer screen, just shutting off the courtyard, you may have noticed waves of the sea done in brass, furiously running over the panels, with storm birds hovering. This was the emblem of unrest for all of us as well as the *Shōgūn*, but on the second walls the brazen waves were chiselled and rolling more quietly . . . and here on the screen on which we enter the court of the chapel of *Iyenuku* and *Iyeyoshi* the waves are moulded as falling asleep, doves brood in silver and gold, and *there is Peace*."

There is hardly anything made by the hand of man that can exceed the beauty of a Japanese temple dedicated to the Buddhist Faith. These edifices teem with imagery ; they are monuments of loving care upon which the greatest skill, and the first fruits of innate genius are lavished. Lacquer, carving, metallurgy and all the arts practised by these industrious people find fitting service for these temples.

"In the elder days of art
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part ;
For the gods see everywhere."

The lotus flower *Hasu-no-Hana* is the most favoured religious emblem. The mature believer in Buddha sees in it shadowed forth creative power and world growth. "The lotus springs from the mud," is the ever ready answer of the Asiatic to him who teaches that the heart is corrupt and cannot be cleansed. The calyx of the lotus is a triangle, whose base is a circle, symbols of spirit and form. Eternity and Trinity.

As "there, in the leafy hush of peace Eternal," the buds of the lotus rise above the mud, divesting themselves of all impurities, blooming into lovely tints of palest pink, and heavenly whiteness, so the soul of man, elevated by self-help and government, rests not, until it passes as a faultless Buddha into *Nirvana*. The Saints of Buddha are represented seated on lotus flowers. The lotus bud and bloom figure freely as a sacred design wherever it can be appropriately selected.

Round the crater of the glorious *Fuji san*, the embodiment of all that is

* This disc in a more exaggerated form is found on Egyptian mummy cases and coverings and bears the same interpretation.

adorable and loveable to the Japanese, eight depressions can be traced resembling the petals of the lotus bloom. It seems to them as though great Buddha has bestowed the sacred symbol of *Nirvana* on Japan's proudest and highest peak. But *Fuji no yama* bears other mystic interpretations: "Never dying" and "immortal," "peerless" and "matchless" mountain, "the pride of a million souls," the unique and lovely gift of Heaven born out of a night of most terrible misfortunes. For the legend runs that in ancient times Japan was visited by an earthquake so fearful and violent that no living soul expected to survive it; but lo! when morning dawned and darkness fled, tranquillity was restored and from what had been level plains and rice fields, a great cone appeared, not only visible in many provinces, but far out into the sea; and at its base a deep depression filled with blue waters that reflected Heaven's serenity. This beautiful sheet of water was known henceforth as the *Biwa* lake, or the lake of the five stringed lute (Fig. 2).

Fuji also means wisteria, the festal flower of joy.

The Japanese evince an enthusiastic love for flowers, and have established sentiments concerning them which must not be passed over without comment, for even the fashions adopted in grouping and arranging them bear out symbolic suggestions. The Japanese do not bind flowers as we do in masses of colour and form. Their scheme is to provide a vase, or carved stem of bamboo, unadorned with any floral devices of its own, as a receptacle for three sprays of varied lengths. These are so placed by the true flower-artist* as to accentuate their relative height. The lowest branch is symbolic of earth; the highest and longest of Heaven; and the medium branch protected by the two former represents humanity! There is quite a code of etiquette to be observed in the presence of flowers, and when arranged in the above manner they are viewed in reverent and adoring attitudes by the guest for whom they have been displayed. Temples are decorated with certain flowers, and special vases are set aside for their reception. Flowers are freely used on all festive occasions; and they are heaped upon the square white coffins that enshrine the dead.

With the Japanese too there is quite a floral language, every month has its own peculiar blossom which is extensively cultivated, so that throughout the whole cycle of the year the land is like a carefully tended garden. Botanical specimens figure constantly on all descriptions of Art-objects; and although the list cannot possibly be given in full the accompanying selection may be useful to exemplify the artistic suggestions frequently met with.

Matsu, or pine—Eternity and unchanging faithfulness. Many pine-trees exist which are said to have braved the storms of over a thousand autumns.

Take, or bamboo—hale life, rectitude, fidelity. Bamboo with sparrows—gentleness. Plum (*umä*), pine and bamboo, associated together in Art, portray longevity, sweetness and rectitude. These are the three friends

* The arrangement of flowers is taught in Japan as an art and an accomplishment to men and women.

of winter, and show forth eternal friendship, proof against biting frost and snow.

Shida, or fern (*polypodium decotomon*)—conjugal life.

Kino-Ko, or fungus—longevity (in conjunction with a bat).

Kiri (*paulownia*) uprightness.

Momo, or peach—marriage and long life, from the legend of the peaches of *Seibo* (the Mother of the West) each of which gives ten thousand years of life.

Uma, or plum—sweetness and happiness. Plum and Nightingale and Moon—a poetical night in spring—anticipation of happiness;—the scent of the plum blossom sanctifies the room it pervades.

Kosai, or iris;—Victory and good fortune, a favourite flower among the peasants.

Zimbasa, or seaweed—good luck, and good fortune, because it supplied the place of fodder to the cavalry of *Jingo Kogo* during the Korean campaign.

Kiku, or chrysanthemum. This was an imperial symbol only made use of in the royal household. Recently it has been adopted for ordinary decorations. The *Kiku* signifies a gentle disposition, happiness, virtue and repose.

Yanagi-ni-Tsubakura, swallow and willow, a considerate disposition, grace and placidity;—this, from the gentle disposition of the one, and the yielding nature of the other.*

Daidai, or orange, a flourishing posterity; orange flowers are used at marriage feasts—they signify sweetness.

Sakura, or cherry, is an emblem of patriotism from the story of *Kojima Takanori* famed for devotion to his beloved Emperor *Go Daigo* during the dark ages of Japan. *Kojima Takanori* gained admittance by strategy into the garden where his Sovereign was confined, and stripping the bark of a cherry tree, wrote upon the tree a verse of poetry to the effect that his Emperor's faithful subjects would not rest until they had delivered him from captivity and banishment. Cherry blossoms are used as a design on *saké* cups at marriage feasts.

Fuji, or wisteria; joy and festivity.

Boten, or peony, and *Shishi* or lion; royal power.

"*Kachi mushi*," or dragon-fly, called in Japanese poetry the "Victory insect," is, therefore, an emblem of conquest.

Hadankyō, or almond, is the flower of spring, and it also typifies beauty.

Nelumbium, or lily, is the flower of summer gardens, and can be made to express abstract ideas, every blossom having "a lesson written on its petals." There is a secret union between man and the lower scales of creation that exists in no other land so strongly as in the Sunny Isles; and there are peculiarities respecting Japanese affection which we ought not to pass unnoticed. They prefer those flowers they have to look up to, and we frequently find in their illustrations poets kneeling under trees and gazing up adoringly at the blossom-laden boughs.

* '*Jūjūtsu*,' the art of self-defence by sleight of body, is called the yielding or the willow art.

For a faithful and good wife, the appellation of *Asagao*, or *Convolvulus* is reserved. As this flower spreads out its chalice-like cup, and drinks in all the riches of the morning dew, giving back its own sweet fragrance as the best return, so the devoted and grateful wife, arises while her spouse still sleeps, and beautifies by her attention and industry, the home into which he has brought her to preside.

A maple leaf that has taken its autumn colouring, if presented to a lover, means dismissal—"the heart and the leaf have changed colour."

Passing from flowers we turn to birds, fishes and animals, real and mythical. Some of these last named were only permitted to be special teachers of royalty, and their forms were not made use of as designs on ordinary manufactured goods.

The *Tatsu*, or dragon (Fig. 3), was one, and it has been described by J. L. Bowes, as having "the horns of a deer, the head of a horse, the eyes of a devil, a neck like a snake, the body of a worm, the scales of a fish, claws like a hawk, paws like a tiger, and ears like a cow." It is all powerful, deriving from each of these beings their most special characteristics. It is ubiquitous, having its dwelling place at the various seasons, either in the earth, sea, or sky. There are many varieties of this monster,—the breath of the white dragon when expelled turns to gold, and the spittle of the violet dragon, to mystic balls of crystal. The *Tatsu* is an emblem of sovereignty and imperial power. Dragon and tiger; the conflict of religion and might. Dragon in clouds with *Fuji yama*—success in life. The small snake becomes a dragon, the man of mean estate acquires titles and wealth.—*Kurikara*, a dragon coiled round the sacred sword. This device is supposed to embody the essential elements of creation. The *Kirin* is a species of unicorn with one horn projecting from its forehead. It has the body of a deer and the legs of a horse. It bears the palm for being the most guileless and noblest of all fabulous beasts, moving with such care and daintiness as to leave the frailest insect or flower unharmed in its path. It is the embodiment of goodness and like the *Karashishi* or lion of the Chinese, belongs to the mythology of that country.

The *Hōwō*, or phoenix; symbolising Imperial authority, is a mythical bird known by the length of its tail. Like the *Kirin* its presence on earth is supposed to herald the birth of a great man or an Emperor (Fig. 4).

Shaku, or crayfish, is emblematic of old age.

Tori, or cock on a drum—good government. Formerly a drum was placed outside the temples, and beaten when anyone had a wrong to complain of. In times of peace and justice, there was no need to strike it, so the fowls of the air made the drum their roosting place.

Uma, or horse—manhood.

Cho, or butterfly, womanhood, spirit life, eternity. If a *cho* enters the room it is supposed that the spirit of a loved one is returning. Children reared in the spiritual faith of Buddha, will never harm a butterfly; they are often seen caressing them with the tenderest touch.

Hato, or Pigeon, represents longevity, from its wonderful powers of digestion.

Kamikiri, Kumo, Semi—Mantis, spider, and cicada (Fig. 5)—a commander's special merits,—courage, craft, and humanity.

Oshidori, or mandarin ducks, long and happy union in marriage. These birds are so affectionate, that they are said to pine and die, if one be taken from the other.

Kame, or tortoise, longevity, and happiness. (Fig. 6.)*

Tsuru, or crane, same as above. The crane is a sacred bird with the Japanese analogous to the *Ibis* of Egypt. In former years their slaughter was forbidden by royal edict; even now there is much superstition and reticence about depriving them of life. Cranes associated with pine and bamboo, in art, signify extreme old age.

Shika, or deer, and *mome ji*, maple, express autumn.

Koi, or carp, perseverance and self help (Fig. 7).

Chidori, a species of godwit, and waves—stormy life.

Kozuru, or storks and *Hi* the sun—immortality.

Ono-no tofu, the calligraphist and the frog—the reward of perseverance—a parallel of Bruce and the spider.

Tora, or tiger with bamboo,—treachery.

Ox lying down, emblem of the patron of calligraphy. Every year that a student pursues his studies, he places a cushion under the figure of the ox, kept on his deity shelf by way of propitiating *Tenjin Sama*, the god of calligraphy.

The foundation of the robe of a Buddhist priest, however richly it is embroidered, is composed of several irregular pieces sewn together: this is emblematic of the rags of humility.

Gan, or geese—spring—autumn—caution—rest. These birds are sometimes depicted with rushes in their beaks, which they are supposed to utilize, by dropping on the water and then resting upon them. Caution is attributed to them by the legend that *Yoshi iye* was warned by the cry of a flock of geese, not to approach a certain bed of rushes in which his enemies were lying in ambush. (Fig. 8.)

Three monkeys are sometimes found upon art objects. They are said to be blind, deaf and dumb, because they will neither see, hear, nor say evil of any one.

Sume, or charcoal—means a homestead (it is a pun).

Noshi, a strip of dried *Aogai*, or cuttle-fish enclosed in a folded piece of paper. It is to perpetuate the remembrance that the forefathers of the Japanese were fishermen. Though the custom is dying out in its entirety the folded paper, tied with red and white paper string, is still an appendage to all proffered gifts. If this emblem is not at hand, the word *Noshi* is written on the wrapper of the present.

Uchiwa, or stiff fan of Chinese origin,—authority or command.

Ogi, or folding fan, Emblem of Life.

Sistrums or rattles, typify the celestial virgins.

A ball of crystal is often suspended in the square coffins that enshrine the dead, to symbolize space, into which the spirit has wandered.†

The seven gods of happiness, with their appointed emblems are often

* From a family crest.

† The Japanese are buried in a sitting posture.

met with on pottery, lacquer work, and more particularly on ivory and metal *netzukes*. *Bishamon* the god of glory grasps a spear, and holds a pagoda—denoting power.

Yebis, the god of daily food, carries his rod and *tai* fish (perch); he is the patron of the fishermen.

Hotei, the children's saint, or counterpart of Santa Claus, hangs a bag on his back, full of presents for the little ones. Sometimes the children are to be seen inside the bag; sometimes *Hotei* gets in it himself. *Daikoku*, the god of wealth, has bales of rice and a hammer, showing how riches may be secured—only by self-help, industry, and even hard work. *Daikoku's* hammer is supposed to contain the "seven precious things." *Bengaiten*, the tutelary saint of women, is known by her appendage of lute or *biwa*. *Fukurokujin* is the Patron of long life, and has a very high forehead, the tortoise and the crane are always with him and sometimes a stag. At weddings, a picture of this god, with long white beard and shiny pate, is always seen. *Toshitoku* or *Jurojin* is the god of talents; a book or roll of manuscript is carried over his shoulder with the aid of a crooked bamboo staff.

The legend runs that once a year these Patrons of Happiness meet to arrange the forthcoming marriages. They have hanks of red and white silk—the threads of fate. These they sort and tie up, at first with great care and consideration—these symbolize the happy unions. But after a while the patrons grow tired and lazy, and tie the strands carelessly together, and finally make a terrible tangle; these foreshadow unlucky and unsuitable alliances. The fact is the patrons are eager to commence enjoying themselves with feast, and wine, and revelry, and lay aside the serious business they have met to perform.

It is said that the origin of all drama was religious, and it became established in Japan as follows. In the Reign of the Emperor Heijo, A.D. 805, there was a volcanic disturbance in the Province of Yamato. This agitated and produced noisome vapours from a stagnant tract of marshy ground, and much sickness spread among the people. To act as a charm against the epidemic fires were lighted. With the Japanese, fire is emblematic of male influence, over smoke, the female influence. The fire dispelled the noisome vapour and purified the air. Beside this, as a further charm against the plague of sickness, the dance called *Sambasō* (which is still performed as a prelude to theatrical exhibitions, by an actor dressed up as an old man, whose garments are decorated with emblems of long life and felicity) was danced on a spot near the temple of *Kofukuni*. This was the origin of the drama,—the origin of dancing is far more remote.

Inari Sama is the fox god, and under this title is considered a deity, whom tradition crowns with the glory of having first discovered and cultivated the rice plant. A shrine is always reserved for him in the humblest garden, for in some parts of these Islands, the peasants still look upon rice as the greatest luxury they can taste,—Millet seed dumplings and millet cakes being their staple food. On a certain day in the 2nd month of the year, a grand festival is held in the honour of *Inari Sama*. Dancing,

illuminations, songs and merriment of all kinds spin out the long festive day in respect to this public benefactor. Representations of *Inari Sama* are known by the symbols of a few ears of rice—or a snake on a rice bale.

Kichi-jō-ten is a female divinity described as being the sister of *Bishamon*, the god of glory. According to the *Sutra*, her gifts are said to be gold, silver, clothing, abundant harvest and all daily blessings. She is usually represented standing erect, dispensing around her a number of sacred gems, emblematic of divine gifts.

There are hundreds of household gods and divinities revered by this nation of ancestral worshippers and followers of Buddha, and many mythical personages in whose influence they as yet ignorantly believe. These gods have all more or less some symbolic representation attached to them by which means they can be recognised, but they do not so readily find favour with the artist or the carver as the list just given. We will therefore turn from these to the *Takara mono* or precious things which appeal to all classes of people, and are freely distributed on every object of constant use.

The *Takara-Mono** form quite a long list. The *Kane-bukuro*—a well filled purse (Fig. 9), and the *Kagi*, keys of the godown or fire proof store-house are both emblems of wealth. It has been often remarked the Japanese do not consider it refined to display all their treasures at once. A single picture suitable for the year's season, or to emphasise some particular event that has occurred or is going to take place. A beautiful vase with a spray of blossom—a fan-rack, a sword stand and one or two *okimono*, or ornaments, furnish ample decoration for the time being. Consequently the store house is often well packed with priceless treasures. This amply explains the symbolism of the *Kagi* (Fig. 10).

The *Tama*. A group of sacred balls upon a stand. The soul. The everlasting.

Choji or clove—purifying influence, and safe-guard against noisome odours (Fig. 11).

The *Makimono* or roll of writing, represented sometimes open, sometimes closed, denotes wisdom.

The *Orimono*, a breadth of rich brocaded silk, used only by princes of the Imperial household—splendour, riches, luxury.

The *Fundō*, or the weight used by the mercantile classes, suggests commerce.

The *Zeni*, a small copper or iron coin—moderate wealth. Before coinage came into vogue, the *Kai* (Fig. 12) or shell was adopted, and used for barter, but this like the *Kagi* also represents wealth. The *Koban-ni-hako*, or piece of gold money in a chest is emblematic of plenty. The *Ikari* or anchor—safety (Fig. 13). The *Koto-ji*, the bridges of the *Koto* a kind of harp—harmony. And the *Sango ju*, or the precious coral—rarity (Fig. 14). Then come three "precious things" possessing extraordinary merit. 1. The *Kakuremino*, a sort of rain cloak made of straw as

* Many forms of the *Takara-Mono* are selected as family crests and badges and the Figs. are chiefly taken from these.

used by farmers in wet weather. This has the power of making the wearer invisible to evil spirits, and gives freedom from all kinds of danger—it is an emblem of comfort; 2. The *Kakura gasa* (Fig. 15) a hat of similar material to the above possessing the same enviable attributes; and 3. The *Hagoromo*, a cloak made of feathers and wings (Fig. 16). Those who are fortunate enough to secure this prize enjoy perpetual youth, and dwell in the land of everlasting spring surrounded by mirth and melody all day long. This fortunate cloak is supposed to belong to the beautiful imaginary being of the Buddhist Faith, and is thoroughly eastern in conception.

But the crowning symbol of all, the one most dearly loved among the Japanese, is the *Takara bune*, or the Ship of Good Fortune, which comes laden with the seven precious things; gold, silver, coral, crystal, agate, emerald and pearl, books of learning, and all that can be desired to make one wise and happy and rich. All Japanese pray that it may come into port on New Year's Day, well supplied for themselves, and for those they love. A representation of the *Takara bune* manned with the seven Gods of Happiness, is placed beneath the pillow, and there is no dearer form these passionate lovers of symbolism seek, for in it is concentrated and embodied every good thing the heart of man can possibly desire.

II.—SYMBOLIC CEREMONIES OF THE JAPANESE.

THE Japanese are not satisfied with surrounding themselves with suggestive emblems, which appeal to their heart and conscience at every turn, but to each ceremonial event of their lives is attached some special symbolic significance. This often supplies the religious force and binding that is absent on these solemn occasions—an omission which is I believe alone peculiar to Japan and the Corea of all countries on the face of the globe.

When a boy is born, there is great rejoicing in the family. A carp made of paper is hung over the house on a string, and suspended by means of a long bamboo pole. This carp soon becomes inflated with air and assumes a life-like appearance. Another similar representation of this fish is kept hung up inside the house. The *Koi* or carp has much import in a boy's life; as I have mentioned before, it is the emblem of perseverance and courage, and possible long life. The carp of all fish loves to swim against the stream, its goal being the waterfalls. When the torrent is gained and the fall leaped, the carp turns into a dragon, and lives a thousand years! When the Japanese baby boy is a hundred days old he is carried to the priest's house in the Shinto temple, and there receives a compound name, from the family name, and that of his guardian. This guardian is generally the dearest friend of the family, and his duty is to watch over the child's future career. The dual name ensures the bond of union between them. The Priest writes down the name and gives it to the child to keep in his prayer bag, as the sponsor's name has to be remembered continually before the household shrine. When prayers have been said over the child, he is placed on the floor, and allowed for the first time to wander at his own sweet will whithersoever he

chooses. Towards whichever cardinal point he turns, so will his future be influenced. The *Gohei* above mentioned is held over the child by the priest to propitiate the *Kami*, or the spirits of ancestors, for a right choice to be made. Two fans are presented to the boy, in after years to be exchanged for swords. At four years old, the child doffs his baby clothes, and takes the dress of a *samuri* or soldier. This costume is a present from his guardian, and is usually embroidered with emblems of longevity, including the *cryptomeria*, whose attributes are selected to represent a virtuous and unchanging heart. Two more fans and a sham wooden sword are given him to show that the battle of life has commenced. From this up to manhood, or the 16th birthday, children experience many of these serious ceremonies. Great attention is paid to the cutting and tying of the hair. A lock is preserved by the sponsor to remind the child of the favours he has received from his parents, and should he die young this memento of childhood is buried with him. Gifts are always presented to the children on these auspicious occasions. The 5th day of the 5th month is a day set apart for the "Feast of Flags," when the boy receives all sorts of offerings as reminders of the soldier's life upon which he is about to enter. Effigies of heroes and brave ancestors, complete sets of all requisites for warfare, the contents of an arsenal, banners, flags, and an exact representation of a *Daimio's* or prince's equipment for battle, etc., are among the number, and a carp is invariably one of the offerings. At the feast given in honour of the 16th birthday or coming of age of a young nobleman, this fish is eaten alive. The fleshy portion is lifted from the bones, leaving the vitals untouched. While this vivisection is going on for the delectation of guests, the carp remains almost passive, giving its silent lesson to the man, that the most bitter and painful death must be endured for the preservation of self-respect.* Besides the *Koi*, a folding fan is given, which is an emblem of life itself. The rivet end typifies the starting point, the radiating limbs the road of life:—there is no limit placed on the perspective if regarded in this light. The outside frame sticks specify the parents:—the inside limbs the children, to show that children must be under control all their life long. The *nekomé*, or cat's eye, emblem of changing restless time, is carved on the frames; or the pattern composed of circles fitting in, or contributing, to the perfection of the others (Figs. 17 and 18). As this pattern is impossible of completion, so life and wisdom can never be exhausted. Another quaint interpretation of this is sometimes found in Japanese art,—a boy is pictured returning home after school days are ended, while the mother in response to his statement that lessons are done with, cuts the threads of the loom, from which she has earned her living, to prove that without ceaseless labour, and fresh materials, idleness and ruin must ensue.

When the boy has reached man's estate, the marriage day is the next important event. While the young man is still occupied with his studies, his sponsor seeks for him a suitable bride. When all is satisfactorily arranged between parents and guardians on both sides, passive consent on the part of the intended bride and bridegroom necessarily follows. The

* This fish is served up in a dish with ice and seaweed.

ceremony takes place in the house of the bridegroom's father. Marriage is not a religious, but a civil estate, sanctioned by the government and protected by the law of the land.

When a girl is about to become a bride she is counted as dead to her own parents. The eve before the wedding she is borne out of her father's house clad in white garments, the prescribed mourning colour; and as much formality is observed as would be, if she were really deceased. The house is then purified by sweeping and dusting and airing. As the girl enters the enclosure of her new home, two lighted torches guide her in the right direction and as soon as the *cortège* has passed within the walls, these (with a mystic meaning) are extinguished simultaneously. At the feast everything offered for food has its typical bearing. Two bottles of wine are emptied into one bowl, from which the bride and bridegroom drink many tiny cups of *saké*. Pounded rice from two mortars is mingled into an inseparable whole. Two paper butterflies fixed to the flasks are saturated with wine that is to be partaken of, and two turtledoves, emblems of perfect love, are set before the happy pair. Upon the wine cups are painted the pine tree from *Takasago* Isle, whose root is single, but from whose centre spring two stems, symbolic that wedded lovers should reach old age together.

Among the most striking symbolic institutions is that known as the Flowing Invocation. The disciples of Buddha believe in the transmigration of the soul from the body after death into higher or lower grades of life. This existence is shortened or prolonged according to the virtue or sinfulness of the deceased. The sooner *Nirvana* is reached the better; the prolongation of life in any form being considered a punishment. If a mother dies in childbirth, it is looked upon as a chastisement for a sin committed in a former state of existence; and over the grave is suspended a white cloth fastened at the four corners to bamboo poles, on these bunches of flowers are sometimes tied. The white cloth is very expensive to purchase, and the poor can only afford those of a coarse and thick make. The belief exists that until a rent can be made, by water constantly flowing through it, the mother's soul is still in purgatory. Sympathetic travellers on the road will turn aside to empty a bucket or two of water from the spring hard by, and wait patiently until it has filtered through the cloth. This emblem of a soul in pain arouses universal pity, especially in those who can share motherly love.

On New Year's day, much ceremony is sustained in the way of sweeping and decorating the houses. This labour is undertaken in order to eject any lurking evil influences, demons or bad luck that the old year may be leaving behind to harass the future. Beans are showered from windows and doors to scare away imaginary evil spirits. Flags, banners, stems of bamboo, fans, pine branches, carp, bright coloured berries, and everything emblematic of strength, life and prosperity adorns the dwellings. The first day of the year is Japan's greatest festival enjoyed alike by princes and peasants. A Sabbath calm at first prevails and then as the hours lengthen out, festive gladness is everywhere apparent. In the temples deities are propitiated, vows renewed, donations for charitable purposes

offered, and every observance considered that can possibly aid a fresh start in life. Smiling happy faces mirror the hopefulness of the hearts of the busy and roving crowd of pleasure seekers in this national Festival.

As the boys have set apart for them their Feasts of Flags and other holidays, so the girls have their "Day of dolls," when many presents of this nature are made to them by relations and friends. These dolls are so costly with their ample wardrobe supply that they become heirlooms to be preserved by the owners for their offspring to inherit and prize. These gifts are almost obligatory on the part of friends, all Japanese young ladies of good families being expected to marry, and these gifts are calculated to instil a mother's love into their young hearts, and at least to teach them how to dress and attend to their little ones when the appointed time arrives. Complete sets of costumes for all ages of child life, and every requisite for their toilet, etc., are provided by the donor with the model dolls, as well as full instructions on all matters of importance connected with the rearing of infants.

In these ways, and a hundred others, the Japanese provide themselves with ever-present monitors, prompting and convincing them, of the good that is to be found, and the lessons that are to be drawn, from all their daily surroundings, if search is only made and perseverance sustained. The flowers—the birds—the *Fuji san*, the personal adornment and requisites of daily use so familiar to their sight, speak to them in a language which aliens of their soil have yet to interpret. From babyhood to the grave, every event in their lives bears with it, its secret and weighty purpose and these deep allegorical lessons are part of the nation's history handed down through all generations from the dim past, of their pre-historic antiquity.

Books consulted : J. L. Bowe's 'Pottery,' W. E. Griffis' 'Mikado Empire,' and 'Fairy World Stories,' A. B. Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan,' Sir E. Arnold's 'Japonica,' Dr. Dresser's 'Japanese Arts and Architecture,' W. Anderson's 'Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Drawings in the British Museum.'

LIST OF FIGURES (*over leaf*).

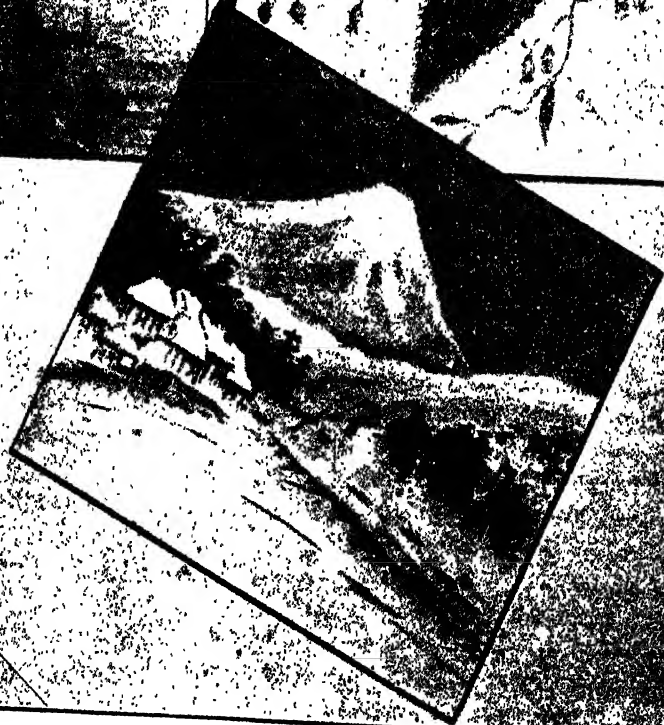
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|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tori-i. | 10. Kagi (keys). |
| 2. Fuji-no-yama. | 11. Choji, cloves (crest). |
| 3. Tatsu, dragon, on swordguard. | 12. Kaj (shell). |
| 4. Hōwō. | 13. Anchos (crest). |
| 5. Mantis and spider, on swordguard. | 14. Coral (crest). |
| 6. Tortoise. | 15. Hat. |
| 7. Carp. | 16. Feather cloak. |
| 8. Geese (crest). | 17 and 18. Patterns, Time, and endless |
| 9. Kanebukuro (crest). | life. |



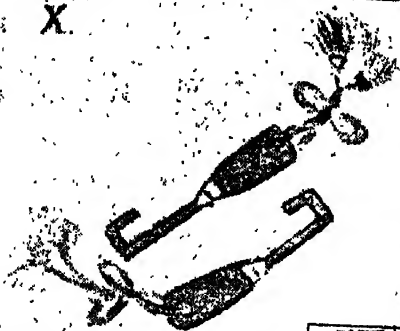
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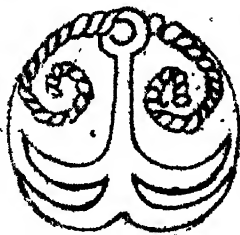
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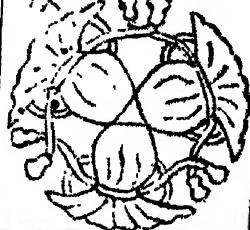
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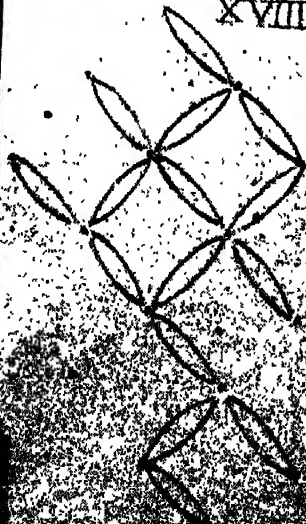
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XVIII.



CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS AND NEWS.

CENTRAL ASIAN AFFAIRS.

(From our own Correspondent.)

1st September, 1894.

Russian Turkistan.—Prospecting for an extension of the Transcaspian railway to the province of Ferghanah (the former Khanate of Kokand), with a branch to Tashkand, is being carried on with great energy at present. The proposed direction is: Samarkand—Jizak—Ura-tubé—Khojand—Kokand—Marghilan—Andijan. The Tashkand branch is to have its terminus in Khojand. The Syr-Daria river will be crossed at the Beggovat rapids, where natural rocks in the river-bed afford solid foundations for the supports of a railway bridge which is made of iron.

In Tashkand a new gymnasium, intended to supply a long-felt want of technical education, has been opened.

Bokhara.—The Ameer of Bokhara, who is a great sufferer from rheumatism, left Charjui on the 10th of August with the permission of His Majesty, the Czar, for the Piatigorsk Spa (in the Northern Caucasus) in order to try the mineral water cure there. His son, the Heir-Apparent, who must return to his studies in the Nicolas cadet corps, accompanies him. The direction of Bokhara affairs, in the absence of the Ameer, is in charge of Jan Mirza Diwan Beg and Kazi-Kalyan Mulla Mir Badruddin.

The Russian Customs line with Afghanistan in Bokhara is to be inaugurated on the 12th of September.

Borings for an artesian well at the Russian settlement of New Bokhara will begin shortly.

Transcaspia.—The works on the Krasnovodsk extension of the Transcaspian railway are to begin in September. The rails will be laid both from Molla-Kari and from Krasnovodsk; some difficulties are expected on parts of the new line near Krasnovodsk, where some miles of solid rock have to be blasted, and near the other terminus, Molla-Kari, where the projected line traverses drifting sands. The staff and working *personnel* will be supplied by the Transcaspian Railway battalions. Some 15 months are supposed sufficient to complete the construction of this line.

The 1st of September was the anniversary of the boring works for an artesian well near Ashkabad. In this year the shaft has been sunk as deep as 1,050 feet; no artesian water has been struck yet; the soil traversed is chiefly brown clay, alternating with thin strata of calcareous gravel. The expenses (including the acquisition of the boring plant) amount to £5,000. It is intended to proceed with the boring for another 1,000 feet, and, eventually, to sink the shaft as deep as 3,500 feet. The scientific value of this experimental boring is very great. If no artesian water is struck at 2,500 feet, the question of irrigating Transcaspia by means of artesian wells may be considered as answered in the negative.

The Russian Customs line with Afghanistan and Persia in Transcaspia (Panjdeh—Sarakhs—Dushak—Kaahka—Ashkabad—Kizil-Arvat—Chikishliar—Krasnovodsk) was opened on the 12th of September. An agency of the Imperial Bank of Russia will be opened in Ashkabad before 1895.

The joint Russo-Persian Boundary Commission will shortly conclude their work on the Sarakhs-Lutfabad section.

I proceed to rectify the errors, which I notice on p. 238 of your July issue.

(1) Not *six*, but *nine* Orenburg Kazaks and *two* lance-corporals of the 2nd Turkestan Border Battalion, 11 in all, which have accompanied Capt. Vannouski up the Murghab last summer (1893), have been decorated with the silver medal with the inscription "for bravery," on the St. George ribbon (the "St. George" corresponds to the "Victoria Cross"). This and further honours I give in the accompanying list. The list of honours for the Pamir and Shahjehan troops you will find in No. 1285 of the "Turkestan Gazette," which I am sending you.

(2) *Ak-Baital* (and not *Ak-Baitral*) is the "*Pamirs' outpost*," and there is no separate Russian post from it in the Pamirs. In the subjoined notice you will find that a regular bazaar has been established there.

(3) The Customs' line *has not been opened yet*; the regulations concerning the organization of Customs in Russian Central Asia are in the press and will appear shortly.

Subjoined are: (1) an extract from the description of the "*Pamirs' outpost*," which has appeared in the "Turkestan Gazette" from the pen of the artillery officer of the post (the man who takes the meteorological notes); it has been published with the view to give a more correct idea of the post, than the one which may be gathered from Sven Hedin's description; (2) the list of honours for the Pamir and Shahjehan troops, 1892-1893.

"THE RUSSIAN POST ON THE PAMIRS."

From No. 1286 of "Turkestan Gazette," where a description of this post has been published by Captain Bankovski, Imperial Russian Horse Artillery, commanding the artillery of the Post.

The Russian outpost on the Pamirs lies in the Central part of the Pamirs, in the locality termed Shah-Jehan, on the junction of the rivers Murghab and Ak-Baital (whence it is termed by Kashgarian news-writers as *Ak-Baital*) close to the ruins of the mazar (shrine) Karagul, which lies on 38° 8' 39" north latitude and 43° 37' 20" eastern longitude from Pul'kovo, on an altitude of 11,470 feet above sea level.

The construction of this post was begun on 22 July, 1893, and completed on 30 October of the same year. The chief part of the work was done by the 2nd company of the 4th Turkestan border-battalion. At present the post consists of a barrack for the officers, two roomy barracks (calculated for a double number of men) for half a company each, which, for

the sake of warmth, have been sunk under the level of the soil for two-thirds of their whole depth, a dispensary, a kitchen and a Russian bath.

The position of the Post is thought quite satisfactory from a strategical point of view, but the sanitary conditions might be better, as in summer a sulphuric smell of marsh, from the saline banks of the Murghab pervades the air, though malaria has not been observed as yet, possibly owing to the great altitude above the sea-level. The garrison receive 1 pound of fresh meat per man and soft bread every day. The vegetables are supplied tinned. The tinned meats from Azibert and Co. in Petersburg—sour cabbage soup with buckwheat pulse (a national Russian article of diet) *olla podrida* and roast beef—are very much relished by the Russian soldiers of the Pamir's Post. Scurvy had not been able to put in an appearance this winter. Military exercises are being briskly conducted, and every possible means of recreation—singing, athletics, shooting trips, angling, theatricals—are filling up the leisure time of the garrison.

From the north, west and south the horizon is hemmed in by mountains of a monotonous, reddish-brown hue; to the east the Post commands an extensive view of the Murghab valley and a fine panorama of the peak of Muztagh-ata—"the father of the Ice-mountains"—looms in the distance.

The health of the garrison is satisfactory. The sick list never exceeds 10-12 men; the prevalent forms of disease are colds, rheumatics and bronchio-pulmonic affections.

The erection of this Post and the appearance of a Russian garrison on the Pamirs has restored security to the road-traffic. The eastern part of the Raushan, which formerly suffered much trouble at the hands of roaming bands of Afghan adventurers, has now settled down to peaceful avocations. Under the shelter of the Post a permanent bazaar has sprung up; some Sarts from Osh trade and barter with the Kirghiz, the Chinese, the Kashgarian, the Afghans, who occasionally put in an appearance, and Wakhani and Shignani Tajiks. The Kashgarians trade in native cotton and silk fabrics, Russian chintz, crockery, pomegranates and apples, they take Russian paper roubles, particularly the 100-rouble notes, very willingly, and even prefer them to the native silver currency—"tengas," "karans," and "rupees."

LIST OF HONOURS

conferred by H. M. the Emperor of all the Russias on the troops of the Pamir and Shahjehan regions for hardships borne in service during expeditions in these regions and in the construction of the road from Osh to Turkeshtam. (Order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestan troops, 7 May, 1894. No. 135.)

(1) *Grade of Major-General*, with the pay of a Combatant infantry Brigade-General, pending further orders—to the Commander of troops in the Trans-Alai and Pamir regions, the Commander of the 2nd Turkestan border battalion, *Colonel Yonoff*.

(2) *The Cross of St. Vladimir 4th degree**—to the Chief of the Shah-Jehan command, offg. Colonel on the Staff on special service with the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkestan troops. *Captain Kuznetzoff*, Imp. General Staff.

* This decoration stands in dignity second to the "St. George" Cross which can be conferred only for feats of personal bravery in combat, and is conferred for distinguished work both in the military and civil services.

(3) The Cross of St. Stanislas 3rd degree*—*Surgeon-Major Tretiakoff, Captain Serebrennikoff, Military Engineer, Second Captain Burkovski, Imp. General Staff, Lieutenant Timofeiff, 2nd Turkistan border Battalion, Lieutenant Zarako-Zardkovski, Turkistan Sappers, Lieutenants Gorokhoff and Priepine, 6th Orenburg Horse Kozak Regiment.*

(4) The Cross of St. Anna, 2nd degree†—to *Lieutenant-Colonel Grombchevski, offg. Chief of the Osh district.*

(5) The grade of Second Captain—to *Lieutenants Reiffeld, 4 Turk. border battalion, Scheikan, 15 Turk. border battalion, and Pantiloff, 16 Turk. border battalion.*

(6) Silver medals with the inscription "for zeal in service" on the St. Anna ribbon‡—to following non-commissioned officers and privates :

2nd Turkistan border battalion—*Sergeant-Corporal Fedor Velluguin and Surgeon-Sergt. Sergei Vlassoff ;*

4th Turk. border battalion—*Corporal Dmitri Thubin and Private Yegor Fedoroff ;*

7th Turk. border battalion—*Corporal Stepan Firssoff and Lance-Corporal Nikanor Krastrschekoff ;*

15th Turk. border batt.—*Lance-Corporal Ivan Nikulin and Private Franz Biessidovski ;*

16th Turk. border batt.—*Corporals Ganassim VassiliEFF and Zinovei Tumasoff ;*

18th Turk. h. batt.—*Sergeant-Corporal Tikhon Dubrovski and Private Perfie Gordeieff ;*

20th Turk. h. batt. *Corporal Nikolai Krijloff and Lance-Corporal Paramon Gusseff ;*

6th Horse Regiment of the Orenburg Kosaks—*Corporals Philip Voronsheff and Ivan Golysheff.*

List of Honours

conferred by H.M. the Emperor on the personnel of a patrol sent to reconnoitre the roads in the lower Murghab river valley in the PAMIRS, and the Yazghulam river valley in the DARWAZ. (Order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkistan troops, 7 May, 1894. No. 134) :

The cross of St. Anna 3d. degree § *Captain Vannofski, Imperial General Staff, and Second-Captain Brshevitzki, 4th Turkistan border battalion.*

The silver medal with the inscription for "bravery" on the St. George ribbon, || to the following non-commd. officers and privates :

2nd Turkistan border battalion—*Lance-Corporals : Yegor Fefelkin and Fedor Shakhoff ;*

6th Horse Regt. Orenburg Kosaks—*Corporal Affunassi Smirnoff, Surgeon-Corporal Ivan Kostenkoff, and Privates : Vassili Zavalishin, Semen Krivokhishin, Ivan Matyshekin, Trofim Polossukhin, Andrei Miroshnikoff, Alexei Starchenkoff and Muhammad-Galeij Sabdusheff.*

We translate the following characteristic extracts from Russian newspapers :

From the *Turkestanskiya Vedomosti* of 17—(29) July.

As showing how closely our Russian neighbours in Turkistan follow the progress of events in India, the *Turkestan Gazette* of 14th—26th July devotes half a column to the tree-smearing in Behar. It says the explanation from Simla is that animals passing by the trees rub themselves against

* This is a minor decoration, given to junior officers for distinguished service in all branches of official work.

† This is the decoration conferred on officers not under the rank of Captain, in all branches of civil and military service.

‡ This decoration is conferred on non-commissioned officers and privates for distinguished service in time of peace.

§ This is a decoration next in grade to the "St. Stanislas" 3d. degree and of the same character.

|| This is a military decoration, given for military service in dangerous circumstances.

them and thus leave the marks of mud and hair on the trees ; that this explanation may be satisfactory to some Englishmen, but not to others, and especially not to the Indigo-planters.

In the same journal there is an extract from the *St. Petersburger Herald*, which asserts that it is proposed to establish in India a "Ladies' Revolver Club" for exercising ladies in the use of the revolver in the event of a revolt, similar to the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857.

THE TRANS CASPIAN RAILWAY.—In the same journal of the 10th—22nd July occurs the following paragraph :

"*Railway Survey*.—In the month of May in Tashkend was received official information that in our country a Commission would arrive for surveying a continuation of the Trans-Caspian Railway and that at the head of the Commission would be the Engineer of Road-Communications M. Cakhansky. At the present time the Commission is already in the Turkestan country and has commenced work ; one party has proceeded from Samarkand through Jizak to Begovata ; another from Andijan through Marghilan and Kokand to the same point on the Sir Darya and a third is directed there from Tashkend. M. Sakhanski is now in Tashkend. The surveys will be effected next year as in the current one and then probably, there will be a verification of the surveys. Thus the construction of the railway itself will be finished probably not earlier than in $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 years' time. From this it seems that from Samarkand it is proposed to carry the railway to the Sir Darya at Begovata and from thence one branch will go to Ferghana and the other to Tashkend. The places for stations will be decided by military requirements."

From Samarkand to Jizak is about 60 miles N.E. from Iizak to Begovata, which is near Khodjend is about 110 miles to the east ; from Iizak to Tashkend is about the same distance N.E., while Khodjend to Kokand is about 80 miles E.N.E. and from thence to Andijan is about 80 miles in the same direction ; finally from Khodjend to Tashkend is also about 80 miles N.N.W.

TRADE ON THE PAMIRS.

Any of our readers who are possessed of a good large scale map of Central Asia can easily trace these projected Russian extensions from the above directions. From a letter in the *Okrđina (Frontier)* it appears that there are 15 engineers in all employed on these extensions of the railway. M. Bankoffski, in a letter to the *Turkestanskiya Viedomosti* about the "Pamir Post," says :—"With the construction of this post we stand with firm feet on the Murghab and have pacified the settlement. The Kirghiz saw in us at first, only kinder guests and, fearing the Afghans and Chinese, did not know who ruled and whom to serve. We have tranquillised also the eastern part of Roshan taken by us and convinced the people that they will always receive speedy and faithful assistance from us against the inclinations of wandering bands of Afghans. The construction of the Post co-operated also with peaceful trading business. The Osh Sarts opened in several tents a little bazaar whither flocked the surrounding Kirghiz and greedy Kashgarian *saudagars* attracted hither by the hope of swift profit.

Trade with the Kirghiz is exclusively by barter. The Kashgarians bring mats, dressing-gowns, koshma, (a kind of felt) chintz, cups, dried fruits, garments and apples; they eagerly take our money and especially the credit notes. Occasionally there look in on us also Tajiks from Shignan and distant Wakhan. Sometimes also we meet with Afghans and Chinese. With the Afghans I saw the old Brown Bess, which first appeared amongst the English in the reign of William III. and the Enfield rifle, a muzzle-loading rifle transformed into a breech-loader on the Snider system. On account of the limited number of cartridges with these rifles it is impossible to do much. On the Kushk, three times our number, with unlimited bravery and directed by English officers, the Afghans, thanks chiefly to their inferior weapons, sustained a loss of 500 men, while we lost only 11. The Chinese have the old magazine Spencer rifle, but their rapidity of fire is not remarkable, only about 15 shots per minute. By-the-bye, it deserves imitation, the copying by the Chinese cavalry from the English of the carrying of the sabre on the saddle, instead of by a strap over the shoulder. The English we do not see, although they are comparatively near. It appears that in December we received from Simla, from the French traveller Poucin, a letter in which he thanked the Shahjans for his reception and then, speaking of the kind-heartedness of the English, he advised them to enter into intercourse with us. There is no intercourse with these now and we do not anticipate any."

THE IMPERIAL BANK OF PERSIA AND THE IMAM JUMA' OF SHIRÁZ.

THE following letter from the Religious Head of the Muhammadan Community in Shiráz, Persia, addressed to the Head of the Persian Mercantile Community of Bombay, is published, as it shows in a very striking manner that the fears of a fanatical movement in Persia against European industrial enterprises is much exaggerated. The writer is a man of great intelligence and influence, and there can be little doubt that his recommendations to his fellow-countrymen in India will carry great weight. There is every reason to believe that the Imperial Bank of Persia is slowly but surely winning confidence in the country, and its note issue has lately, for the first time, exceeded £100,000. It is of great importance that the religious leaders should be convinced of the many advantages which the existence of the Bank confers on the country at large, and from this letter of the head of the faith in South Persia it would seem that this result has been obtained.

Translation of extract from a letter addressed by the Imám Juma' (Titular Leader of the Faithful) of Shiráz, Persia, to the Amin-et-Tujár (Chief of the Persian Merchants) in Bombay.

"Dated 28th July, 1894.

"Considering the ties of intimate friendship which have bound not only ourselves but also our families for generations past, we ought at all times to endeavour to preserve and strengthen these ties by common accord, to

be always well informed of all that concerns each other and to seize every occasion of aiding and assisting one another.

"Of all institutions in this country, one of the most beneficial to the people is the Imperial Bank of Persia, and the Branch established in Shiráz is especially so. Here it gives the greatest facilities to all classes, and especially to the merchants whom it helps out of their financial difficulties, and whose projects with regard to business and trade it furthers.

"This is an incontrovertible fact as I can personally testify, having assured myself of the many advantages obtainable at the hands of the Bank.

"This institution is most serviceable to the whole Mohammedan community: it is essential therefore that it receive every assistance in accordance not only with the dictates of common sense, but also of the 'Sha'ra' (religious law).

"Under these circumstances I most particularly request you and your people to render all possible aid and assistance to this institution: to urgently impress upon its debtors, drawees, and clients the observance of due promptitude and punctuality in the settlement of their undertakings with and engagements towards the Bank: and to spare no effort to facilitate and make smooth the path for the march of its progress and development. And in so doing you will be conferring a great benefit upon the country and people at large.

"The late Amín-et-Tujár devoted himself to the establishing of the line of steamers, which course of action you yourself took up so heartily and energetically after his death, thus rendering a great service to the country and nation—so also now, in like manner, you might take upon yourself the cause of this institution and act to the best of your ability for its welfare and development.

"Again I repeat my most earnest request that you spare no pains in aiding and assisting this institution, whereby you will be not only obliging me but also earning the gratitude of a whole nation."

LORD SALISBURY AND SIAM.

The perusal of the recently published Blue-book on Siam is enough to fill Englishmen, whether Conservative or Radical, with regrets. Not only did we abandon a country that we had induced to trust us, but we also prepared its fall by secret, if inconclusive, negotiations with its enemy. Nor did Lord Salisbury, when he had the offer, agree to secure to Siam that independence, integrity and, practically, *increase* of territory, by its guaranteed "neutralization" under France and England. He, epigrammatically, in connection with that scheme, replied to Mr. Waddington that the latter's proposal that neither European power should extend its influence beyond the Mekong was "as if each power intended to give the other something which belonged to neither." This was clever, but it has not turned out to be statesmanship. The difference between Lords Rosebery and Salisbury in their attitude on the Siam question, seems to be that the former hastens to consent before he is asked, and that the latter, whilst protesting that he "will never consent, consented." To the credit of

Lord Salisbury, however, it may be said that he left office, before he could disappoint his country and Siam, whereas the other *did* so, in a playful and pleasant manner, on entering it. The statements of the *Bombay Gazette* of March 1893 and of "Cambodian" in this Review of the previous May, are more than borne out by both the incidental disclosures and the still more significant suppressions of the Siamese Blue-book, which is so well dealt with by "Mei Nam Kong" in this issue and, on the whole, the verdict must be in favour of the honesty of Lord Salisbury and of the literal truthfulness of his letters to us repudiating his ever having come to an understanding with Mr. Waddington respecting Siam. What the "Bombay Gazette" understood Lord Salisbury to have arranged, or at least discussed, with M. Waddington, that diplomatist himself told Lord Rosebery to have so understood. • Lord Rosebery's great anxiety appears to have been not to see the Siamese Envoy at the very time when it would have been indispensable for him to do so and the question arises why Ambassadors are accredited to this country if our Foreign Ministers avoid meeting them in the very cases of emergency which is their *raison d'être*. Lord Rosebery also was very solicitous that the French should know that he had so snubbed the Siamese and had advised them to yield to every French demand. No wonder then it was so big and bold. It is also only too true that one of our men-of-war had "to knuckle under" a peremptory order of the French naval Commander. At the same time, we believe that Lord Rosebery's patience and Lord Dufferin's sinuosities have come to an end and that they will yet astonish the French with an unmistakable John Bull grip on what there is left to take. Next spring is to see the French armed occupation, if not the annexation, of Madagascar and M. Myre de Vilers has already gone there to keep his hand in after his success in Siam. In Madagascar, too, we have allowed the French to do as they like. In the meanwhile, it would be well if our statesmen and especially Lord Rosebery *did* become "a slot" in which the public could throw in a penny and obtain information regarding the countries the relations with which are now so mismanaged, because they are not studied by those to whom we pay many a pound to master them. They ought, for one thing, to know Oriental languages, the only key to the understanding of Oriental races and questions, but, *en attendant*, they might learn the elements of French, in which the last Siamese blue-book by no means shows them to be proficient.

We owe so much to Mr. Gibson Bowles for his able denunciation of the conduct of our so-called statesmen towards Siam that it seems almost hypercritical to point out to him that he need not paint things worse than they already are. For instance, we believe that, as a matter of fact, Siam can, does, and indeed *must*, entertain boats on the Mèkong, provided they are not armed, whereas Mr. Bowles maintains that, by the Treaty, Siam cannot maintain there "the smallest boat that floats." The sentence was obviously originally "embarcations *et* bâtiments armés" (not "*ou*") in the Franco-Siamese Treaty or "no armed boats and vessels." The word "armed" or "*armés*," according to the understanding that preceded the

Treaty, the context and French syntax, applies to *both* "embarcations and vessels" and it is a rule of French grammar that the gender of such a plural is determined by the masculine noun. In any case, the independence and integrity of Siam have, even in Lord Rosebery's opinion, suffered by leaving unprotected a strip of 25 kilometres along the right bank of the Mékong, or several thousand square miles, to any possible French invasion and, within that area at any rate, not to speak of the vast territory claimed by France and adjudged to herself by herself on the left bank, there is "a reduction of Siamese independence and integrity."

We fear that the Commission to create the Buffer State between English, French, Chinese and Siamese territories had been purposely delayed and that we may now see it return *rê infecta*, unless the good old grandmother of the Far East is able to protect it as she has agreed to do, "if nothing prevents," at the request of both England and France. We object to the Chinese calling Europeans barbarians; but here we have two Christian States, unable, with all the military and administrative appliances of modern times, to keep the peace, in a strip that is to be 50 miles broad, and themselves from flying at each other's throats. China has actually to be begged by them to undertake the protection of the Buffer State and will, no doubt, manage to do so, if she still remains the Mighty Empire to which even England, as representative of Burmah, stands in a subordinate relation.

We believe that the attitude of the Koreans towards foreigners and their religions has never been thoroughly understood. The Chinaman despises foreigners, but would not mind their coming and going if they became Chinese subjects, whilst, as regards dogmatic religion, one more or less does not matter to him. The Japanese are jealous of foreigners, except as visitors, but would like to adopt all their good points and then get rid of them; as for religion they are satisfied with an eclecticism of emotions mainly caused by natural phenomena, till they can construct their own best faith, as they have their own best rifle, from all sorts of patterns. The Korean, however, likes the foreigner *to stay* in his country, but not to go back to his own so as to reveal Korean weaknesses; he wishes to learn foreign arts and views, even including those of religion, but when he finds that, on a matter in which one has such a vast choice and which admits of no real proof, the foreigner will insist on his own creed being the right one and all others wrong, the limits of Korean patience are reached, and he slaughters the missionary who has had the audacity of forcing the unknowable into the range of practical Korean politics. The religious sense, in its European interpretation, is absent in China, Japan, and Korea (mostly in the latter), whilst as to foreigners the Chinaman does not want them to come; the Japanese wants them to go, and the Korean wants them not to return to their several countries.

As an encouragement to research into the history of the Ismailians, we have much pleasure in drawing attention to a work on the Fatimite Khalifs of Magrib and Egypt, known as the Ismailies, which is announced by Baba Saheb-Bax Bin Baba Gool Mohammad, of Bombay.

SANSKRIT AUTHORITIES ON THE SMEARING OF TREES.

"The Asiatic Quarterly Review" has had much about the smearing of trees. Allow me to call your attention to a passage in the *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* of Varāha Mihira. I quote from Kern's translation, Chapter LV. 17, 18 :

"To promote the growth of the fruits and blossoms of trees, creepers, shrubs and plants, at all times, sprinkle them with a mixture of two *āḍhaka*s of dung from sheep and goats in the form of powder, with one *āḍhaka* of sesamum seeds, one *prastha* of flour, one *droṇa* of water, and one *tulā* of cow's flesh, the whole to be infused during a week."

Chapter LV. 16 is to the same effect—

"In case a tree loses its power of bearing fruit, a sprinkling with a refrigerated decoction of milk, mixed with *Dolichos*, peas, beans, sesamum, and barley, will be conducive to a revival of the growth of fruits and blossoms."

Trees are also to be smeared when being transplanted, "all over the stem down to the root with ghee, root of *Andropogon*, oil-wax, worm-seed, milk, and cow-dung."

The word translated "oil-wax" might mean "honey" I think.

I draw no conclusions.

There are also directions for the medication of seeds. You remember Vergil's

*Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,
Et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca
Grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset.*

Probably the passage furnishes no explanation (or not the real explanation) of recent phenomena, but there is no harm in putting it before the public.

CHARLES TAWNEY.

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

The question of the Pelasgi, in my mind, forms only part of the large question of Asia Minor in ancient times, and I feel that to possess the question correctly one ought to study the connection, if any, between the Hittites and the Pelasgi, and this can possibly only be successfully achieved when we are in a position to decipher the Hittite inscriptions. We shall then be able to estimate how much, if any, of the Egyptian civilization reached prehistoric Hellas overland through Syria and Asia Minor as compared with the influence Egypt exerted across the Mediterranean.

HERBERT DE REUTER.

THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF HYGIENE AND DEMOGRAPHY.

Such success as the above-named Congress has achieved is almost entirely due to the genius and energy of its Hungarian promoters and to the intrinsic value of the suggestions contained in the papers submitted to it by leading medical authorities. If there was any failure it was due to an overcrowded programme, to certain non-professional secretaries, and to

the innumerable social engagements and amusements which were the death-knell of the Stockholm Christiania Oriental Congress of 1889. In spite also of the decision of a London Committee, "resolutions" were actually passed on scientific problems, with the inevitable result that all who were not present, or who dissented, now form an opposition to them which will ensure their not being carried out. There was some sense in the proposal that village sanitation in India should be introduced with the co-operation of the people, but this just touches one of the many practical difficulties with which the administrator has to contend on a Continent, where ancient traditions are preferred to the newest fad and where reformers have already caused the cow-killing riots and a general alienation of the Hindu population. Nor have the prejudices of the Muhammadan pilgrims who flock from all parts of the world to Mecca been sufficiently consulted by Governments and Sanitary Inspectors. Without the sympathy and support of the leading Sheikhs around, and at, Mecca, sanitary measures can never be so carried out as to cause no umbrage to religious feelings and to the popularity of the centre of attraction to Muhammadans of all countries who there celebrate an Unity which is not shown in any gathering of Christendom. One "Sir Mumby" appears as the British representative at the Belgrade reception of the physicians and others, and on their excursion to Constantinople they may have had a practical opportunity of dealing with Cholera *en route* at Adrianople. The Congress will certainly have an admirable field for its labours at its next meeting, that is to take place in Spain, if the Government maintains its invitation, which it not always does. The Congressists will find that Madrid with its sudden changes of temperature is, by far, the most deadly place in Europe, if not in the world, with the exception of the Gold Coast, and the Congress will do more good in improving the health of Madrid than in interfering with the villages of India or in advocating the Opium monopoly of the British Government, or in passing other "resolutions" dictated by the official, private or professional prejudices of their proposers. We trust to have a full account of the doings of the "Tropical Section" of this Congress in our next issue.

THE PROTECTED PRINCES OF INDIA—A REPLY.

In the interests of fair discussion, we publish a reply by Mr. C. E. Biddulph, a distinguished member of the Berár Commission, to the article by Sir Roper Lethbridge on "the protected princes of India and the paramount power." Mr. Biddulph seems to us to represent, in an able and forcible manner, the views of the narrower School of Indian officials, whilst the great majority of Anglo-Indian politicals agree with us in considering that our relations with the native States are "international" or, at least, to use Mr. Tupper's word, "inter-statal" and that the safety and dignity of our Indian Empire, for which Mr. Biddulph is so rightly jealous, demands the increase rather, than his, so unfortunately suggested, reduction of the prestige and power of the Princes in "feudatory" or "subordinate" alliance with ourselves. Indeed, if, as Mr. Biddulph states in his forwarding letter, the officials of India are "Imperialists and not Little Engladifers" and if they believe in the Imperial mission of Great

Britain and not "in the twaddle and sentiment," now so disastrously applied to India, then the only way to stem the growing tide of radicalism is by the closest alliance of the officials with all the respectable and conservative elements of India, so far as they are compatible with the demands of gradual, cautious and legitimate progress, on an indigenous basis, that is *from within*, in the direction of well-ascertained modern requirements. This view involves the *strengthening* of the position of the native Chiefs, whom, when it suited us, we treated as independent princes on our advent and in the course of our absorption of the Mogul Empire. As for the antecedents and qualifications of native Chiefs, they bear, in Lord Dufferin's words, favourable comparison with European ruling princes and it would be a foolish policy to alienate the subjects of the former by the complete anglicising of their natural rulers and thus affording no means for the comparison of their and our methods of administration to the benefit of both. Mr. C. E. Biddulph will find it more difficult to deal with the Hydra of "the followers of the Members for India," when all natives are reduced to the level of English radicalism, than by preserving our faith with our allies, who all could write a very different history of their advent to power and their relations with the Indian Government than is given in the sketch of Mr. Biddulph. We trust to be able to give in subsequent issues full and objective accounts of each of the Native States, but we now confine ourselves to stating that none of the instances referred to by Mr. Biddulph support his contention. On the contrary, the histories of, Hyderabad, Mysore and Indore are an honour to their Chiefs and attest our recognition of their quasi-sovereign rights, whilst Kashmir is a case of our flagrant violation of them for the sake of mistaken military and political exigencies. Be that as it may, we insert Mr. Biddulph's article in the belief that the full ventilation of the questions he raises will only lead to a still more formal recognition of the rights and status of the Native States to the great advantage of our Empire.

Mr. Biddulph says, *e.g.*, "An Imperial Constitution in India is, from the very nature of things, as impossible as a Popular form of Government; for the traditional form of Government in India, as throughout the East, has always been that of a Despotism." Yes; but not a centralised Despotism, still less a Despotism centralised in a constitutional Minister under the orders of a popular assemblage many thousands of miles away. Does the Simla Foreign Office really believe that the House of Commons will long allow the Secretary of State to allow the Viceroy to allow the Foreign Office to allow the Resident to wield the despotism of which Mr. Biddulph speaks? It becomes more and more difficult every year to maintain the old paternal despotic forms in the territories under our own direct control in India, and it will soon become impossible. It is because we recognise that in the indigenous forms in the Native States we possess the very best possible machinery for preserving all that is good in the old paternal system, and for adapting it to modern requirements and the peculiarities of Parliamentary Government, that we so warmly support Sir Roper Lethbridge's proposals for an Imperial Constitution. And we have good reasons for believing that the great majority of our Politicians think so too.

"THE NATIVE STATES AND THE PARAMOUNT POWER IN INDIA."

In his article in the July Number of the "*Asiatic Quarterly Review*" Sir Roper Lethbridge reverts to the same misconception regarding the relative positions of the "Native States of India" and the supreme Government, which formed the basis of his argument in the Article upon "The New Viceroy and our Indian Protectorate" which appeared in the January Number of this Periodical.

He presumes that there is an analogy between the position of the chiefs of these several States and that of the Princes of the German Empire.

That there is no such analogy of any kind will be apparent from a consideration of the previous histories of these chiefs and Princes respectively.

Of the Princes of Germany let us take the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg as examples.

These kingdoms were, previous to the commencement of the present century, Principalities, or "Electorates" as they were termed, under the protection of Austria. Conquered by Napoleon the Great they were raised to Kingdoms in order to form a portion of his scheme of the "Confederation of the Rhine." When the German confederation was reconstructed at the congress of Vienna in 1814 the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg were guaranteed in their independence by the European Powers and, with that of Hanover, allowed each one voice in a Diet which was constituted for the direction of the confederacy in case of external attack, Austria and Prussia being each allowed two voices in the same.

In 1870 the external attack which had been the object of the formation of the confederacy was threatened by France, and Bavaria and Würtemberg being too weak to act independently placed themselves, as they naturally would, under the leading of Prussia in order to repel the attack.

The result was a glorious and successful war, at the conclusion of which the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg executed the treaties of 1871 in favour of the recognition of the King of Prussia as Emperor of Germany. These treaties were executed by independent Sovereigns and were a formal and voluntary recognition of the supremacy of the Kingdom of Prussia amongst the members of the confederacy. They were the expression of a formal and voluntary acquiescence in a measure which was recognised to be for the common interest.

Let us now consider the antecedents of the Native States which Sir Roper Lethbridge proposes to erect into Kingdoms under what he terms his "Imperial Constitution."

The Nizám of the Deccan owes his position, as his title indicates, to the fact of his ancestor having been a Servant of the Mogal Emperor at Dehli. [No more a servant than is our own Viceroy. *Ed.*]

During the period of decadence of the rule of the Mogals the Governors of the Deccan became practically "Tributary chiefs" rather than officers appointed, and recalled, at the will of the Emperor, and the office of "Nizám" or "Viceroy" as it may be interpreted,—though the term may

be more literally translated by the word "Manager,"*—became for the first time hereditary in the family of Chîn Killich Khân Asaf Jah (of whom the present Nizam is a direct descendant) in the year 1748.

Step by step with the fall of the power of the Mogals rose that of the Mahratta, and the Nizam of the Deccan, an isolated representative of Mahommedan Rule beset by these latter on all sides, and cut off from all assistance from Northern India, was reduced to such straits that it was only by our intervention that he was rescued from total annihilation and his capital Hyderabad relieved from the presence of the Mahratta Tax Collector.

The ancestor from whom the Guicowar of Baroda dates his claims to "Sovereignty" was the servant of the servant of the Rajah of the Mahrattas.

His name was Damaji and he was the commander of the predatory armies of the Mahrattas placed at the disposal of the so-called Mahratta "Governor" of Guzerat, Khandirao Dhabari. He availed himself of his opportunities to oust his patron and succeeded to his position as Governor in 1755.

By the Treaty of Poona in 1817 the allegiance of the Guicowar of Baroda was, through pressure brought to bear upon the Peshwah at Poona by the British Government, transferred from the Peshwah to the latter. The relations established by the British Government were that the Guicowar should have unrestrained management of his internal affairs, subject to the general control and advice of the British Resident, but that all foreign affairs were to be under the exclusive management of the British Government.

Where are the signs of Sovereignty in this case?† As a matter of fact, the Guicowar of Baroda never has been anything in the course of his history more than a Local Governor placed in a position of comparative independence by the British Government for purposes of its own.

The Rajah of Mysore was towards the middle of the eighteenth century a mere puppet in the hands of his Captain, the famous Haidara'li, whose son Tippoo Sultan seized the titular as he already possessed the actual Sovereignty of the State. When Seringapatam was captured by the British in 1799 Lord Wellesley reinstated the dethroned Rajah, of whom the present Rajah is a lineal descendant.

The Rajah of Mysore derives his title from the Emperor Aurangzeb, who conferred it on him towards the end of the 17th century. Previous to that his position had been merely that of a large landed proprietor.

What analogy can be traced in these typical histories of selected Native States and the states of the German Empire, such as would lead to any comparison between their respective relations towards the Paramount Power? [The analogy is, in most cases, complete. *Ed.*]

The proposition is utterly untenable. In the interests of all parties

* This would be "Názim," but "Nizzám" is "a Governor" or "Supreme Administrator" as shown by the Arabic form of the word. "Nizám," therefore, is a term of the highest dignity.—*Ed.*

† See the Treaties.—*Ed.*

concerned it cannot be too distinctly understood that, with the exception of one or two of the Rajput States, which have been the seat of a hereditary dynasty from the very earliest times, there is not a Native State* now existing in India which dates from a period previous to the first appearance of the British in the country; and but few of them which have maintained their individuality subsequent to this except by the support or toleration of the British Government.

With scarcely an exception the British Ráj is older than the oldest of them; and many of the most illustrious of them owe their preservation to that Power.

The Chiefs of the existing Native States are, with the exceptions mentioned, one and all the descendants of Military adventurers or Provincial Governors, who, during the period of decay of the Mogal Supremacy, had seized upon the Provinces which they now rule, and were by us from motives of policy maintained, or tolerated, in their present positions.

The only Sovereign Powers which have ruled in India since the appearance of the British have been the Mogal Emperors at Dehli, the Peshwas "or Mayors of the Palace" of the Rajah of the Mahrattas, at Poona, and the kingdom of the Sikhs in the Panjaub.

These have successively been conquered or absorbed by the British Government, which has been thus installed in their place, and become the heir to all their rights and privileges. An Imperial Constitution in India is, from the very nature of things, as impossible as a Popular form of Government, for the traditional form of Government in India as throughout the East has always been that of a Despotism.

In the case of India in particular it should be noted that this Despotism has been for many centuries, since the first invasion of the Mahomedans in the eleventh century, almost entirely of a foreign nature. The ancient Hindu Kingdoms were despotisms. The Mahomedan kingdoms which rose from their ruins were despotisms. The rule of the Mogal which absorbed all these petty kingdoms was absolutely despotic in its nature. Under none of these would a position of even "Subordinate Union"—as is the last invented title—of a chief have been tolerated for a moment; for the condition of existence of the ruling element, as of the dominant race, was the entire subjection of the ruled or conquered chiefs and peoples, whether of similar or alien descent. The subordinate chief was only allowed to exist at all in consideration of his recognition of this fact, and the first sign of independent action upon his part was the signal for a struggle, which could have no other termination but in his destruction or the subversion of the hitherto ruling element.

The British Government has succeeded to the rights and traditions of past ages, and by any attempt to modify the position which it now holds it would, so far from adding to the stability of its rule, run the risk of weakening considerably its present claims upon the loyalty and obedience of the numerous and discordant races which acknowledge its supremacy in India.

The term by which a Native State is technically designated in India,

* The able author, probably, means "Dynasty," for Native Sovereign States have existed in India long before the advent of the Romans in Great Britain.—*Ed.*

namely, "Reyasat," the seat of rule of a "Rais" or Governor, is sufficient evidence of the origin of their constitution, and the regard in which they are held by the public in India. While the British Government is invariably spoken of as the "Sirkár" or the Government *par excellence*, or the "Dowlat-e-Inglize," which would correspond to "the British Empire," a Native State is never alluded to but as a "Reyasat."

Are we to change these relations? and for what object?

That a chief of a State which owes its existence to our assistance or toleration, may claim to treat on an equal footing with that Government which all his traditions have taught him to regard as Supreme. For, apart from the question of the groundlessness of such pretensions, what benefit would accrue to us politically from the entertainment of such a scheme? It must be considered that the Native States of India do not, with the exception of the Sikh and Rajput States, constitute, as would be the case with European States, areas of territory inhabited by races homogeneous amongst themselves, though distinct from those surrounding them.

Owing to centuries upon centuries of warfare, and struggles between contending nationalities, the various races of India have become so inextricably mixed up all over the continent that it by no means follows as a matter of course that the majority of the local population of a Native State should be of the same race, or even religion, as their rulers.

In the case of the State of Hyderabad in the Deccan the dominant race is very much in the minority, the Nizam and the ruling classes who are Mahommedans not being even of the same religion as by far the greater part of his subjects who are Hindoos. In the case of the State of Cashmere the position is reversed, for the Maharajah and his officers are all Hindus, while the majority of the inhabitants are Mahommedans, and it was the intolerably cruel and oppressive treatment by the former of his Mahommedan subjects which led to such salutary measures being taken to ensure the amendment of his rule. [See our Preface to this letter. *Ed.*]

Again in the State of Gwalior and Indore, where the Mahrattas are the dominant race, a great part of the population is of Rajput origin, and these rival races regard one another with the bitterest hatred; the proud and aristocratic Rajput on account of his position of subjection, and the upstart and pretentious Mahratta, on account of the desperate struggles which his position of superiority has cost him. Under such circumstances, granted the possibility of a constitutional Union of the Native States of India with the paramount power in a position of more or less equality, what would be its advantages?

Would a Hindu subject fight more loyally against our enemies at the command of a Mahommedan ruler? or would a haughty Rajput be more ready to draw his sword on our behalf at the bidding of his Mahratta conqueror?

The fact is that the pretensions of the Native States of India are as fantastic and sentimental as any that were ever propounded by the National Congress, and, as I pointed out in leading articles which appeared in the *Times of India* of January 19th and 31st ultmo, from which quotations have been largely made in the present paper, no Englishman is doing any good service to his country by drawing attention to them.

As to what Sir Roper Lethbridge with a ponderous facetiousness, terms the "Abracadabra and Mumbo-jumbo business of the Foreign Office," the elaborate works of Messrs. Tupper and Lee-Warner should be sufficient evidence of the genuineness of the obscurity and mystery attaching to the relations existing between the Native States of India and the Paramount Power, for these being founded mainly, not upon written law or tactics, but upon precedent and practice, have defied all their labours to reduce to any system or to describe in any but general terms.

Such an exposition of Indian Political Law then as Sir Mortimar Durand is credited with, would appear almost impossible, and the extract from Mr. Lee-Warner's book quoted by Sir Roper Lethbridge in which he says "There is no question that there is a paramount power in the British Crown, but perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined. There is subordination in the Native States, but perhaps it is better understood and not explained" may be taken, as the ablest, as it appears to be the only, deduction to be made from a study of the subject. The chiefs of the Native States in India enjoy infinitely more liberty under the rule of the British Government than would have been accorded to them under any Asiatic Paramount Power,* and as the diversity of the circumstances of their relations with the British Government, which vary with almost each individual State, renders the committing of the same to a body of rules or formula almost impossible, so it is equally to their interest, as it is to ours, that these relations should remain undefined, for the fact of their definition would, as Mr. Lee-Warner has pointed out, inevitably be the first step towards the curtailment of the large margin of liberty at present allowed to the States concerned.

Again as regards ourselves anyone who has had sufficient experience of Asiatics to understand their train of thought, will know that a Policy of Concessions is one of the most dangerous that could be initiated by an Asiatic Power towards its subjects and tributaries, especially if, as is the case with our position in India, it constitutes an infinitesimal proportion amongst the local population, for to their minds it conveys no impression but that of a sense of weakness.

Tyranny and every sort of violence they have been accustomed to for centuries from their own Asiatic Rulers, and they fully appreciate the strict justice and honesty of our dealings with them, but anything beyond this is outside of their comprehension.

The first concession which we make of our just rights would convey no impression of generosity on our part, but only that we are too weak to maintain the same and would be the immediate signal for the advancement of further pretensions.

The inauguration of a Policy of Concessions would infallibly be interpreted by the States and Peoples whom we rule over in India as a confession of weakness, and such a confession would, according to all the traditions of the East, be regarded as almost equivalent to an abdication by us from our national position of supremacy in the country.

C. E. BIDDULPH."

We have no doubt that there will be full and authoritative rejoinders to this letter, which, we fear, is scarcely likely to promote British influence in

* China gives more liberty.—*Ed.*

Native States. We are not aware that Sir Roper Lethbridge has advocated a policy of Concessions, though much might be said even in favour of such a policy. From the objective and academical standpoint which we would desire to occupy, even in dealing with questions within the range of practical politics, we believe that we can assert, without fear of refutation, that a perusal of the history of our advent in India and of the Treaties, overt and covert, with the Native States will show that, in claiming a quasi-sovereign position for them, we are not only keeping good faith, but that we are also strengthening the basis of our own rule and *raison d'être* in India.—*Ed.*

We understand that it is intended to hold next year an Exhibition at Earl's Court of the Art-Industrial products of India and to engage a number of the most skilled native workmen to come over to this country and to show their processes at the Exhibition itself, in typical Indian streets and shops to resemble those of Lahore, Shikarpur and Ahmadabad respectively. The difficulty with them, as with visitors of a higher Class, is to keep them, in their native respectability, among the temptations that will beset them on every side alike from well-meaning and mischievous persons. Any interference with the Caste or religion of the workmen is to be deprecated, if we wish them to return to their country with undiminished respect for Englishmen and Englishwomen. Nor is it right for us to try and alienate natives from their own families, caste-privileges and even patrimonies to gratify an irresponsible desire of "setting things right." These workmen come here to show and sell their workmanship, not to be preached at or to be denationalized. We understand that the architectural and artistic arrangements for their accommodation will be directed by Mr. C. Purdon-Clarke, C.I.E., than whom no more competent man could be thought of, and that Mr. Watson, the well-known Anglo-Indian merchant, has started to select the workmen, but we hope that such a laudable undertaking will have the special countenance and support of the India Office, for in India and to India, everything English is part and parcel of the "Sirkâr" or Government and everything should be done that may redound to its credit.

In our issue of January 1893 appears a long and extremely able and suggestive letter from Mr. Cecil B. Phipson, quoted from the *Morning Post*, in which he advocates that the Indian Government should itself purchase Bills in the local markets instead of depending on the sales of the India Council Bills in England, which, although open to public competition, are practically in the hands of a few Bankers and Merchants who can thus regulate exchange in accordance with their interests. As a matter of fact, though everyone may tender for these Bills, the exchange goes down on Mondays and Tuesdays and rises on Thursdays and Fridays after the allotment of the India Council Bills on Wednesdays. The question then arises, not only on this point but generally, *who* makes the rate and here we are flooded with suggestions and alleged panaceas, on which we are scarcely competent to express more than our astonishment that there should be such diversity of *opinion* on what would seem to be so exclusively a

matter of ascertainable *fact*. Mr. Phipson has again suggested his remedy in a letter to the *Times* of the 6th September last and it is with regard to it that a Banker writes to us as follows: "Mr. Phipson states that the export Merchants draw for *completed operations in trade*, but this is not so, as an enormous amount of the exports are speculative, *vide* the *losses* constantly made and the difficulties experienced by the Exchange Banks who finance them. Any Government purchasing bills in this way would have to run this risk,—besides, the Council bills are purchased to *close* simultaneous purchases in India and in the majority of cases are *not* speculative. Finally, the fact of the Indian Government coming into the markets as large buyers of bills would indubitably put the market against them. As to the Indian Government not employing the Bank of Bengal to make their purchases, the result would be much the same were they to employ brokers or *anyone*—and as to inviting *tenders*, the idea does not seem to me worth entertaining." We shall be glad to hear the reply of Mr. Phipson to these objections.

The management of the British Museum, especially in its Oriental Department, seems to demand an exhaustive inquiry in the interests of science and of the British taxpayer. We have received an article showing in detail that the Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities are badly arranged and many of them wrongly described in the so-called "Guide" to them, published under the auspices of the Museum Authorities. We hope to receive the confirmation or refutation of these and other criticisms regarding our National Trust in time for our next issue, when we hope to be able to deal with them in an exhaustive manner.

LAST NEWS REGARDING THE VISIT OF 'H. H. THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN TO ENGLAND.

It is very doubtful whether the Amir of Afghanistan will be able to accept the invitation of the Queen to visit England, which he has acknowledged with the greatest satisfaction and pleasure. The politics of Afghanistan are too uncertain and require too much personal control, to make the absence of the ruler an easy matter. In any case, should the visit be possible it would not be paid till late in the spring of next year. But the probabilities are against it.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE ALLAHABAD GOVERNMENT PRESS; INDIA.

1. *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, by M. S. HOWELL, C.I.E., LL.D. (1894). The third Fasciculus of the first Part of Dr. Howell's Arabic Grammar has recently appeared. This work, being based on the Mufasssal of Az Zamakhshari is to consist of four Parts, the first on the Noun, the second on the Verb, the third on the Particle, and the fourth on Processes common to two or more of the three parts of speech. Parts II. and III. on the Verb and Particle were published in 1880. Part I. is still in progress. The first Fasciculus, published in 1883, contains (pp. 1-498) the Introduction and the first four Chapters, on (1) the Noun in General, (2) the Generic Noun, (3) the Proper Name, (4) the Inflected Noun. The second, published in 1886, contains (pp. 499-861) Chapter v. on the Uninflected Noun, comprising the Pronouns, Demonstratives, Conjuncts, Verbal Nouns and Ejaculations, Uninflected Adverbs, Compounds, and Uninflected Metonyms, and Chapter vi. on the Dual. The present Fasciculus gives (pp. 862-1422) Chapters vii. on the Plural, viii. on the Indeterminate and Determinate, ix. on the Masculine and Feminine, x. on the Diminutive, and xi. on the Relative Noun. The next Fasciculus, which is now, we believe, in the Press, will complete this voluminous Part. The book comes out slowly; but the wonder is that a work of such magnitude should be brought out at all by a scholar the bulk of whose time is necessarily engrossed by his judicial duties in India, where Dr. Howell holds the office of Judicial Commissioner of Oudh.

The work is intended to be a book of reference rather than a student's manual, the author's object being to indicate the opinions of the various schools of grammar among the Arabs on all disputed points. Many pages are, therefore, often occupied by the discussion of points dogmatically disposed of by ordinary grammars in a couple of lines. The grammars compiled by European scholars all give lists of plural formations, and then state that each formation is derived from such and such a singular. In this they follow Ibn Malik, who reversed the practice of the older grammarians, which was to mention the singular formations, and then state that each formation produced such and such plurals. Dr. Howell, following Sibawaih, Az Zamakhshari, Ibn Al Hajib and their Commentators, has reverted to the older and, in our opinion, sounder practice. The Chapter on the Indeterminate and Determinate contains much curious and recondite learning, notably the passages on the comparative degrees of determinateness in nouns, a subject not even broached in any of the ordinary grammars written by European scholars, and the discussion on the rule that, when an indeterminate is repeated indeterminate, the second is different from the first, but that, when an indeterminate is repeated determinate or, when a determinate is repeated determinate or indeterminate, the second is identical with the first. The Chapter on the Masculine and Feminine is remarkable for an exhaustive list of the various

reasons governing the affixion of the ة to nouns, and for a curious demonstration that the feminization of such words as الزَيْنَبَاتُ the *Zainabs* is only tropical. In the Chapter on the Diminutive we observe that the rule for retaining the ا of فَعْلَانُ in the diminutive is correctly stated to be the absence of the plural فَعَالَيْنِ, and not, as is given by Ibn Á'kil, and the European grammarians, who seem to follow him like sheep, the noun's having a feminine فَعْلَى; though Dr. Howell shows that even the former test is criticised by Ar Radi as inadequate. We note the great pains taken by Dr. Howell to trace and complete the fragmentary examples cited by his authorities from poetry and tradition. Neglect of this precaution has led the great lexicologist, Lane, into many errors, some of which are pointed out by Dr. Howell; as, e.g. in his Note at p. 924, l. 9.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; LONDON.

2. *Notes on Muhammadanism*, by the REV. T. P. HUGHES, M.R.A.S. (1894; 6/.) This valuable little book has reached a third edition, and it may, therefore, be taken as meeting a certain demand. It states, and on the whole both correctly and (if we may coin a word) unfanatically, the system of the Muhammadan religion as founded on the Quran, and on tradition: absolute impartiality cannot be expected in the work of a missionary explaining a religion for the purpose of refuting it. Mr. Hughes is occasionally unfair: e.g., at p. 79 he states that Muhammad got his archangels from the Jews, though neither their number nor all their names agree, and then charges him with inaccuracy because they do not agree; and at p. 93, he has the usual misconception about a sensual heaven, which it is high time we gave up. Equally unjust are his remarks, p. 115, on Moslem prayer not being real prayer. His strictures on the pilgrimage to Mecca do not quite fall in with the Biblical precepts of going up at stated times to the Temple. His condemnation of Muta' (temporary) marriages is just; but we await to see him prove from the Quran that Muhammad sanctioned them. This new reprint has evidently not been brought up to date; and at p. 205 we find Shere Ali Khan mentioned in the prayer for the *reigning* monarch (of the Afghans)! In indicating these blemishes, we do not wish in the least to decry a very able and painstaking exposition of the Muhammadan religion, which is deserving of close study, by missionaries especially, before they begin to preach against it in public. Some whom we have seen cutting a poor figure at Bazaar-controversy would have fared all the better for a study of this useful handbook.

3. *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, by W. E. GRIFFIS. (1882.) The author of this elaborate work has given a very detailed account of Korea and its history down to the date of his publication. Though without any personal knowledge of the peninsula, he had collected his materials with care. Père Dallet, of course, furnishes most of his descriptions of the country and people; but where Mr. Griffis' work is of more commanding interest is when he utilizes, for the elucidation of Korean history, Japanese sources in which his long residence in that country rendered him a proficient. He

has, therefore; massed together for his readers a perfect magazine of information regarding this interesting country, of which it is a common mistake to think that little has been written and that its people are misanthropes and haters of foreigners. As a matter of fact, Korea has been often described, under very varying circumstances and by very dissimilar persons. These descriptions certainly show some unpleasant qualities in its people; but at the same time they also disclose much that is not only good but excellent in their characters and manners. We must refer our readers to Mr. Griffis' interesting pages for details, as our limits prevent us from quoting passages or even describing contents. We must, however, add that his work, full and thorough as it is, labours under the disadvantage that its author had not dwelt in the country. Hence some of the statements regarding manners and customs, taken at second-hand and true enough when penned, have ceased to be correct. They are no longer observed; for Korea has no more been able to remain steadfast and unchangeable than other parts of the world. In the main, however, it is perhaps the best and safest guide regarding Korean affairs that is at the disposal of the English speaking public.

MESSRS. ASHER AND CO.; LONDON.

4. *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization, from 2,300 B.C. to 200 A.D., or chapters on the elements derived from the old civilization of W. Asia in the formation of ancient Chinese culture*, by TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE. (1894; 21/-) Professor Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie is a well-known authority on China, and a scholar of wide reading, deep study and profound research: hence, whatever he writes on China deserves great attention and careful study. In his present work, which can scarcely be called complete while several papers which he mentions in it are still in manuscript, he gives at great detail and length the proofs for his belief that the early civilization of China came with the Bak tribes from the West, i.e., Chaldea and the neighbouring lands. He notices philological and social parallels, many of which we find to be scarcely conclusive, and several not correctly stated; but the mass of materials which he has accumulated cannot fail to be of service in the eventual solution of the extent to which China is indebted to the West for the origins of its civilization. While paying our willing tribute to our author's diligence, erudition and energy, we must not fail to note a great absence of order in his book. The first page tells us (Chap. I.) that "In beginning the following chapters I propose first to summarize Ch. III., IV. and V. . . on which rests at present *my own discovery*." The book consists of papers issued at different times, at various stages of the discovery, and in rather undigested form and unintelligible order. The end of the Introduction tells us "to read first the pp. 373-397, before proceeding with any other part"; and he admits "that when the present book was begun (writing and printing in 1889) I did not know what its conclusions would be. My object was simply (1) a resumé of a certain number of previous articles, monographs and even books in which I had studied separate points of Chinese archæology . . . and (2) a continuance of the inquiry into such

other sources as had contributed to the formation of Chinese culture." With such gradual development it is no wonder that faults have had to be "successively corrected by cross references as the work advanced towards its completion, and especially in the chapter of Additions and Emendations (pp. 338-372)." Besides all this, we find, making every allowance for a gentleman writing in a language not his own, a want of revision in the formation of sentences and a use of wrong words: surely the learned Professor has English friends who would gladly have saved him from publishing his learned book in an English which is not only much tinctured with French idiom, but is also prolix, confused and in places inaccurate. In noting these defects, however, we do not wish to detract from the sterling value of Prof. de Lacouperie's book, which we hope he will be able to perfect, and which in the meantime we gladly recommend to our readers as a veritable storehouse of information regarding the ancient civilization of China.

M. JULES BARBIER; CAIRO.

5. *Les Egyptiens*, par KASSEM-AMIN. (1894.) The Duc d'Harcourt, who, in publishing his impressions of Egypt, had given vent to depreciating remarks about Egyptians and Islamism, has brought upon himself a sharp and telling rejoinder from the pen of an Egyptian Barrister of the Cairo Court of Appeal, written in excellent French. It is not difficult to refute the remarks of tourist writers, especially when, quitting their own slender personal experiences, they proceed, as they usually do, to generalize without sufficient foundation. Kassem Amin Bey takes the Duc d'Harcourt up categorically; but while refuting what he considers incorrect in the Duc's statements, he gives us his own views of Egypt and Islam, which we have found very readable and interesting. He naturally inclines perhaps as much on one side as the Duc d'Harcourt did on the other; but he often turns the tables with great effect against Western civilization; and with due allowance, his book furnishes matter for deep consideration, and we heartily recommend it to our readers.

MESSRS. J. BARTHOLOMEW AND CO.; EDINBURGH.

6. *Bartholomew's Special War Map of China, Japan and Korea*. (The Edinburgh Geographical Institute, 1894; 1s.) A well-executed and coloured map of Korea and its surroundings (25" x 19"), giving (in separate compartments over what would otherwise be the almost blank Pacific) smaller delineations of Peking, Shanghai, Tokio, and Canton with Hong Kong, and a small map of Asia, which is there called "The Far East." It is a good map, and may well be called a War-map, not only because of the circumstances leading to its issue, but also because none can tell to how much of the various lands and seas exhibited here the war may yet extend.

MESSRS. G. BELL AND SONS; LONDON, AND NEW YORK.

7. *The Great Indian Epics*, by J. C. OMAN. (1894; 5/-.) It fairly takes away a poor Orientalist's breath, to find a map bold enough to undertake

the task of popularizing the two great Indian Epics, without any knowledge of Sanskrit. But, as our author says, these books have been so accurately rendered into English by both Eastern and Western scholars, that these translations obviate the need of Sanskrit scholarship, except for niceties of language, expression and sentiment, which count for little in a summary exposition of the tale, meant for the general reader. Such a summary he has given, in very interesting form, in this book, which epitomises the leading points of the two great Indian Poems, the *Ramayana* and the *Maha-Bharata*, in the way in which we have stories from Shakespear, Molière, Calderon, etc. There is a chapter detailing the author's visit to Thanesar which is identified as the site of the battle of Kurukshetra. Three appendices deal with the *Bhagavatgita*, the Churning of the ocean, and the story of Nala and Damayanti. A few notes and an epilogue conclude a very readable book which puts within the reach of the ordinary reader, a fair knowledge of some of the best works of the human intellect—works combining the sublime and the ridiculous in a strange way. The publishers of this neat book have done their part well, and the frontispiece is a good specimen of Indian painting, reproduced in colours.

MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; EDINBURGH.

8. *Totemism*, by J. G. FRAZER, M.A. (1887; 3/6.) Mr. Frazer's wide reading, deep study and profound scholarship are too well known to need more here than a passing tribute. The work now before us contains the notes collected by him in preparing the article on Totemism in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which he was unable to utilize more than a selection from them. The collection and the collector's remarks exemplify,—were it necessary—the qualifications we have noted as characteristic of Mr. Frazer's works. He is cautious and adheres to his points; and while he states facts, and classifies them under their respective heads, he very sensibly declines to be led away into the regions of airy speculations and unfounded generalization into which the bulk of writers on Totemism are too apt to rush. The study of Totemism is, however, still incomplete, and we hope Mr. Frazer will be able to advance it many stages further; for though his book, which is little solely because it is in small type, is most interesting to read, yet it leaves us rather disappointed when we find, at its conclusion (p. 95): "No satisfactory explanation of the origin of totemism has yet been given." While honouring this fearless candour and thanking him for the large instalment of information here given, we venture, like Oliver Twist, to ask for more from his gifted pen.

9. *Landmarks of Church History*, by HENRY COWAN, D.D. (London: A. and C. Black; Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark; 1894; 6d.), is a volume of the *Guild Text Books* series; and its closely printed 152 pages bring that history down to the death of Calvin, A.D. 1564—a date chosen, of course, for its connection with the Scotch Church. Prof. Cowan always strives conscientiously to be impartial, and he is generally successful; although, like many another ecclesiastical writer, he sees in past history only the lines that favour the later development of his own peculiar form

of belief. It is, in fact, impossible to write a perfectly impartial history of Christianity, since Christianity unfortunately took to what a Zoologist might call "multiplication by fission." He is fair to Islam, and just in his strictures on Constantine; but he does not mention the glaring shortcomings of Charlemagne. He fails to see that the Real Presence which he admits in the Eucharist is but Transubstantiation in different words (p. 78); and he is judiciously critical on such difficult subjects as celibacy, monasticism and Gregory VII. When we come to the Inquisition, the mediæval papacy and the reformation, Prof. Cowan, from his point of view, continues to be a guide; but it hardly need be said that here representatives of other forms of Christianity will think he is decidedly wrong. Allowance being made for the author's standpoint, we have no hesitation in calling this a very fair, thorough and useful book.

MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO.; LONDON, PARIS AND MELBOURNE.

10. Dr. Robert Brown's *Story of Africa and its Explorers* (Vol. III., 1894; 7s. 6d.) has now reached its 3d volume, which is as profusely and beautifully illustrated and as well got up as the two preceding ones, like which it continues to be full, detailed, correct and impartial in its letterpress. Taking up the story at the year 1877, we have the expeditions of Col. Serpa Pinto, M. Collard, Dr. Bradshaw, Senhor Anchieta, Major Wissman and several others; Equatoria and Emin Pasha's relief; and the Sahara with its explorations. Chapters V. and VI. deal with missionary enterprise, the latter treating of Uganda. Man and beast, with tales of sport take up three chapters. Chapters X. and XI. give details of other journeys, and tell how the hunter was followed by the scientific traveller; Chapters XII. and XIII. deal with the further development of the Congo State, and doings in Central Africa; ending with the beginning of the "Scramble for Africa." The next volume promises a retrospect and the history of that scramble. We cannot speak too highly of this excellent work.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

11. *Earl Amherst*, by ANNE THACKERAY RITCHIE and RICHARDSON EVANS. (1894; 2s. 6d.) This latest volume of the "*Rulers of India Series*," introduces the novelty of a double authorship, though the result amalgamates so well that each author's contribution is not easily separable, except here and there. There is the further novelty of mis-spelling Indian words, as e.g. Kemaul for Kurnul (p. 205), which seems unpardonable with the author of "*The Gazetteer of India*" acting at Editor. The very free, not to say excessive use of Lady Amherst's Diaries does not help to make the historical points stand out as clearly and distinctly as they should; but, on the other hand, it makes the life of Lord Amherst more picturesque and life-like, by quoting the impressions of the hour noted down by one so cognizant of all that was passing as the Governor-General's wife. The siege of Bhartpur is dismissed in a few pages, of which an undue part is taken up "from a domestic point of view." The scurvy treatment of poor Sir David Ochterlony does not meet the condemnation it deserves:

the stoppages of the heroic veteran's allowances are not even mentioned. On the whole we have here an excellent life of Lord Amherst, as a man and a ruler; but the history of his times and the events of his Governor-Generalship are not so completely and well told as we had a right to expect. It seems out of place to describe for instance, the military operations of the Burmese war by extracts of Lady Amherst's diaries, instead of summarizing the official records of the campaign. Notwithstanding these defects, the book is well written and very pleasant to read.

MESSRS. T. AND T. CLARK; EDINBURGH.

12. *Lexicon Syriacum*, auctore CAROLO BROCKELMANN; pt. i. (1894; 4/-), is the beginning of a much needed work, which is intended to give every Syriac word in all the known books of that language, with the derivatives classed under their root-forms and indicated in a different type. It is judiciously given in Syriac-Latin, so as to serve the learned of all countries; and in this, besides other points, it excels the Syro-Arabic Dictionary of Father Cardahi, S.J., published by the famous Beyruth Catholic Press. So far as we have been able to judge from a cursory examination of the part just issued, it leaves little to be desired, whether in printing, arrangement, meaning and reference to the places where the words occur. It promises, when completed, to be a most useful and elaborate work. Prof. T. Nöldeke is to write a preface for it. The first part now in our hands consists of 80 pages.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON.

13. *Studia Sinaitica*, Vols. II. and III. "Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of St. Catharene on Mount Sinai." Compiled by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON. We trust that the gifted authoress of these Studies has not merely adorned herself with the feathers of those monks and others that wrote out or corrected for her the Catalogue of this Treasury of Arabic Christian Manuscripts (Gospels, Hymnologies, etc.), but that she has also enough knowledge of Arabic and of Greek to compare with the original the volume that precedes this catalogue and that contains the Arabic translation of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians and a part of the Ephesians. Not that we expect any new light on disputed renderings, but it would be interesting to find another corroboration of our own version in a Ninth Century Manuscript. Judging from a few passages, we find much to encourage and a little to puzzle the ordinary Bible Student. For instance, Romans xii. 15 to 21 are like our own *ipsissima verba*, but in Second Corinthians x., the 3rd verse is either badly punctuated or gives the following meaning:

Arabic (Sinaitic) Version.

Verses 2-3. "They think about us those who walk in the ways of the flesh and march in the flesh, although we do not *strive* according to the flesh."

English New Testament Version.

"Some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh:

"For though we walk in the flesh, we do not *war* after the flesh."

It is very interesting that the word for "strive" is taken from the root "Jahd," the very same which, although merely meaning "an effort," has, in the form of "Jehád," been misconstrued as an appeal to Muhammadans to exterminate infidels in "a sacred war," though "Jehád" merely means "an effort," whether for spiritual or worldly purposes. Thus too might it seem by the use of "Jahd" in a Christian text that "a sacred war" against non-Christians was encouraged, a view that would be strengthened by the Greek original *ἀπαρνούμεθα*.

That the Arabic text requires some further editing or explanation has already been shown in verse 3, but verse 8 might suggest a controversy. In that verse where St. Paul admittedly claims spiritual authority over the Corinthians, he says "*your* authority" in the Sinaitic Manuscript, instead of "*our* authority," *ἐξουσίας ἡμῶν*, as in the Greek New Testament. Notice *en passant* the word "Sultán" for "authority" in the Arabic Text.

The two versions read as follows :

Arabic (Sinaitic) Version.

Verse 8. "And we if I were to boast of something more exalted on account of *your* Sultan (authority) whom God has given for your building up and not for your decline."

English New Testament Version.

"For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction."

Surely, if there be any practical object in printing such an important Arabic Text, a literal English translation should accompany it and the Arabic punctuation should be rendered as clear and as correct as possible.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; WESTMINSTER.

14. *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, by J. F. HEWITT. (1894 ; 18/.) It would take a patient student fully two months of hard study and close analysis to digest the 600 pages of small type in which our author gives us, in six Essays, the results of his long study into the origin of races, myths, and histories. His foot-note references show the extent of his reading, and the book itself teems with instances of his deep knowledge of subjects as varied as they are numerous. The following quotations, taken at random, will show better than any review confined to the small space at our disposal here, both what the book contains and the way in which the materials are worked up. P. 241 : "They (the Purus) were the sons of Joseph, whose name means the Asipu of the Jews, the Gurus, or tribal teachers of the Hindus, and the *Exegetae* of the Greeks. Their mother, Rachel, the ewe, was loved by Jacob before Leah, the wild cow, and as Zara, the red, or the father of the red race, the youngest of the twin sons of Tamar, the Babylonian palm-tree, ruled those of his elder brother, Perez, 'the breach' or the cleaving pole, so Ephraim, the two Ashes (Eper), the youngest son of Joseph, ruled the eldest, the Manassite priests of the phallic-worshipping sons of Dan." At p. 302, "They (the sons of the fire-god), led by Joshua the son of Nun, which means in Hebrew 'the fish,' and allied with the sons of Caleb, 'the dog,' took Jericho, the moon city of the goddess Ashtoreth, or Esther, by the help of Rahab, the

alligator, and Marduk, the bull, and superseded the rule of the Akkadian-Turanian Finns by that of the Semites, making the Semites the successors of the Kushites in the rule of Southern Asia and Egypt, a conquest which enables us to explain," etc. In Pref., p. xxiv: "Hence the barley-growing races, whose royal stock was left by the father-tree of righteousness to rule the land were the sons of the year of three seasons, and the young bull-god reared on the corn preserved in the mother-jar. It is this myth which is again exactly reproduced in that of Ab-ram and Sara, in which the sun-god Ra or Ram, the son of Terah, the antelope of Nahor, or the Euphrates, becomes by Sara the withered husk which nurses the seed grain in its growth out of the earth, the father of Isaac the 'laughing' corn-stalk crowned with its ripe ear. He is the blind house-pole, father of the generations of barley-growers born from his twin sons Esau, the goat-god, and his Hittite wives, parents of the sons of Edom, or the red earth, the home of the red race, and from Ja-kob, the sun water-god Ia, and his wives Leah, the wild cow, and Rachel, the ewe, daughters of Laban, the moon-god of Haran. They were the mothers of the law-abiding, ploughing race, the sons of the bull and the wild cow, and the prophet-shepherd sons of the sheep-mother and the ram, the sun-god consecrated to Varuna, the god of the rain (*var*) and of the dark heaven of night. The race thus born was that of the Semitic traders which constantly strove to make morality and religion synonymous terms, and who changed the parent-tree of the trading races, the Vaishya, from the Udumbara or *ficus glomerata*, the tree out of which the Amshu Graha or cup representing the Soma plant or tree of life, drunk at the idolatrous Soma sacrifices was made to the Ashvattha or Pipul-tree, the *Ficus religiosa*." These typical extracts speak for the book far better than any words of ours could: they show its materials, method, nature, scope, and style.

15. *Addiscombe, its heroes and men of note*, by COLONEL H. M. VIBART. (1894; 21s.) What Haileybury proved for the Indian Civil Service, that Addiscombe became eventually for all the Indian Military Services, after having been awhile confined to the Artillery and Engineers. The two sister institutions, which rose and fell within a few years of each other, had each a life of just over half a century. Both did their work most efficiently; and both furnished the nation with an excellent class of men, whose valour, skill, judgment and administrative abilities have been the main agents in building up our present splendid Indian Empire, to the mutual advantage of both England and India. Messrs. Constable and Co., who lately issued the history of Haileybury, reviewed in our July 1894 issue, now give us that of the junior but equally great sister: the two books are uniform publications—the same in size and type, and equally well illustrated. The historian of Addiscombe is Colonel Vibart; and he gives a full account of the College, its officers and its cadets, in excellent style and accurate details. In fact, to our taste, he has produced a book much superior to that of the more practised writers who clubbed together to record the history of Haileybury. Colonel Vibart's delineations of character are exceedingly good, and as an instance we may specify that of Mr. "Chaw" Bowles, the Hindustani Teacher (pp. 72 and foll.); and there is plenty of

rippling fun in the numerous anecdotes interspersed in the book. The sketches of the "services" of the more distinguished Cadets show how important a part was taken by Addiscombe in Indian history. The College was closed in 1861, on the amalgamation of the British and Indian military services. Several of its distinguished scholars, however, still survive, with glorious records; but though, in time, they too shall pass away, the name of Addiscombe, like that of Haileybury, is indelibly written in large and glittering characters upon every page of Indian history since the two colleges began sending out their scholars; and these two twin volumes furnish the details of the teachers, officers and students of the sister-colleges, than which few educational institutions can furnish a more glorious catalogue of *alumni*.

MESSRS. DIGBY, LONG AND CO.; LONDON.

16. *Winter and Summer Excursions in Canada*, by C. L. JOHNSTONE. (1894; 6s.) It is a pleasant surprise to find a book of travels free from petty details of personal adventures and incidents, and filled, instead with valuable information on every point regarding the country itself and the people. The amount of ignorance in England and elsewhere concerning Canada is simply astounding, not only in the general reader, but even among those who help to send emigrants thither. Our author has travelled and inspected the country very thoroughly, has collected from various sources a vast and complete body of information on every useful point, and has here put it at the disposal of her readers, in a clear narrative, full of most interesting details. The information is not classified under various heads, as rigid order might seem to demand; but a book like this must be read carefully right through, and the reader before he closes it will have found every necessary information regarding Canada, pleasantly intermingled. While rather pessimistic it is eminently practical. At p. 153, *e.g.* "A baby though charming in theory is not equally pleasant to the hardworked farmer when it shrieks throughout the night in the little wooden house . . . and no soothing syrup at hand." Besides being full of information the book is interesting, fairly illustrated, and very well got up.

THE EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY'S PRESS; BOMBAY.

17. *The Wit and Humour of the Persians*, by MIHERJIBHAI NOSHERWANJI KUKA, M.A. (1894; Rs. 2.) The field of Persian literature is as varied and pleasant as it is extensive and rich. Mr. Kuka gives us, from his stores of Persian reading, a choice selection of humorous, witty and pleasant pieces, of varied length, which we have perused with pleasure and which we can recommend to our readers. About half are given in both Persian and English; the remainder is an English translation only. The general reader will find the play of fancy made fully intelligible in Mr. Kuka's translations and short remarks, even though he may not know a word of the Persian language, while the Persian scholar will enjoy an enhanced pleasure in reading many of the originals with Mr. Kuka's renderings. The book includes several good chronograms in the *Abjad*

reckoning ; and we note with pleasure several excellent specimens of verses by the compiler himself. His book shows both his intimate acquaintance with Persian literature and his thorough facility in managing the language for versification.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON.

18. *Japan and the Pacific*, by MANJIRO INAGAKI, B.A. (7s. 6d.), with maps, by a Japanese graduate of Cambridge, is a palpable sign of the times. The book is divided into two parts. The second,—much the longer of the two—deals with the “Eastern Question,” including Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, India, and Indo-China, beginning with the days of the Emperor Charles V. This history, of which many a Bengallee Baboo might be proud, is written in excellent English. At p. 85 we have a statement of the countries inherited by Philip II., among which Spain, strange to say, is *not* included ; and at p. 87, “the glorious death of Wolfe [*died*, Sept., 1759] on the Heights of Abraham was followed by the surrender of Montreal and the brilliant victory of Plassey [*fought* June 23, 1757] in India by Clive over the French” ! Discussing how Russia may get the upper hand, and again how England may circumvent the Northern Bear, we are treated to some profound principles of politics and of strategy, *e.g.*, when told, p. 236, that “a Russian force in occupation of Afghanistan, might convert Afghanistan into the advanced post of Russia.” That *might* is delicious. It is the first part, however, which is of the greater importance to us ; for it shows the feelings and anticipations of the Japanese as to their future position in the management of the affairs of the world. The conclusion, not given in so many words, is that the alliance of Japan is necessary for both Britain and Russia, and that whichever of them Japan joins, the two allies will dominate perhaps the world, certainly the Pacific.

MESSRS. HUTCHINSON AND CO. ; LONDON.

19. *A Decade in Borneo*, by MRS. W. B. PRYER. (1894 ; 3/6.) A charming book, full of varied information pleasantly told. The history of the Colony and its vicissitudes, the climate, productions and capabilities of the country, the character, manners and customs of its people are all detailed, with adventures with pirates and in shooting and travelling expeditions, which are of commanding interest. Borneo is but little known ; yet it deserves greater attention than it has hitherto met ; and Mrs. Pryer's excellent book will, we hope, be the cause and forerunner of a still further development of its colonization and resources. Borneo should be able to attract the sportsman, the trader, the scientific traveller and the planter.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO. ; LONDON.

20. *The Jewish method of Slaughter*, by J. A. DEMBO, M.D. (1894 ; 2/6.) This is a work on a gruesome subject but of manifold interest. Our author examines in a purely scientific spirit the various modes of slaughtering animals, from the humanitarian, economic and hygienic standpoints ; and he gives his verdict, with a mass of evidence and reasoning, in favour of what

he calls the Jewish method, but which would perhaps be more appropriately called the Oriental, as it is not peculiar to the Jews only. Referring our readers to the book itself for details, we confine ourselves to indicating that its contents justify the Mosaic law and Oriental custom, convey valuable hygienic information regarding meat, point out much avoidable cruelty to animals, and show the absurd action of some branches of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals: their writers, like those of the anti-opium agitation, are not above using false statements to further their fads. If animals must be slaughtered for food, by all means the question of *how* needs careful study and legislation. Our author furnishes the materials for this purpose.

MESSRS. KENNY AND CO.; CAMDEN ROAD, LONDON.

21. *Reservoirs in the Valley of the Nile, with a Map* (1894), is a small but important pamphlet, stating what is involved in this much-discussed question. While not denying the good to be done to the agricultural interest of Egypt by the proposed works, the committee of the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt, for whom the pamphlet is prepared, show that much evil too must result to ancient monuments, and they even indicate other dangers the ensuing of which is within the bounds of probability. It is evident that any immediate decision is to be deprecated, till an exhaustive study has been made of the question from every point concerned. Hence careful consideration and elaboration are still needed before any scheme is practically undertaken; and it is to be hoped that the authorities in Egypt will not let their hand be forced prematurely.

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

22. *Bimetallism*, by H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. (1894; 5/-). The urgent importance of the question is the author's apology for publishing in advance the 7th chapter of the new Edition of his work, "The Theory of Credit." Not content with being himself a strong Monometallist, Mr. MacLeod abuses Bimetallism and its supporters by all his gods, among whom he produces Oresma, Copernicus, Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, and Lord Liverpool. That there is much to be said on both sides of the question, that clever men and sound arguments are balanced on both sides, is known to all; and we think that little is to be gained by violent declamation and strong language. Rather let us have more judicially calm statements of facts, on both sides, to enable the reflecting public to learn whither lies the truth, or at least the balance of probability. There are fallacies in both theories, as at present laid down; and each one leads to distinctly visible evils. What men want to find out is Which is the least evil of the two? To this practical solution Mr. MacLeod's turgid declamations do not conduce. It would be easy to pick holes in his arguments: theorists have no eyes for facts—only for fancies. Our author, *e.g.* repeats *ad nauseam*, the supposed impossibility of keeping gold and silver coins in circulation at a legal ratio different from the metallic

market ratio, but he cannot see it in daily practice in the case of the shilling, franc, mark, etc. A silver coinage unbacked by a gold standard, is simply of the value of the bullion it contains, says Mr. MacLeod, while the Rupee loudly proclaims, even in its fall, "I still count as more than the bullion I contain":—but our author hears it not. Still the book places the arguments for Monometallism and those against Bimetallism with great if unnecessary strength; and it is deserving of close study by those who wish to fathom the abysses of this most vexed question.

23. *Problems of the Far East*, by the HON. G. N. CURZON, M.P. (1894; 21/.) Coming opportunely at the present crisis, this book is sure of a warm welcome; for it is the work of an excellent writer, a clever politician and an experienced and observant traveller. In three distinct parts, he passes in review the three countries of the far East,—Japan, Korea and China, giving the results both of his reading and of his personal observations. He concludes with a review of the prospects of the future for all the three. He is far from being enamoured with Japan, though he has greater sympathy for its people than for the other two; Korea is impracticable in its present state; and China is depicted in rather pessimistic colours. His views of religion, and especially of monasticism in China, appear harsh and gloomy; but on religion he seems hardly an authority. Mr. Curzon anticipates a great future for Japan; suggests that her best policy is one of alliance with China; recommends Korea to lean on the latter power; and after reviewing the anticipations of the late Mr. C. Pearson (*National Life and Character*, London, Macmillan and Co., reviewed by us in our April, 1893, number), that the Chinese race bade fair to over-run the world, he dissents from them, disproves them, and expresses his own belief in the spread of the race but not in its *dominance* in the Far East. China is too blindly conservative to do much good, and she shows no disposition, at least at present, to start a truly national scheme of reform. Mr. Curzon's last chapter deals with the future of England's influence in the East, the increase of which he confidently predicts. Like his other books, this one is full of information, pregnant with thought, and most interesting to read: it is both well and profusely illustrated.

MESSRS. LUZAC AND CO., LONDON.

24. *The Evangelization of the Non-Christian World*, by R. N. CUST, LL.D. (1894.) Dr. Cust is well known as a steady, persevering and conscientious worker on behalf of missionary enterprise; and his experience in reports, conferences and meetings is probably unique. He is brave and hopeful for the eventual evangelization of the whole world; yet there seems to underlie that hope a distinct feeling of disappointment with the work done. He thinks failure is due to the adoption of wrong systems and modes of operation in missionary work, and he deals with these mistakes in a style of a friendly yet fearless critic. In many matters we thoroughly endorse his views, especially regarding the need of picked and learned missionaries,—of kindly feeling towards those they seek to evangelize,—of

abstention from abuse of the natives, their religions, manners, and customs, —of ceasing to invoke the aid of political parties and military operations. But Dr. Cust fails to class among the difficulties of converting the "heathen" the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible, sometimes wrongly translated. That book never was meant as a missionary agent; and if it bristles with difficulties which try the faith of even the Christian believer, it can simply be a means for defeating the object of its circulation, when read, uncommented upon, by the non-Christian. Missionary success may be classed among the lost arts; and if Dr. Cust's book fails to show how it is to be recovered, it at least points out many remediable defects in the current methods of missionary work, and we recommend it to our readers as the exponent of the thoughts of a competent critic.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

25. *The Flower of Forgiveness*, by F. A. STEEL. (2 vols.; 1894; 12/-.) Mrs. Steel, in these two small volumes gives us no less than 16 sketches of Indian life, which her sympathetic appreciation of the people and her thorough knowledge of their habits of thought and action render quite life-like and real. The subjects of the sketches are very various, as should be the case in all such collections. The tragic note is often heard, as alas! it is only too often, in real life in India. Mrs. Steel, by her writings is continuing in Britain to work for India's good, as we knew her to do in India itself; and the more such writings as hers are read, digested and appreciated, the better will India, with its strange ways and thoughts, be understood. In this instalment are a couple of unsolved mysteries and several details of the evil resulting to cultivators of the soil, from the application of laws unsuited to the country; while through all the tales, we feel the living, throbbing passions of the human heart—the same in all races and climes: love and jealousy, fear and revenge, avarice and generosity, patience, fidelity and gratitude, all find their appropriate places in these sketches. Amid the varied figures, several of them grand in their primeval simplicity, perhaps the most striking is that of the old Ex-Daffadar Dhurm Singh, with his watchword of "Dharm nal," which with Mrs. Steel's permission we prefer translating "by (my) faith" rather than "with Faith." We recommend Mrs. Steel's entertaining and instructive book to all classes of readers, as very readable and pleasant to peruse, while Anglo-Indians will enjoy it with peculiar relish and delight.

MESSRS. MARTYNNE AND CO.; WALBROOK, LONDON.

26. *Payne's Perspective view of Korea, China and Japan* (1894; 1s.) is an excellent perspective map, 28" x 20", showing at a glance Korea with its surroundings—Japanese, Russian and Chinese, as in a bird's-eye view. Its chief merits are that it is clear and distinct and is not overloaded with details. In one corner is a smaller comparative map, showing the respective proportions of Korea to Asia, Europe, the upper half of Africa and part of the Indian Archipelago.

MESSRS. T. NELSON AND SON ; EDINBURGH.

27. *Corea of To-day* (1894; 6d.), in a compact little volume, of 128 pages with several good illustrations, gives more than its title indicates. For besides describing Korea as it is—the country and its people and Government, with their good and bad qualities impartially stated, we have a fair history of their past. Though in a great part a republication from “*Corea and its Capital*,” by G. W. Gilmore, M.A., it has been brought up to date by subsequent additions. The writer’s long residence in the country and his knowledge of its language give great weight to his opinions ; and we recommend this little book for the perusal of our readers.

MR. DAVID NUTT ; LONDON.

28. *Scarabs*, by ISAAC MYER, L.L.B. (1894 ; 12/-), is a beautifully printed monograph. In the Introduction, the author claims to give us “a train of thought having as its basis a more philosophical treatment of the scarabæus as a symbol, in the religious metaphysical conception of it by the ancient Egyptians.” We have failed to find any such treatment, or even any further information on the Scarabæus than can be found in the numerous books which, to do him justice, our author duly cites as his authorities. We may say that those who have read the chapter in Mr. Budge’s *Mummy* (published in 1893 and reviewed by us in our January 1894 number), will find little novelty in Mr. Myer’s book. But it certainly has the merit of collecting together a great amount of interesting information, though all is not relevant to the subject-matter ; and if Mr. Myer has failed in order, both as regards analysis and synthesis of the materials, he has given to the world (we suppose, however, mainly for the American public) a very readable book.

MESSRS. OSGOOD, McILVAINE AND CO. ; LONDON.

29. *The Siege of Lucknow, by the HON. LADY INGLIS* ; 1893. The name of Inglis is as intimately connected with Lucknow as that of Sir H. Lawrence, who with his dying breath nominated him as his successor in command of the troops ; and the result showed the keen perception of the one as it did the sterling good qualities and peculiar fitness of the other for so peculiar a position. Amid a band of heroes, Genl. Inglis was the leader, and the successful resistance of the garrison against overwhelming odds and adverse circumstances was due in no mean measure to the man who saw everything personally, watched over everything and everyone and animated all. Lady Inglis gives us the Diary of the siege, with numerous extracts from notes given to her by that excellent soldier, afterwards a member of the Panjab Commission, Captain (now General) F. M. Birch, who acted as the best possible A.D.C. to the commander. The general history of that siege is a well known glorious episode in Anglo-British annals ; but here we have the veil gently removed from the details of heroic fortitude, patient suffering, undaunted perseverance and honourable fidelity. Genl. Inglis, we believe, got little beyond a K.C.B. for services which can never be forgotten. We

recommend the book to our readers as an echo from the past, but thereby made all the sweeter and more agreeable ; and it furnishes details which fill up many a gap in the picture of that ever-memorable defence.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND ; LONDON.

30. The *Quarterly Statement* for July 1894, of this most useful and readable publication is, as usual, full of information. There is a sketch of the first excavations made in May and June, at Jerusalem under the Sultan's new Firman, with his Majesty's full concurrence and the aid of his local officials. Mr. Bliss is engaged in this task ; but he finds time to contribute also a good paper on Jericho. Mr. S. Bergheim's paper on Land tenure in Palestine, that of M. Th. Barrois on the Lake of Tiberias ; and that on the Samaritan Hæmatite Weight are particularly interesting. As before, we have much pleasure in recommending the book to our readers, as also the work undertaken by the Fund, which should have the support of all who love the Holy City—Jews, Christians and Musulmans.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS ; NEW YORK AND LONDON.

31. *Canadian Independence*, by JAMES DOUGLAS. (1894 ; 3/6 = \$. 0. 75.) The future of Canada is still a problem awaiting its ultimate solution ; and it is, to a large extent, treated clearly by our author, whose great Canadian and American experience renders him quite at home in his task. He analyses the position of Canada ; and from a consideration of all its surroundings, he comes to the conclusion that annexation with the United States, whether voluntary or compulsory, far from being of real advantage to either party, would result in evil to both: existing defects would be aggravated and new ones called into existence. Canada's present position of subordination, he says, cannot long continue ; and he holds that a complete independence of each colony from all dependence on the Mother-country is the only practical preliminary for an eventual Imperial Federation, of which he is the warm and thoughtful advocate. The book contains much statistical information, many telling arguments and several novel views which seem both sound and practicable. It is deserving of the careful study of all interested in the various schemes of Federation which are abroad, but are still a long way off from any practical adoption.

MR. BERNARD QUARITCH ; LONDON.

32. *Coins of Mediæval India*, by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E. (1894 ; 15/-.) This is a posthumous work by the great archæologist, which was still in the press when his lamented death occurred in November 1893 : Mr. E. J. Rapson has revised the proofs. General Cunningham's perfect mastery of his subject is seen in every page of this important work, which is plentifully illustrated with exquisite plates, exhibiting numerous coins, several of which are unique and not previously published. One page gives drawings luckily made of some of his Kangra collection before it was lost in the wreck of the *Indus*. He treats chiefly of the mediæval coinages of Malwa and Gujarat, of Maghada and Narwar

of Kashmir under various dynasties, of Rajputana and N.W. India, of Gandhara and the Punjab, of Chedi and Mahoba, of Delhi and Kunauj, of Mewar, and of Kangra. Several of these coins enable the author to complete some hitherto defective lists of kings and chiefs. The work is thorough throughout, in statements, deductions and suggestions, though at p. 80 we have perhaps a strained identification: Bovara = Povara = Tovara = Tomara. Chance indications (as at p. 26) show that the learned author was still at work to the time of his death, and has left some—probably many—unpublished papers. Their early publication should be a duty towards the illustrious dead and a service to archaeology and numismatics; for this work proves that age had not dimmed the veteran's faculties, weakened his grasp of his subject, or exhausted his energy; and every contribution from his pen will be a valuable treasure, like the book under review, which we can strongly recommend.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY; LONDON.

33. *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, by the REV. W. W. GILL, LL.D. (1894; 6s.) Polynesia embraces a wide extent, out of which Dr. Gill deals with the Hervey group. His book (383 pages) is in two parts. The first and more important devotes over 300 pages to native manners, customs, songs and traditions. These are all the more valuable, as the modernization of the group is leading to their rapid loss: they will soon be things of the past, except where preserved in books like this one of Dr. Gill, whose long residence in the group and knowledge of its language render him a trustworthy chronicler of its traditions. These are of commanding interest. Human nature, pagan and Christian, is much the same everywhere, and the two terrible ovens of Mangaia are not at all more horrible than the massacres of St. Bartholomew's day and of Glencoe, or the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The whole of this part will afford great delight to the general reader and the student. Of another kind is the interest of the second part, which treats of European intercourse with the native, the introduction of Christianity, the history of its spread, and reminiscences of various missionary incidents and sayings. There is the usual absence of statistics up to date; but it is noted that in July 1893, the population of Rarotonga was 1,900, with a church membership of 693, or just over one-third: one might have expected more for over 70 years of work, under exceptionally favourable circumstances.

34. *A Primer of Assyriology*, by A. H. SAYCE, LL.D. (1894; 1s.) This little book is the 6th of the *Present Day Primers* series, which is being issued by the Religious Tract Society, as an aid chiefly to Biblical study. It is not a primer for the teaching of the Assyrian language and the cuneiform writings, but a handbook of Assyrian history, discovery, and decipherment, with descriptions of the country, its people, religion, literature and social life. The high position held by Professor Sayce as an Assyriologist is a guarantee of the general thoroughness and correctness of his work; and his 127 pages furnish a sufficient knowledge to the

general public of the great Empire which was so often in important contact with the Jews and is so frequently mentioned in the Bible.

35. *Among the Tibetans*, by ISABELLA L. BISHOP, F.R.G.S. (1894 ; 2/6.) This is a volume of *The Leisure Hour Library*, of which it is a very good specimen. Tibet extends considerably further than Mrs. Bishop went ; for her travels were confined to Kashmir territory and to ground well known, from the descriptions of many travellers. She was, however (with the exception of Mrs. Hervey, who published her adventures in 1853), the first European woman to penetrate into those wild regions ; and the narrative of her adventures, written in her usual excellent style and full of interesting details, has the additional advantage of being without that eternal shooting or slaughtering of game, which forms so important a part in the expeditions of male travellers. But though the country and its roads or rather paths have been often described, yet Mrs. Bishop's statements and sketches of the character and manners of the people are personal, and she has much to say in their favour. Occasionally she hazards a generalization, not justified by her short experiences ; as when, at p. 88, she stigmatizes the majority of *lamas* as being "idle and unholy." The Lamaist "Eucharist," *Tshe-grub*, is mentioned at p. 158 as "Ise drup" ; but Mrs. Bishop has failed to grasp its leading features : perhaps she scarcely could, during her short stay. Christianity, though well represented by the excellent Moravian Missionaries for nearly half a century, has made no progress, beyond isolated converts here and there and their families ; but Joldan, at p. 101, is surely a host in himself. Mrs. Bishop's book is bright, lively, and very readable.

MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW AND CO. ; LONDON.

36. *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Officer*, by T. C. ARTHUR. (1894 ; 16/-.) This is the kind of book of which everyone will enjoy the perusal. The Anglo-Indian will admire the true and accurate portrayal of Indian life, and the general reader the many amusing, interesting and instructive details of Indian places, people, manners and customs. The author writes with thorough knowledge of the country and people he describes, neither blind to the faults of the latter nor neglectful of their many virtues. The good and bad points of Indian administration, too, are impartially exposed ; and the frequent comparisons between east and west, which are not always—not even often—in favour of the latter, are deserving of careful perusal and deep study. One of the most pleasing sketches, in a book where all is pleasant reading, is that on *Loafers* (Chap. xxii. and fol.), especially their kindly treatment by the natives. The work has several good illustrations, and is altogether an excellent specimen of Anglo-Indian literature, which our readers are sure to relish, and which we would particularly recommend to the Indian faddists, in and out of Parliament, many of whose crude notions it would help to correct, if anything can.

37. *With Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow*. (1894 ; 2/6.) Though of book-writing on the ever interesting Indian mutiny of 1857 there is literally no end, this work has a freshness and interest all its own, as Mrs. Groom gives us the letters received from her husband while in the thick of

the struggle for the relief of Lucknow. They bear the impress of the hour, as written in haste, amid the bustle of active warfare and the din of flying rumours, whose name in those days was simply legion. We see again how the report, one day that Delhi was taken was followed the next by that of our being driven back from it; and so on alternately. Of Neill's quarrel we hear nothing, and we get only passing glimpses of Outram's grand figure; but there are clear evidences, in the soldier's plain yet self-restrained remarks, of Havelock's vacillation and incompetency. Better than that, is the loving husband's diligence in writing his almost daily letter to his wife. "I write every day nearly, under trees, and in tents and all sorts of eccentric places. I am writing this in front of our hut, with three fellows smoking and talking outside all round me, and I write away as snugly and unconcerned as if I were in a gorgeous and quiet library. As I write to my own Nell, I feel my mind quite abstracted from all other matters, and nothing under a heavy gun would rouse me" (p. 58.) The Sergeant-Major of the Regiment dies of cholera; and the kindly heart, so soon to be stilled in death from his wounds, asks his own wife, so soon herself to be likewise a widow, "He leaves a wife and 3 children at Palaveram. Do you think you could manage to see her and speak a few words of consolation to the poor woman?" (p. 71).

MESSRS. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO.; LONDON.

38. *The Aborigines of Western Australia*, by A. F. CALVERT. (1894; 1/-.) Our author who is a well known and well qualified writer on Australian subjects, and especially on West Australia, gives us in this interesting little book a valuable contribution to the study of ethnology. But little is known regarding this people, whose early extinction is by no means quite certain; and Mr. Calvert adds to our knowledge in a pleasant and comprehensive narrative. The specimens which he gives, among much varied matter, of their poetry and music will be relished by the student of nature and man.

SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉDITIONS SCIENTIFIQUES; PARIS.

39. *L'Irrigation en Asie Centrale*, par HENRI MOSER; 1894. The author, a Russian, after giving a good description of the Physical Geography of Central Asia, and a fair sketch of the history of irrigation in the past in those regions and of its actual condition, treats in detail of that of the Zarafshan Province and the Bokhara Khanate, concluding with practical suggestions and projects for the future. These projects are far-reaching and of vast interest; and they are likely to be carried out eventually, whether by governments or by private companies, to the great benefit of the country and its inhabitants. The book is deserving of close study by the politician, the geographer and the economist. Prof. A. Vambéry gives an exhaustive paper in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on Mr. Moser's book, and on the great prospects of irrigation in Central Asia, if continued on the traditional indigenous lines, which are said to be models for imitation, and if improved by European methods. We have no space, at present, to deal with this

important subject, but we have considerable material bearing on it which may be published in a future issue. Incidentally, Mr. Moser touches on the sad fate of the dwindling remnants of the conscientious Memnonites who, unlike their more fortunate brethren in England, the Quakers, maintain their love of "peace at any price," exposed to robbery and murder in the midst of Turkoman tribes rather than give up their simple faith in non-resistance. Industrious, honest, but opposed to war, they left Holland and Würtemberg for Southern Russia, only to be again threatened with military service; and now their little churches and schools and Teuton speech bear evidence, in the wildest parts of Central Asia, that Christ has yet followers who are ever ready to give up property and life rather than shed blood in defence of either.

MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

40. *On the Use of Opium in India*, by ERNEST HART, D.C.L. (1894; 1/-.) While India was very unjustly saddled with a most unnecessary Commission on this subject, the Parliamentary Bills Committee of the British Medical Association had written direct to competent and responsible authorities,—medical and judicial—in India, and asked for the experience of these officers and gentlemen on the question. Upwards of 100 reports received on the subject are summarized in this pamphlet, reprinted from the *British Medical Journal*, by the Chairman of the Committee, the Editor of the Journal. Calm, orderly, judicial, he tells, briefly but to the point, what all these replies indicate. The verdict, we are glad to see, is clear, decisive, and as far as can be gathered from the published acts and evidence taken by the costly Royal Commission, tending to the same proof: no interference is called for,—no benefit can possibly come from meddling,—which will act injuriously on the economic, moral, sanitary, physical and political condition of the people, will cause most serious discontent, and deep-seated antipathy against our Government, even if it does not lead to a mutiny. We refer our readers for details, to the pamphlet itself, which well repays perusal.

MESSRS. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE; LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

41. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, by JOHN T. PLATT'S (1894). We have only Part I., *Accidence*, as yet issued, and hope the remainder will not be long delayed. Since Forbes' Grammar, issued in 1860, there was certainly a demand for a more scientific grammar of this beautiful language, and Mr. Platts, the successful Oxford teacher of Persian, was the right man to supply it. Trusting to the fact that modern students devote more time, patience, and energy to study than their fathers did, and that, in intellect and memory, they are as much superior as in application and perseverance, our author gives his grammar a wider field and more minute details than such works generally have. We recommend it to such students as wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of the niceties of Persian grammar; and can promise them that its close study will amply repay their toil.

MESSRS. E. WILSON AND CO., LONDON ; AND MR. J. F. CORNISH,
MANCHESTER.

42. *International Bimetallic Conference.* (1894 ; 6d.) The Bimetallic League have very rightly issued a full report of the proceedings of this important conference, held at the Mansion House, in May 1894. In its 234 pages will be found, besides the addresses delivered, several important papers, carefully prepared and deserving of close study. Among these we would specially direct attention to those of Prof. J. Shields Nicholson, the Rt. Hon. L. Courtney, M.P., and Dr. N. P. Van den Berg of Amsterdam. But the whole book is deserving of attentive perusal, while the weight of the speakers should show that something more than abuse is wanted from monometallists when treating bimetallism as a folly and its adherents as fools, as they too often are inclined to do.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, 14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
LONDON ; AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

43. *Futūh Al-Habashah, or, the Conquest of Abyssinia*, by SHIHAB AL DIN AHMAD B. 'ABD AL KĀDIR B. SĀLIM B. 'UTHMĀN. Edited from an Arabic manuscript by S. ARTHUR STRONG. Part I. (1894.) Both the learned Editor and the enterprising Publishers are to be congratulated on bringing out an instalment of a longed-for work, throwing much light on the Muhammadan temporary conquest of Abyssinia in the beginning of the 16th century by the Imām Ahmad ibn Ibrahim. He wrested the country from the pious King Labna Degal (known as David), who died in 1540, but was afterwards defeated by a combination of the Catholic Portuguese and orthodox Abyssinians. Nerazzini in 1891 published an Italian paraphrase of this important history, but here we have Part I. of the original Arabic before us, very well printed, from a manuscript in the British Museum. The editing, it is needless to say, reflects the greatest credit on Mr. S. A. Strong, who, we hope, will be encouraged to carry the work to completion. A full commentary should be added with an index of geographical words, for, at present, the operations of the Imām are not always easy to follow. We hope to be able to revert to this interesting publication in our next issue.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Captain T. G. de Guiraudon has favoured us with a copy of the *Manuel* (in French) of the Foulle spoken in Senegambia and the Soudan ; Paris ; H. Welter, 1894.

We have received from the Chandra-prabha Press, Benares, India, a set of 16 excellent educational books, in Urdu and Hindi, by Professor Lukshmi Shanhar Misra, M.A., for the use of Indians, ranging from readers and primers to treatises on Statics and Trigonometry. We are astonished that such an old official and distinguished Scholar should still be an Assistant Inspector of Schools after the assurances given to native educational officers by the Public Service Commission.

We have also received from the pseudonymous author, Quasi Nessuno, "*Agnosta and other Poems*" (Simla : Colton and Morris, 1894) ; and from Messrs. Constable and Co. *The Indian Magazine and Review* containing some excellent reading ; Mr. W. G. Aston sends us a short but very interesting pamphlet—as full as it is clever—on *Onomatopœia* in the Japanese language, in which at first sight, that process would seem, as in Chinese, to be excluded to any considerable extent. Containing their usual *quantum* of important information, we have on our table : *The Annual Report of the National Indian Association in aid of social progress and Education in India for the Year 1893*, the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* for 1893 and 1894, with papers on the gruesome practices of human sacrifice and cannibalism ;—an interesting pamphlet by Dr. D. G. Brinton *on the Alphabets of the Berbers* ; and two others, by the same learned author, one on the "*Nation as an element in Anthropology*," and the other on *the supposed relations between the American and Asian races* ;—*The Yale Review*. (New Haven ; Nettle Morehouse and Taylor.)

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a very useful, if somewhat Sufistic, catechism of the Muhammadan faith called, "Articles of the Faith of Islam for the information of English-knowing Musalmans and Non-Musalmans of all Castes and Creeds by Sheikh Ahmad Munshi, late editor of the 'Musalmān of India.'"

In an interesting series called "*Études De Grammaire Comparée*," published at Louvain, we find, as an Extract from the valuable pages of the "*Muséon*" periodical, a treatise on the relations between the Egyptian language and alike Semitic and Indo-European languages, based on the labours of Professor C. Abel, by Raoul de la Grasserie, who certainly has a later word to say on phonetic Laws than the one-sided among the followers of Bopp's school, so invaluable for the analysis of the Aryan family of languages. Mr. de la Grasserie has the genius of common-sense and we congratulate Prof. C. Abel in having such a "*Lehrer und Mehrer*" of his opinions.

"Lahore : its history, architectural remains and antiquities," by Sayad Muhammad Latif, Khan Bahadur (Lahore, new Imperial Press ; 1892), has been received too late for notice this quarter. (See Advertisement.)

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—Besides the usual questions in Parliament, India has been the subject of two important debates, the one on the cotton duties and the other on the Budget. Ministers failed signally in defending their action in the former; and the latter was remarkable for a larger attendance of members and a longer discussion than usual; but with a genuine grievance in hand, the so-called Indian Parliamentary Committee failed to propose seriously any formal resolution against it. In spite of the admitted injustice to India, the exemption of English cotton goods from duty is to continue till at least the end of March next. The question of the Indian mints also was discussed and a decision announced to continue the experiment of their closure, which had not yet had a fair and exhaustive trial, as that measure was only a part of the scheme intended. No announcement was, however, made of any further step for completing the scheme in this matter; and India must still wait for action regarding her currency and exchange. A resolution was adopted by the Government to grant a Committee of inquiry into Indian Financial Expenditure, the extent of the inquiry and the powers of the Committee being left rather vague.

In India itself a prominent event has been the bursting of the waters which had, for nearly 6 months, accumulated in the Gohna valley, owing to the blocking, by a gigantic land-slip, of the waters of the Birahi-ganga. The precautions taken have prevented any loss of life, and the damage done is estimated to be about Rs. 100,000. In one gorge the flood was nearly 160 feet high, but at Hurdwar it was only 12 feet, and little damage was done there. A portion of the dam still remains, and consequently also a small lake. Photographs had been taken of the lake as it was before the dam gave way; but as the great rush of the water occurred at midnight it was impossible to get photographic representations of what was a most unusual natural phenomenon. The lake had reached the dimensions of 5 miles in length, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in width, and 720 feet in depth.

The Viceroy's winter tour begins on the 24th October and he is not expected in Calcutta till the middle of December. He proceeds to Dhurmsala, Quetta, Karachi, Rawul Pindi, Peshawur valley (as far as Ali Masjid), Lahore, Delhi, Cawnpore, Rewah and Allahabad. At Lahore, a rather unnecessary grand Durbar will be held, attended by Punjab Chiefs only. The troops to be assembled for this pageant amount to a total of 20,000, —the largest military gathering since 1886; but beyond field-days no manoeuvres will be performed to derive at least some practical advantage from this expenditure of money; and as Lord Elgin is also having many alterations made in Government House, Calcutta, he bids fair to prove a more costly ruler than the finances can bear in their present circumstances. The Commander-in-Chief's tour, from 15th October to the end of December, includes the military inspection of Dhurmsala, Bannu, the Derajat, Quetta, Hyderabad (Scindh), Peshawur, Lahore, Ferozepur, Bareilly and Lucknow, besides visits to Patiala, Bharatpur, and Alwar.

The frontier delimitation is now well in hand. That of the Kurrum valley is progressing favourably, as the water-courses difficulty has been satisfactorily overcome. That of the Waziri territory is expected to give more trouble, owing to the menacing attitude of the tribes, who, besides other hostile acts, have lately taken to killing some of their own *Maliks*, who at recent *jirghas* had yielded up offenders. A strong force assembles at Dera Ismail Khan to accompany the commission, which is placed under the able guidance of Mr. F. Fryer, lately acting as Chief Commissioner of Burma. Mr. Udny, the Commissioner of Peshawar, charged with the local delimitation has met the Afghan commissioners and settled the preliminaries. He has published a proclamation to the tribes concerned, informing them what territory from Asmar to the Kabul River belongs to the Amir, and what remains to be defined: the future meeting of the commissioners is not expected to raise any difficulties. Fort Abazai, near Peshawar, which from its position is an important stronghold, is in future to be handed to the Military Police instead of having a garrison of regulars. The whole of the Indian native army, including the Imperial Service troops, have now been armed with the Martini-Henry rifle. There has been a serious religious riot at Poona, and similar disturbances at Gondal, showing that the evil spirit recently evoked has not yet been laid. The distress in Central India had been partly removed by rain; and only 8,400 were reported on the relief works at Sangur, with 3,164 at Damoh. Since then the crops have been injured by excessive rains, and the numbers have increased. The rivers everywhere have been in high flood,—the Tapti nearly swamping Surat, the Ravi doing much damage near Lahore, the Indus breaching the Kashmiri Bund and injuring the headwater works of the Unhaziar canal, while landslips, attended luckily with little loss of life, are reported from the Kulu valley and from Nahun. Several breaches occurred in many of the Railway lines, notably at the Chaman extension. So numerous were the damages and in many places they took so long to repair, that besides serious hindrance to traffic the important question arises, How far, with such frequently occurring breaks in our Railway system, especially on the West and North West, we can trust to it, with safety or prudence, for frontier defence on an emergency? The railway report for the year 1893, gave casualties as follows: killed 58, injured 84, from accidents to trains; and 63 and 184, from other accidents. Out of a total of 135,262,950 passengers, there were 111 killed and 268 injured; or respectively 1 in 1,186,517 and 1 in 504,712. Rs. 900,000 have been sanctioned for doubling the line from Karachi to Pipri, 26 miles. A new line is sanctioned between Manmad and Hyderabad, —*via* Aurungabad, Julna, Parbhani, and Nandair. On the East Coast Railway, 60 more miles have been opened for traffic; the Bareilly-Rampur-Moradabad line is also in operation.

The Irrigation report, for 1893-4 states the capital expended at Rs. 329,505,710; net revenue Rs. 20,320,020; yielding 6·17 *per cent.*; the area irrigated was 9,315,375 acres. The annual reports announce surpluses in the Forest, Telegraph, Postal, Irrigation and Railway Departments. The Postal records show a decrease of 274,000 in newspapers; but letters, etc., increased 29,000,000 or 5·19 *per cent.*—*i.e.* 12,000,000 in post-cards,

13,000,000 in letters, 2,500,000 in books and pattern packets. Registered letters increased fully 10·5 *per cent.* The Kashmir Post Offices have been amalgamated with the Imperial Postal Service. The Survey Dept. gave as the result of a year's work, 104,711 sq: miles. Some ancient sculptures and stone-carvings have been discovered by Mr. Mercer of the police, in the Salt Range and sent to the Lahore Museum. The telegraphs showed an increase of 8,000 miles and 139 new offices. The cash balance at the end of July compared with previous years was 1892: Rs. 149,113,000; 1893: Rs. 140,680,000; 1894: Rs. 235,826,000. The conversion of the 4 per cent. loans had been very satisfactory, and the saving effected thereby will be about Rs. 2,000,000. The wonder is that with money so plentiful a lower rate than $3\frac{1}{2}$ has not been adopted; and it is matter of surprise that the Government has not decided that the interest of the converted loans should be made payable in India itself (instead of leaving it optional to enface for London). This would have prevented the paper competing with Exchange and have diminished the amount of the Council Drawings. Perhaps that is just why it was not done. The Bombay financial statement announces for 1894-5 a deficit of Rs. 1,850,000. The government have dissolved the municipalities of Manmad and Chandor in the Nassik district. Bai Dinbai, widow of the late M. N. M. Petit has founded a new leper ward, at a cost of Rs. 20,000, and has given Rs. 750,000 for a Free Library on the Bombay Esplanade under certain conditions. The Dinapur and Furzpur cantonments' sanitary arrangements are being improved at a cost respectively of Rs. 14,000 and 10,000. Dr. Criesbach succeeds Dr. King as head of the Geological Survey. The Hemp Drugs Commission, which examined 1,200 witnesses, has prepared but not yet published its report: it is understood to recommend control and not prohibition. The total of all Govt. currency notes in India is given at Rs. 232,270,347. Indian coal is now being used in most steamers, especially the P. and O. Co.'s, between India and China and Japan. The new Hindu High School at Lahore is proving a great success. The late Bhudev Mukerji has left an endowment of Rs. 150,000 for the promotion of Sanskrit studies, besides Rs. 6,400 to two charities. A new hospital has been opened at a cost of Rs. 45,000 by Mr. J. H. Converse of the Presbyterian American Mission, at Miraj in the Bombay Presidency. Thakur Umrao Singh's library of English and Sanskrit books, including many valuable MSS., has been consumed by fire; and the same element destroyed nearly Rs. 300,000 worth of government medical stores at Mian Mir.

In the NATIVE STATES, a dispute regarding customs' tolls between Morvi and Gondal has been referred to a commission with Mr. R. M. Kennedy as President. The new Talpur Sahib of Khairpur, who has been created a G.C.I.E., has made generous gifts in memory of his father:—Rs. 70,000 to found scholarships, Rs. 20,000 for a Hospital, Rs. 20,000 for technical schools, Rs. 25,000 for repairs of Mosques and roads, and Rs. 25,000 for an Imambara. The Cambay report of administration gives Rs. 834,941 revenue against Rs. 783,703 for the previous year, and expenditure Rs. 747,604 against Rs. 676,869: the treasury held a credit balance of Rs. 283,026, and cattle increased from 39,474 to 43,367 heads—a great sign of prosperity.

The Vikar-ul-Umrah has been confirmed as Prime Minister of Hyderabad, where an archæological Survey has been undertaken by the Nizam's Government. The Maharaja of Mysore's application for an increase of Rs. 200,000 to his allowance, for the education of his children, has been sanctioned by the Government. The Mysore Assembly is reconstituted; as 105 towns forming only one-ninth of the population returned 115 members, or one-third of the assembly. Now towns with 5,000 inhabitants (and Chitaldroog with 4,946) will send one member; the special privileges of Bangalore and Mysore cease; the urban population of 329,216 in 25 towns will send 40 members; and the rural population have an increased representation, while the total number of members is reduced to 275 for 5,000,000. Rs. 2,600,000 have been sanctioned for improving Mysore city. Her Highness, the Nawab Shems-i-Jehan Begum Sahiba of Murshidabad made a donation of Rs. 2,000 to the Dufferin Hospital Fund, and promised Rs. 250 a year. H.H. the Raja of Amithi gave Rs. 7,500 to finish the Dispensary at Sultanpur. A military riot at Rampur, caused by a dispute between 2 officers, was quelled by the Imperial service troops of the Nawab. The Maharaja of Kolapur has installed his brother, in accordance with usage, as chief of Kagul; and he opened the new waterworks, which have cost Rs. 30,000. The Khan of Thor near Chilas has sworn allegiance to the British Government.

The financial condition of French India is reported to be in a hopeless state of bankruptcy. The Viscount de Villa Nova d'Ourem has succeeded Colonel d'Andrade as Governor General of Portuguese India.

The trade of BURMA shows a decline in imports of Rs. 987,000 against Rs. 1,097,000; and exports Rs. 1,140,000 against Rs. 1,257,000. The first quarter, however, of this financial year though showing a further decline in imports, had already an increase in exports. The tribute in the Chin hills has been quietly collected, and the disarmament is complete; hence the country will in future be garrisoned by the Military Police. The new Rangoon waterworks have been opened, capable of supplying 50,000,000 gallons a day. Rs. 2,000,000 are sanctioned for the making of a short but important road from Kalewa to Kymgyong, in Upper Burma. The telegraph is being pushed, under European supervision, from Fort Nampoung, N.E. of Bhamo to Monwang and Momein (190 miles): it will thence be continued N.E. to Talifu and then S.E. to Yunnan. Rs. 12,350,000 have been sanctioned for the northern section of the Mu Valley Railway. The Kamsut of Nobingyi, who five years ago murdered Major Gordon, has given himself up; and one of the murderers of Mr. Tucker has been caught. Several bands of dacoits have been caught or broken up.

The contribution of the STRAITS' SETTLEMENTS for this year to Imperial Defence, has been fixed at the still oppressive sum of £80,000. The Orang Kaya of Semantan who had given trouble last year, broke out again and killed 9 Sikhs in a skirmish; but reinforcements were sent up, and he has been again driven back to the jungles.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN'S visit to England is quite undecided. The country enjoys quiet; but as the treasury was empty the Amir asked the

army to contribute each man a part of his pay to meet the expenses of the armaments ordered, which all willingly agreed to.

In CEYLON the amount required for Exchange compensation according to the Government scheme has been sanctioned for this year, but for the next only half the amount is to be voted. The revenue for 1893 was given at Rs. 18,051,950, and that for 1894 estimated at Rs. 18,870,371 : already it is evident that this figure would be exceeded by about Rs. 700,000. The surplus last year was Rs. 836,000. That and the expected increase will be swallowed up by loss on Exchange, leaving moreover a deficit of Rs. 500,000. In the quarter ending June, 131 publications were registered : 58 Singalese, 54 English, 3 Portuguese, 1 Tamil and English, 2 Singalese and Sanskrit, and 1 Pali and Singalese. Two were published in Kandy, 14 in Jaffna and 114 in Colombo. There is a marked decline in the plumbago industry. The Colombo Harbour works have been interrupted owing to a disagreement between some officials. Bishop Copplestone gracefully acceded to the request of a Buddhist deputation, to change for another the site selected for a new church near the Bo-tree and Ruanweli Dagoba at Anaradhapura.

The King of SIAM has recovered from his illness ; but his country is still in jeopardy ; for at Bangkok, the French are reported to be enrolling Siamese as French subjects, under all kinds of pretences, at the rate of some 40 per day. The Franco-Chinese delimitation treaty has settled the Tonquin frontier for 280 miles, out of 800,—the signed maps were exchanged at Lienchow. A party of Chinese marauders killed M. Chaillot, French collector of customs at Mong-kai and recrossed the frontier. At Mong-tze, in upper Tonquin, a buried pine forest has been discovered, yielding an imperishable wood.

The plague at HONG KONG did not cease till it had swept off 3,000 individuals, and reduced its 150,000 inhabitants by death and flight to 100,000. The Colony is at last to be allowed to coin British Dollars.

In JAPAN, the Diet was, after the usual stormy debates with sterile results, promptly dissolved after a four days' existence. An Anglo-Japanese treaty is announced, cancelling the Exterritorial jurisdiction rights, which have been rankling so much of late in Japanese hearts. This important lead of England is about to be copied by the United States, which would have already made a similar treaty, but for difficulties attending their own legislation against Japanese. Japan has invaded Korea, under the excuse that the state of that country rendered internal reforms absolutely necessary, and that for this purpose it needed occupation by Japan in force, the exclusion of China, and the declaration of Korean independence. The nerveless mediation of some powers to avert the consequent war with China failed to secure peace ; but before war had been declared Japan sank a British steamer conveying troops from China : the circumstances attending this act say little for Japanese civilization. The Korean King, a prisoner at Seoul, was made to declare himself independent, and an ally of Japan, and to promise all kinds of reforms, securing his retreat at the same time by sending a special mission to Peking for the Dowager Empress' fête. War having been declared, both Japan and China sent

more troops to Korea and manœuvred their fleets. Several brushes occurred, each party claiming the advantage, till the Japanese, as we write, have almost annihilated the Chinese troops at Ping-yang. The further development of events remains uncertain. Mr. Le Poer Trench has succeeded the late Mr. Frazer as British Minister in Japan.

CHINA, forced into war, has been caught unprepared, and has suffered in consequence. A bad presage for her good is the disgracing of the Viceroy of Tientsin—Li-Hung-Chang, the greatness of whose abilities must not be gauged by the last mishap to the Chinese forces. The last engagement between the belligerent fleets has been less unfavourable to China than the land battles. Of other than war news, floods have been reported from Mukden in Manchuria, and earthquakes from Chinese Turkestan, where the government had given orders for the authorities to aid the destitute inhabitants. A terrible fire occurred among the flower-boats on the Canton River, attended with large loss of life, in addition to that caused by the Plague. The gun-factory at Wuchang was destroyed by fire, the damage being estimated at Tls. 1,000,000. A Presbyterian missionary at Liayang was insulted and hustled in the streets; and two Catholic priests had fallen into the hands of bandits and been held to ransom. It is stated that some missionaries have been circulating Morphia pills, as an anti-opium medicine!

The French traveller, M. Dutreuil de Rhins, has been murdered in TIBET, where he had been engaged for 4 years on a scientific mission. The Chinese authorities have made an ample apology for the mishap; and it is hoped, in the interests of science, that the *savant's* papers and collections may be recovered. The market opened at Gnatong on the Tibetan frontier by the new Anglo-Chinese Treaty does not seem to make progress.

The Russian naval force in the Pacific has been greatly strengthened in view of the Korean war and the complications that may result from it. A section of the Siberian Railway will soon be opened from Chaliabinsk to Omsk on the Irtysh River, a distance of 420 miles, of which 400 lie in Asia. The Siberian millionaire Ponomarjeff has left Rls. 1,000,000 to be put to compound interest for 99 years, and the accumulations to be used for endowing a University, with teaching *gratis*, at Irkutsk. A railway is proposed from Samarkand to the capital of Ferghana, with a branch to Tashkand; and the new Customs' line already announced is now opened. It is stated that 100 families from Shignan who had taken refuge from Afghan oppression under that of Russia at Osh, have had grants of land made to them free of tax for 5 years. Central Asian news is given under a special heading. Armenian riots have occurred at Baku; and more trouble is expected, as the order for the compulsory use of the Russian language is now being carried out; and the Armenians are being taught the weight of the little finger of Russia. A Kurdish Chief is being urged under promise of Russian protection to make a counter-move against the recent organization of Kurdish forces by the Turkish Government.

In PERSIA, Dr. Galezowski has successfully treated the eyes of the Zil-es-Sultan, Governor of Isfahan, and the Shah has received one of his disciples as resident oculist at Teheran. Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, son of the late

Consul-General of Persia at Bombay, has been made Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Teheran, in recognition of his father's services.

The Sultan of TURKEY has ordered the repair of the old aqueducts of Solomon in Jerusalem. The national assembly of Samos deposed their Governor, Alexander Karatheodory Pasha who made no resistance; and sent a deputation to explain their grievances to the Sultan. Violent earthquakes at Constantinople have done much injury to buildings, caused serious loss of life, and rendered numbers houseless. To the relief fund, the Sultan gave £T.6,500. The damage was estimated at £6,000,000. The number of pilgrims for Mecca landed this year at Jeddah was 40,003, of whom only 16,134 came through the northern part of the Red Sea. The latter were only $\frac{1}{3}$ of those of last year. Feridoun Bey goes as Ambassador to Spain; and Turkhan Pasha as Governor of Crete. Provision is being made for the local manufacturing of Mauser and Martini-Henry rifles, and rapid progress is reported on the Eskisheir—Konieh Railway. Hamdi Bey, Director of the Museum at Constantinople, has prepared for the Sultan a splendidly illustrated album of photographic *fac-similes* of all the Sileucid, Turcoman and Turkish coins in the Museum, and a catalogue of the entire archæological collection. The reduction of the garrison in Cyprus has caused a rumour that this is a preparatory step for the exchange of Cyprus for Crete, in consideration of the payment by England of £12,000,000 to the Porte.

The Khedive of EGYPT, after a visit to Constantinople, has been travelling on the Continent, visiting Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Italy. He has sent his portrait, painted by Thaddeus, as a present to the Queen. A sensational trial has taken place at Cairo, showing the need of a vigilant execution of the laws against slave dealing, which it was lately recommended to leave to the ordinary police. A case of slave-dealing was charged against three pashas with 10 others. They were tried before the ordinary Court. One Pasha claimed Italian protection, which was very properly refused. Two were acquitted on the technical ground that they had been only buyers; though Ali Sherif Pasha, the President of the Native Legislative Assembly, was said to have actually lodged the slaves. The Postal Department returns give the increase between 1889 and 1893, as follows: Post offices 393 to 603; internal correspondence 8,896,700 to 13,150,000; international 5,186,170 to 6,120,000; parcels 87,543 to 123,014; value-payable parcels 47,355 (in 1891) to 139,525; money transmitted, £E10,701,038 to 14,180,000.

An influential deputation of 50 members of Parliament waited on Lord Rosebery regarding docks for GIBRALTAR; the reply, however, has not been made public.

In ALGIERS, a train from Tebessa to South Ahros was attacked by Arabs, upon which their crops were burnt down. Forest fires have occurred.

MOROCCO affairs are discussed in a separate article; and with the warning it gives, we will not reproduce the various reports of rebellions and battles. The last news is that of the young Sultan's illness. Several foreign powers seem inclined to insist on locating their consuls at Fez, notwithstanding the opposition of the Sultan,—a measure that must lead to

unwelcome complications. The Sultan had begun reforms by abolishing certain octroi duties, complained of as being most burdensome.

On the WEST COAST, Nana a chief under the King of Benin, has been lately intercepting trade, and has been the object of one of our little expeditions. The French Montiel mission was at Modabandzi on a tributary of the M'bara River, N.W. of Bangasso, near the Belgian Congo frontier. There had been some sharp fighting in the Soudan, with a loss to the French of 9 killed and 149 wounded, and a rumour of the entire loss of two companies at Timbuctoo. Samoury had taken refuge in the *hinterland* of the Ivory Coast; and King Behanzin, late of Dahomey, complaining of insufficient allowances, was to be treated with less niggardliness: only 14 frcs. a day had been allowed for the maintenance of himself and suite! Captain Jacques has arrived in Brussels. There had been a collision between the Mahadist and Congo troops at Mumdu, 250 miles from Lado. A Franco-Belgian delimitation has completed the reversal of one article of the absurd arrangement made by Lord Rosebery with Belgium, thus effectually excluding England from the leased territories. The delimitation follows the *Thalweg* of the Ubanga River to the confluence of the M'bomu and Uelli; then the *thalweg* of the M'bomu to its source; then a straight line joining the crest of the watersheds between the basins of the Congo and the Nile; and the said parting to its intersection with the meridian 30 E.L. (Greenwich). The turbulent chief Withooi in German W. Africa has submitted.

CAPE COLONY trade for 6 months showed an increase of £500,000 in imports and £1,000,000 in exports. The Budget gave for 1893-4, imports £11,300,000, and exports £13,000,000 (gold being £5,250,000). Expenditure was £5,631,000, or 65,000 under the estimate; and surplus £334,161. The estimates for 1894-5 were, revenue £5,191,450, expenditure £5,004,450, surplus £97,000. No remission of taxes was proposed, as a fall was expected in railway earnings, owing to competition. The Imperial Government have very shortsightedly rejected Mr. Rhodes' proposal that British goods should never be charged, in the S. African Union, a higher rate than now, as also his proposed preferential duties as against foreign producers. Mr. Rhodes has carried his Glen Gray Bill—the exposition of his native land and labour policy. The titles of allotments, 8½ acres each, are to descend on death according to native usage and be inalienable without government sanction. Each location, consisting of a number of allotments is to be under a Board of 3 occupiers selected by Government. The District Council will consist of 6 nominated members and 6 elected by the localities. They will be trusted with self-government. No intoxicating liquor is to be sold. The franchise is withheld; but every male who pays 10s. a year tax (applicable to Education) maintains his present electoral rights. Sir H. Loch, after having amicably arranged the difficulty regarding Military service by British subjects in the Transvaal, has come on leave to England. A new Swaziland Convention is in progress. The Legislative Assembly of NATAL have abolished the grant of £10,000 for Indian Emigrants, and have refused the franchise to all Asiatics. Mr. Reitz, the President of the FREE ORANGE STATE is in

Europe and has visited England in the course of his tour. President Kruger of the TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC was expected also; but the Kaffir outbreak at Zoutspanberg has prevented him. After inflicting some losses and making a vigorous resistance, the rising has been suppressed; the chief, Malabosh, has submitted. The Transvaal revenue showed a surplus, at the end of June, of £909,000.

The telegraph has been completed from Tate to Bulawayo, 108 miles, in 133 days, at a cost of £3,400. The Beira Railway is open for 75 miles, and rails laid 90 miles; in October it was expected to be open to Chimoio; and in two months more Salisbury would be brought within a 5 days' journey. Portugal has consented to the construction, through the Zambezi country of the African Telegraph line, on condition that there shall be no station in Portuguese territory, and rent shall be paid for the maintenance of the line. Another outbreak was reported from Lourenço Marques. Kanyeli, a Nyassa chief, who had been intercepting trade, has been coerced into good behaviour. The GERMAN EAST AFRICA Co. announce a profit of £14,000 in 1893. The charge of selling and conveying powder to Arabs is denied, but will be closely investigated. The IBEA Co. report for 1893 a revenue of Rs. 257,860 against Rs. 239,812 in 1892, and a surplus of Rs. 87,647 against Rs. 69,599 (exclusive of goods for which compensation is claimed against Zanzibar, as admitted free under the Berlin Convention.) The Ibea Co. have divided their £20 shares into £1 shares, and express their willingness to submit their claims to arbitration, or to accept £300,000 for their concession and materials, or to take 2% per annum on the expenses incurred. The Italians have captured Kasala. A large number of French settlers has been shipped for MADAGASCAR, whither the French have despatched M. Myer de Vilers, of Siamese fame, to overawe the Hovas. The French exorbitant claims in Madagascar are sure to lead to trouble; and meanwhile strong protests have been made that our Government have for several years neglected British interests in this Island, which the French say will be their "Australia."

In AUSTRALIA, the question of Federation, aided by the Ottawa Conference, has again become prominent, and the Premier of N. S. Wales, taking the lead, issued a circular letter to the other colonies to meet together for this purpose. It seems to have received a warm welcome. Pending the development of this proposal the Premiers of Victoria and N. S. Wales propose a Federation of those two colonies under the following scheme: Only one Viceroy or Governor, Parliament (of 2 chambers), railway management, customs' tariff and scale of excise duties, defence administration and land law, with joint debt and land revenue;—only one High Commissioner in London, and one Supreme court; Customs' offices in both Sydney and Victoria; each Colony to have a local Provincial Government with wide powers, the surplus of Federal revenue being paid to the provincial governments on the basis partly of population and partly of occupied mileage extent. Two or three members of each cabinet are to discuss the scheme, which seems more likely to succeed than a general Federation, and which, once successful, would doubtless be joined by other colonies.

The VICTORIAN deficit of nearly half a million is to be met by retrenchments, an income tax and readjusted tariff. The revenue was £6,719,000, and the expenditure £7,384,000. For 1894-5, the estimates were, revenue £7,138,000, expenditure £7,023,000; surplus £115,000. The total accrued deficit is £1,801,000, though in four years, the expenditure has been reduced by £2,000,000.

S. AUSTRALIAN revenue for the year was £2,526,705, being an increase of £56,000; expenditure £2,525,606. For next year the revenue is estimated at £2,554,840; surplus £1,100.

In NEW SOUTH WALES the revenue for the quarter ending 30th June showed an increase of £67,506 over that of last year: the surplus in hand is raised to £30,694. Mr. G. H. Reid has succeeded Sir R. Dibbs as Premier. In the newly constituted House the number of members has been reduced from 147 to 125.

QUEENSLAND revenue for the year was £3,343,068 less by £102,932 than previous year; expenditure £3,351,536; deficit £8,468. The estimates for next year give £3,350,000 revenue; £3,147,000 expenditure; surplus £203,000. The return of prosperity enables the Government to resume reproductive works and to double the salaries of members of Parliament.

WEST AUSTRALIAN revenue for 11 months exceeded the estimate for the whole year by £1,800; revenue for the year, estimated at £589,000 had yielded £681,000; and the expenditure had been £656,000 instead of £651,000. The population has increased during the year from 61,000 to 71,000; more gold has been discovered at Coolgardie; and the gold export for 6 months had risen from £190,000 to £290,000.

NEW ZEALAND revenue was £4,352,800; expenditure £4,301,000; surplus £51,800. The revenue exceeded the estimates by £135,500. The accumulated surplus, amounting to nearly half a million is to be equally divided, half being carried forward and half used for public works.

TASMANIA exported 23,000 cases of fruit to Colombo in Ceylon.

The Eastern Extension Australia and China Telegraph Co. to the end of 1893, gave gross receipts, £251,699 against £247,767 in 1892; expenses £76,575 against £91,769; balance, gross £175,124, and net £131,214. After a dividend of 7 *per cent.*, £107,830 are carried over.

Disturbances are reported from FIJI, with loss of life and a return on the part of some to cannibalism, but particulars are still absent.

The important Inter-Colonial conference at Ottawa in CANADA is discussed from two points of view in our Colonial articles. The total revenue of Canada, for the year ending 30th June, was \$36,236,753; the expenditure, \$37,393,373; deficit, \$1,157,000. This result, already anticipated, is due to depression of trade caused by the uncertainty regarding the tariff; Customs fell \$1,750,000. The net debt was \$246,163,920, or an increase of \$4,483,948 expended on public works. The Postal Savings Bank shows deposits up to \$25,257,868. The Dominion Parliament has unanimously voted a subvention of \$750,000 for the Huddart Atlantic line of steamers. The reported acceptance of United States' offer of \$425,000 as the indemnity for the illegal seizure of

British Columbian vessels in the past, will end amicably another episode of the seals' fisheries. Some seizures this season are causing the usual trouble. The French Consulate General has been transferred from Quebec to Montreal. Some religious rioting occurred in Quebec, directed against the Baptists, the Anglican mission to Canadians, and the Salvation Army.

In NEWFOUNDLAND, the excitement regarding the late elections has subsided, and an extraordinary number of public men, including the late Premier and the late Speaker, have retired into private life. Sir Terence O'Brien's term of office as Governor has been extended.

Orders have been issued for settling the currency question in Honduras : the gold dollar is made the standard, the sovereign also being legal tender, at \$4.86. No other gold coins are to have legal circulation, nor United States notes. The silver coinage is to be the British token coinage, and the Colonial Government may issue local Notes.

Obituary.—This quarter records the following deaths:—H. H. The Thakur Sahib of Muli;—Rao Bahadur Wansik Rao, member of the Council of State of Tonk, Rajputana, burnt to death in a house-fire;—H. H. the Maharani of Dholepur, grand-niece of Maharaja Runjit Singh;—Kumar Indra Chundra Singh of the Paikapara family;—Babu Bhudev Mukerji, C.I.E., offg. Director of Public Instruction in Bengal;—the Most Rev. Alex. Ant. Taché, archbishop of St. Boniface, Manitoba;—Genl. J. Y. Gowan (Punjab and Mutiny campaigns);—Genl. G. A. Leckie (Scindh war);—Colonel J. C. Lockwood, 20th Hussars (mutiny);—Khan Bahadur Subadar Hussain Khan, late sub-judge and Taluqdar of Goruckpur, revered alike by Hindus and Muhammadans throughout the district;—Muhammad Fehmi Effendi, one of the Egyptian exiles, who died at Kandy, Ceylon;—H. H. The dowager Maharani of Kashmir and Jummu;—Sir H. A. Layard, G.C.B., the great Assyrian and Babylonian explorer;—Lady Cunnynggham, Imp. C. of I., daughter of Viscount Hardinge, once Governor General of India;—Major M. J. Battye, corps of gentlemen-at-arms (Afghan, and 1st Sikh campaigns and S. Maharatta war, 1844-5;—Mir Muhammad Hussan, asst.-Director of Land Records and Agriculture in the Dakhan;—Sayad Fuad, younger brother of the Sultan of Muscat, who committed suicide;—Sorabji Framji Patel of Bombay, well known for his charities;—H. Exc. Sieh-tajen late Minister, and Hsueh-fu-cheng late Sec. at the Chinese legation in London;—Genl. H. P. Hutton (Sutlej and Crimean wars);—His Ex. Fung-nan-pin, Provincial commander-in-chief of Chekiang who did distinguished service during the Taiping rebellion, and was promoted to be President of the Peking Board;—Khan Bahadur Padomji Pestonji of Poona, late of the Bombay Legislative Council;—Rai Bahadur Hurdial Singh, Chief Justice of Jodhpur;—Lady Bonser, wife of the Chief Justice of Ceylon;—Viscount Hardinge, the son of the Governor-General of that name, who served in the Sikh wars as A.D.C. to his father; Senator Chaffers of Canada;—Sir Adams Gibbs Ellis, Chief Justice of Jamaica;—A. H. Tucker, District Superintendent of Police, Pegu, slain by dacoits;—Hon. Moungh On, C.I.E. the first Burmese made a member of the Governor

General's council ;—Bishop Hawkins, born a slave in the Southern States 8 years Bishop of the Canadian Methodist Church, and died aged 86 —Major-Genl. F. Chenevix-Trench, C.M.G. (Mutiny) ;—Surgeon-Gen M. W. Murphy (Burmese War 1852—3) ;—Genl. J. E. Gastrell, F.R.G.S. Jeypore (1843) and Punjab. (1848) campaign, and Deputy Surveyor General of India ;—the Maori King Tawhio, who since 1892 has been in receipt of a pension of £225 per annum, after surrendering all his claims ;—Miss Dr. Annie Wardlaw Jagannadham, L.R.C.P. and L.R.C.S. the first Indian lady who obtained a registerable British Diploma ;—H. H. Agha Zenool Aboodin Shah, son of H. H. Agha Jungi Shah ;—Frazee McDonnell, V.C., late Judge High Court, Calcutta ;—Sultan Jumba, ou ally on the W. Nyassa coast ;—P. S. Thuraivar, Vishnavi High-priest o Mahabahpuram, well known for his charities ;—Genl. C. W. Campbell (Mutiny, China 1860, and Egyptian wars) ;—Col. H. W. Webster (Mutiny Bhutan and Afghan wars) ;—Sir J. L. Robinson, one of the very few Canadian Baronets ;—J. F. Churchill, M.I.C.E., late Director of Public Works, Ceylon ;—Professor H. C. Brugsch Pasha, the well-known Egyptologist ;—Sreemunt Umabai Saheb, mother of H. H. Syaji Ra Gaekwar of Baroda ;—Sir Oliver Nugent, Kt., President of the Legislative Council and Member of the Executive Council of Antigua ;—the Rev Dr. Forman, the pioneer of English education in the Panjab. V.

21st Sept. 1894.

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By G. W. LEITNER, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L., ETC.,

*Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law; Deputed by the Panjab Government on a Mission
of Linguistic discovery, in 1866; late on Special Duty with the Government
of India in the Foreign Department.*

THE following exhaustive Review of the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," of which the smaller volume is, in a sense, a supplement, appeared in the *Times* of the 9th April, 1890, in connexion with its first Edition, now enlarged by the addition of an outline of the Tour in 1866 which led to the discovery of the Languages and Races of Dardistan as also by an account of the Results of the author's "special duty" regarding the Hunza-Nagyr enquiries in 1886 and 1889. The Review is reprinted, as it contains an extract from the work regarding the Hunza language and gives the scope of the Dardu researches generally:

"A NEW DEPARTURE IN THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.*

Among the many services that the Government of India is so continuously rendering to the cause of science, none perhaps is more immediately interesting or important than the volume on Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin which it has lately issued from its press at Calcutta. It is called the first part of a handbook on the language of those countries, which our temporary administration of Kashmir has brought into direct political relations with ourselves. The work, however, is ethnographical, and, therefore, of political value, as well as linguistic. It is based on the principle, so persistently advocated by its author, that customs, history, and the surrounding circumstances of a race best, if not alone, explain its grammar. We are provided with a mass of information of a varied, if scientific, character regarding the biography and use of most words in a language which must henceforth take a foremost place in the study of comparative philology, ethnography, and religion, as has been well indicated in a resolution of the recently held International Congress of the Ethnographical Sciences, before which the proof-sheets of the "Handbook" were laid. For instance, if we come across the word "chief," say of Hunza, we are told of his history, fratricidal and parricidal, his amusements, his receptions of strangers (when not kidnapped) and of his subjects, the ceremonial observed in meeting a brother chief, how he organizes a hunting party after the Markhór ibex, so plentiful in that country, or prepares for war, all in his own language literally translated into English. The washing for gold, the tournaments of archery on horseback, the Nagyr game of Polo, in which our best players at Billie-Bridge would require points, quarrels,

* "The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook": being an Introduction to a Knowledge of the Language, Race, and Countries of Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. In two parts. By G. W. Leitner, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., etc., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, late on special duty with the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Part I. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1889.

including those of lovers, are similarly described. Do we look for the name of a particular tree or animal or grain, we are treated to the natural history of the country or its mode of agriculture. The word for a particular ailment gives us also an account of the prevailing diseases—to which the approach of civilization is adding cholera—and of their indigenous, sometimes very quaint, remedies. Are “meals” mentioned, we get a culinary *excursus*; and when the eternal chapter of “woman” is reached, we find, embedded in the names of various relationships, a history of endogamy, which gives the most interesting revelations as to the origin of the tribe. All this is in the form of vocabularies and “ethnographical dialogues,” which embrace the mode of trading and, indeed, every occupation of the race that speaks this supposed remnant of a pre-historic language. Of course, legends and songs historical and erotic are not wanting. The fables betray a grim humour, as when the fox that is carried away by a stream bewails the end of the world; and the proverbs show a sagacity worthy of a higher civilization. For men are deceitful; they “laugh with the wolf and weep with the shepherd,” nor ought they to “walk before a chief, or behind a horse.” It is in fairy tales that the land abounds. Indeed, as fairies are still supposed to preside over the destinies of Hunza, it may be called “fairyland.” Grimms or Andersen’s fairy tales have many counterparts, and ancient Scandinavian coincidences of ornaments, wild chase, drinking bouts, and furious dance (even in mosques), as well as names of relationships (*môr*, *fâr*), are very striking. “The sacred drum is still struck by invisible hands when war is to be declared, and bells ring in the mountain when fairies wish to communicate with their favourites; for is not the King or ‘Tham’ of Hunza ‘heaven-born’ (his female ancestor having been visited by heaven)? Ecstatic women still sing the glories of the past, recite the events of neighbouring valleys, and prophesy the future, being thus alike the historians, the newspapers, and the oracles of Hunza.”

It is the “Tham” whose invocation brings down rain, but it is the “Dayáll” or witch who dares tell him of his impending ruin, if he acts in a manner that is unworthy of his divine origin or opposed to the popular sentiment. Yet it is an honour for any woman of the tribe to be selected as the “Tham’s” temporary partner, and a ruler anxious for the improvement of the race kidnaps the vigorous men of neighbouring tribes, or retains well-featured strangers in conditions of never-ending domestic bliss. All this is being changed. The influence of the rival and civilized Nagyr, speaking the same language and belonging to the same race, introduces Shiah Mahomedanism with its higher and purer standards. How far the “Mulais” will stand out for their peculiar practices, or assimilate themselves to a stricter form of life, it is impossible to say, but in the process many interesting customs will be lost. This Mulai creed is that of the Ismailians, the Hashishin or so-called “Assassins” of the “old man of the mountain” so notorious during the Crusades. Dr. Leitner has had given him some pages of the hitherto mysterious “Kelâm-i-pîr,” which these nominal Mahomedans substitute for the Koran, which he compares to the “Mithâq” or Covenant of the “initiated” among the Druses, which an accident has equally put into his possession. How singular this connexion between the Lebanon and the Hindu Kush! We can only hope for the early publication of the second part of the “Handbook,” which is announced as giving, accompanied by photographs and maps, an account of customs that will be more suitable to the general reader than the biographical treatment of the indigenous words that describe them. What, however, is the key of the Mulai creed? It is the undivided chain of life in the elements, the plants, and the animals; but this is a mystery which should not be told to the laity, for whom blind obedience to their spiritual heads is sufficient. The good man, a passage in the Kelâm-i-pîr seems to say, returns after death as a better man; others are turned into asses, oxen, plants, or even stones. The animal that is sacrificed proceeds to a higher life, but one ought to be punished for replying with a lesson of wisdom to a question of folly. “All sensible men are of one religion, but sensible men never say what it is,” is an aphorism not unlike the above passage, which is so obscurely worded as to deny, whilst affirming, the immortality and transmigration of souls.

Whether the Hunzas will turn out to be Huns, or the very different Honas, whether the language is a prehistoric linguistic remnant, throwing light on the first attempts to clothe human speech with primitive sounds, it is impossible to say at present. Is it a special development of the convenient “Turanian group of languages?” Has it analogies with a primitive type of Hungarian? Or does the reduction that is possible in it from monosyllables to simple sounds give us the key to many unsuspected relationships with an Aryan prototype? Dr. Leitner does not attempt at present to decide these questions, which must be left to the many minds of comparative philologists, but treats his subject from the stand-

point of a practical linguist, whilst availing himself of the resources of philology. He rightly tells all students of languages generally in his "Introduction" that—

The time has long passed when even the practical acquisition of a language can be considered independently from customs and from the historical, religious, climatic, or other circumstances which have originated these customs. No grammar should now be possible that does not portray in its so-called "rules" the past and present life of the language or of the people that it seeks to represent.

Vitality must be breathed into the dead bones of declensions and conjugations. Every so-called exception must be elucidated by the custom or linguistic characteristic that can alone explain it. The study of language is no longer a mere matter of memory, but must become one of judgment and of human associations. Beginning with the most logical and complete language—the Arabic—I have endeavoured to show that the 36 broken plurals and the apparently innumerable meanings of Arabic words obey the laws of the Arab's daily life and of the history and literary development of that extraordinary people.

Ending with the Khajuná or Burishki of Hunza, I find the same law, *minus* a written literature, for which I have adapted the Persian character as the only acceptable vehicle to its people for its traditional songs, legends, and other folk-lore, if not for the spread of useful knowledge in the more modern sense of the term.

The difficulty of learning the words or laws of speech from savages with whose language one is unacquainted is proverbially great. Even the highly-cultured Pandit, Maulvi, or Munshi fails to give satisfaction to the European students, but with barbarians the obstacles seem almost insurmountable.

As one of the simple elementary rules, I would suggest that the traveller among savages should first point to objects in order to learn their names, then bring them in connection with such simple bodily wants as can be indicated by gestures. This causes one of the men, if there be two, to order the other to bring this, that, or the other to come, or go, etc., which elicits the imperative form. The reply ordinarily gives either an affirmative *é*, the first person of an indicative present or future. Of course, the same sound or the inflection of the same word has to be closely followed. Then use yourself the first person, which starts conversation, and brings out the second person, and so forth.

Applying now this rule to Khajuná, the result at first sight is unsatisfactory. Say, for instance, that you point your finger to an object, and that your inquiry is mistaken to be for the native name for the finger instead of the object to which you point, you would get a sound, or combination of sounds, which, when referred to another bystander, would apparently be at once contradicted. You point to your heart, and you at once obtain words which sound dissimilar. You point to a little girl or to a little boy and you obtain the same sound. What is the cause of this? The reply is that in Khajuná the pronoun and the noun in all matters affecting a person or that affect people in their daily lives are so inseparably connected that they have no meaning separately—*e.g.*, *As*—my heart; *Gôs*—thy heart; *Es*—his heart; *Môs*—her heart; *Mis*—our heart; *Más*—your heart; *Os*—their heart; but take off the proportional sign, and the sound "s," which then alone remains, means nothing. The same rule extends to such prepositions as "before, after, near, far," etc., which are of assistance in finding out other languages, but which in Khajuná still more perplex the inquirer. Again, this same feature is apparent in those verbs of action or condition which affect the human being, as most indeed do, and this is further complicated by the circumstance, whether or no the condition or action refers to one or more persons, to their relations amongst themselves, and other details into which it is impossible to enter within the compass of an "introduction." For instance, to bring one or more apples in a country where fruit is plentiful is very different from bringing bread (if wheat is scarce) or sheep. Again, the right position of the accent, or rather the intonation which it represents, is a matter of extreme importance, for "ái" means "my daughter;" "ai," "my son;" "ái," "my father," and so forth. "Gus"—thy wife—must be distinguished from "gús," a woman, which word is possibly put in the second person for women generally, because I fear the people of Hunza have not obeyed the injunction "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," and, talking of "wife," they say—How is it possible that the word wife should exist without it is somebody's wife, or that a head, an arm, an eye could exist as such without belonging to a person; or they would say—Do you mean "his (dead) bones" or "his eye that was"? A further interesting inquiry is afforded by the study of the genders, so far as inflections indicate them, for the plurals of many feminine nouns are masculine, and *vice versa*, whilst in the verb "to be," or "to become," as well as in other numerous verbs, there are different plurals, say, for men, women, animals, again subdivided according to sex, and for things again subdivided into male or female according to their fancied stronger or weaker uses—*e.g.*, the gun is used by the men whilst hunting, and is therefore masculine; but the metals are feminine, because plates and dishes are made of metal and are in charge of the women of the household, just as certain clothes are which they sew or otherwise manufacture: therefore, whenever any particular garment is masculine it gives rise to the presumption of its being an article imported from another valley, and whenever there is a word denoting a thing, condition, or action distinct from their own intramural relations it must be one of comparatively recent introduction from a foreign language, or brought in with the Muhammadan religion, which sits so loosely on the inhabitants of Hunza.

Twenty-one years ago, when I learned the elements of Khajuná from a son of the Raja of Nagyr, the district which confronts Hunza across the same river, there were no indigenous words used apart from the pronoun. "The father's house" was then like "my father *his* house." Last year, when I continued the study under another son of the same Raja, I already found that a number of indigenous words were being used in the third person and yet distinct from the person, in consequence partly of an ordinary law, but chiefly owing to the comparative greater accessibility of Hunza and Nagyr to Ghilghit and Badakhshan travellers, and the consequent greater introduction of Persian and Shiná words. (Shiná is the language of Ghilghit.)

As for the change of gender from the singular to the plural, it is not to be wondered at, for elsewhere also we may find that whereas one councillor may be a wise old man, a number of them may constitute a council of wise or unwise old women.

Again, what contains something else is feminine, but the thing contained is masculine—*e.g.*,

arrow is masculine, but the bow on which it rests is feminine. We have before us the portion of a work which I am preparing for the Government of India, and which might be extended far beyond its present great bulk were the reason given for every grammatical feature. But I will confine myself to mentioning some of the most striking characteristics of this singular language, so far as it may subserv comparative purposes—e.g., the sound “a” represents the ego, or self, and in nouns is the sound used for the relationship implied in “my father,” “my daughter,” “my sister,” “my brother,” “my husband,” “my son,” “my mother,” “my son-in-law,” “my daughter-in-law,” “my nephew,” “my niece,” “my wife,” and, above all, “my aunt,” which is, indeed, the same word, being really the sister of the mother, and, therefore, the “elder or younger mother” in a tribe in which, at one time, undoubtedly, if also not now, all the elder members of the tribe were the fathers and mothers of the younger generation. When therefore, the “Tr” of the tribe, or “taro,” is added to “a” it becomes a plural for fathers, mothers, sisters, something like the German “Geschwister”; therefore, it is just as if we were to say that the “ter” or “ther” in father, brother, mother, sister, showed the tribe, and this is further borne out by the fact that “mo,” the first syllable in “mother,” is the sign for the feminine throughout the Khajuná language, for it contains the “a,” or self, in other words, “mother,” “mater,” would, as it were, mean the female that contained “me” and belongs to “my tribe.”

“G” or “k,” the guttural, is the gurgling sound of the child to represent the “not-self,” “non ego,” or the one that is brought in relationship to it, and, therefore, stands for the second person or for every relation in which a person must be connected with another person, whether in being killed or kissed.

The contemptuous “i” or “e” is for third persons. “M,” I have already said, is the sign for the feminine, out of which arises the “mi” of the plural, plurality being impossible without female aid.

“N” is the sign of the past participle, but in itself means “to go,” and is very much like the vulgar English “he has been and gone and done it” (os=had; nos=having had), or like the German “ge,” which is also the sign of the past participle, and also means to go—e.g., “getrunken,” “gegessen,” “gone and drunk,” “gone and eaten,” “gethan,” “gone and done”; in Khajuná “nishi, neti, nimen.” The simple inflexion of the past participle of “to go” will show this.

Past.

I having gone=n á.

Thou having gone=n o ko (compare “gu,” pronominal prefix, 2d person).

He or it (m.) having gone=n i (compare “i,” pronominal prefix, 3d person).

She or it (f.) having gone=n o mo (compare “mo” or “mu,” pronominal prefix, 3d person {f}).

We having gone=n i men (compare “mi,” pronominal prefix, 1st person plural).

You having gone=n a má (compare “ma,” pronominal prefix, 2d person plural).

They having gone=n u (compare “u,” pronominal prefix, 3d person plural).

They (objects f.) having gone=n i.

NOTE.—It seems to be clear that “n” represents to “go,” and that the inflexions are pronominal affixes corresponding with the pronominal prefixes already mentioned, the letters “o,” “i,” and “a” in the first syllables of “noko,” “nomo,” “nimen,” “nama” being essential both to make the transition from “n” to “m” possible, and to enable the two syllables to be pronounced by means of a homogeneous vowel—i.e., instead of “nko” “nmo,” which would be difficult, if not impossible, to pronounce without the insertion of a vowel between the “n” and “m” a homogeneous vowel is inserted and the vowels thus become “nomo” and “noko.”

“Y” is the sound for “giving”; and you can imagine the difficulty and peculiarity of Khajuná when I inform you that “itshishibai,” “he is giving him,” is derived by traceable evolutions from the sound of “yü”=“give.” “D” stands generally for a condition in which one is seen, struck, or otherwise subordinate or passive, without there being a passive voice, the language always requiring the agent being known (as in Arabic), and having special forms for “they struck me,” “she strikes them,” “they are teaching us,” “we will kill you,” and so forth.

We can truly say such works as this are rare. It reminds us of the Talmud, or Dr. Leitner's own truly marvellous “History of Indigenous Oriental Education,” in the great diversity of its information. Yet it is eminently practical as well as learned, and even takes into account the requirements of an English subaltern or a Hindustani Munshi who suddenly finds himself transplanted to those regions, in “Dialogues” written for their special benefit. We wonder how such complete information could have been collected and sifted within the short time that Dr. Leitner, under dangers of every kind, crossed the Indian frontier to make these interesting and valuable discoveries. Besides, this is only a small portion of the material that he collected in his holiday tours in 1866, 1872, and 1886. Numerous learned societies and several international congresses have memorialized Government in favour of its publication, but it comes out at irregular intervals, in what would be called dribblets, were they not avalanches of learning. Several other languages and races of the Hindu Kush yet await elaboration at Dr. Leitner's hands, but it is to the “Handbooks” of Chitral, Yasin, the Shfn districts, and Wakhan that he announces his intention of confining himself. His linguistic success he modestly attributes to his sympathy and friendly intercourse with the chiefs, two of whom have been his tutors, and with the people of Dardistan; but there must be much in a method which enables its author to speak, read, and write more languages than even Merzofanti.”

Times, 9th April, 1890.

Just Published.

In Memory of



SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN,

Died London, 18th May, 1891,

President (till his death) of the Organizing Committee of the Statutory Ninth
International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891).

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INTRODUCTION.

A FEW words regarding the publication of the following Treatise in memory of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, in default of his "Summary of Civil Law" as compared with other laws, may not be out of place. He had made over to me several hundred copies, mostly bound, of the above *magnum opus*, and I had advertised it for a considerable time in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, as a second edition by the addition of a chapter on Hindu Law, and of another on the results of recent studies in comparative Law.

On his death, I intended, with the co-operation of a brother-barrister, to bring it out as an "IN MEMORIAM" edition, but, unfortunately, the copies which were going to be despatched to Woking, had been left at his rooms in King's Bench Walk, and they were sold by auction, together with other literary treasures, as waste-paper for a little over £9!! I found out the purchaser and offered him £25 for the unbound copies, but he refused to part with them. I also could not find out what had become of Sir Patrick's manuscript embodying his Shakespearian researches, which he had warmly commended to my solicitude, although I humbly ventured to adhere to the orthodox view regarding the immortal bard. Having thus failed to bring out the works most typical of his genius, I have republished "the Pelasgi and their modern descendants" under circumstances explained in "the Editor's" Epilogue, in the belief that that inquiry also is a proof of his profound scholarship and of his literary *camaraderie*. Sir Patrick Colquhoun was specially endeared to me, not only because of his cosmopolitan sympathies and intellectual many-sidedness, but also because of his pluck, qualities which enabled him to take up, at a crisis, the cause of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to prepare which he had been elected President of its Organizing Committee. He did not, alas! live to see the *éclat* with which the Session was held in 36 Sections for 12 days and for 12 hours, daily simultaneously at the Halls of the Inner Temple, and of the Incorporated Law Society, from the 1st to the 12th September, 1891, a monument of Oriental research in all its branches, and an epoch in the history of their practical application. This result was largely due to the fact that two of his warmest friends, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, and the Rev. C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, his colleagues in the Council of the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was for many years the distinguished President, had succeeded him, out of regard for him and his many virtues, in the offices of President and acting President of a Congress in which 600 Orientalists representing 37 countries and Governments took part, to which Her Majesty sent a most gracious Message, and at which 192 papers were communicated which form a Library of Reference on all Oriental subjects. It may be well to include in this "introduction" a quotation from Sir Patrick's last annual address to the Royal Society of Literature. It prognosticates the success of the Congress with the support of the Legal Profession, which became an "accomplished fact" owing to the devotion of his friends and the merits of a good cause: "This year the Royal Society of Literature has taken a new range of utility in opening its doors and doing its best to enlarge its sphere of operation, by giving all the aid in its power to the Ninth Statutory Congress of Orientalists meeting in London on the 1st September, 1891. In this movement it has been seconded by the legal profession."

At the end of the Treatise will be found a much too short account of Sir Patrick Colquhoun from the last edition of "Men and Women of the Time." I hope that it may induce one of his many admirers to collect material for an exhaustive biography of a man who, in his 76th year, combined the experience and learning of age with all the energy, vigour and public-spirit of British manhood, and who, as a Linguist, Jurist and Classical Scholar had few, if any, equals in this country.

G. W. LEITNER, LL. D.

Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, and General Secretary
of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

The Oriental University Institute, ~~London~~,
31st March, 1894.

